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ABSTRACT

These projects were completed by participants in the Fulbright-Hays summer seminar in China in 1997. The participants represented various regions of the U.S. and different grade levels and subject areas. The 15 curriculum projects in the collection are: (1) "China's One-Child Policy" (Michael Borrowman); (2) "China Chooses a Simulation" (Richard Celio); (3) "Women of China: Past, Present, Future" (Kathleen E. Dillon); (4) "The Cultural Revolution: An Introduction Unit for the Study of Contemporary China" (Dennis J. Ferry); (5) "China: Tradition and Transformation" (Claudette Butler Hatfield); (6) "China Approaching the 21st Century" (Sherry Henderson); (7) "A Multisensory Introduction to Modern China" (Anne Jellison); (8) "China Resource Based Unit of Study for Intermediate Ages" and "Chinese New Year" (Francia Johnson); (9) "The Dragon in China" (Sheila Karron); (10) "From Many into One--Chinese Religion" (Karin Kopciak); (11) "A Travel through Time in China" (Eileen Lang); (12) "China Curriculum Project--District Mentorship" (Anita Linn); (13) "China's 'Guanxi' Capitalism: Lessons on Chinese Business Ethics of the 90's" (Mary A. Price); (14) "The U.S. and Human Rights in China: A Simulation" (Elisabeth Sperling); and (15) "Why Transition in Contemporary China?" (Pam Vaughn). (LB)

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1997 FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINARS ABROAD PROGRAM

China: Tradition and Transformation

Curriculum Projects

SO 031 897

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China's One-Child Policy

Introduction

This report provides a lesson plan for high school students, based on the perspectives I gained from my Fulbright seminar in China from June to July 1997.

The lesson plan is organized in stages:

Part 1 - Read the official wording of the *one-child policy*.

Part 2 - Read an attack of the policy provided by "China Wakes!"

Part 3 - Look at photographs of one-child policy posters and one-child families which I took in China.

Part 4 - Look at California demography map. Increase population by half so it is relevant to 1998. Then increase population 4 times for ratio of population in E. China

Part 5 - Discussion

Part 1: Read the official wording of the *one-child policy.*

This document is a translation of the actual law. It comes from the book "Chinese Civilization – A Sourcebook, by Patricia Buckley Ebrey (1993.), pages 478-481. A photocopy of this document is in the appendix. The importance of reading this law is clear, so that students understand what the law is and what the consequences are for breaking it. What I would have students do is read this law and as they do so answer the following questions. I have put the correct answers in parentheses.

Article 6

1. What is the legal for women to marry? (20.)
2. What is the legal age for men to marry? (22.)
3. What is the legal age for late marriage? (3 years later = 23 + 25.)
4. What is the legal age for a woman to give birth? (24+.)

Article 7

1. What is the number of children families are encouraged to have? (1.)
2. When can couples not have children? (Not married.)

Article 8

1. Under special circumstances, how many children could families have? (2.)

Article 11

1. What do couples have to obtain before they can have a child? (a license.)
2. How long should one wait for a second birth? (4 years.)

Article 23

1. What is the amount of fine if one has an extra child?
   (10-20% of annual income for 7 years.)
2. How are women who are pregnant with an extra child encouraged to have an abortion?
   (Fined during pregnancy, but fine is returned after abortion.).

Article 25

1. How does Article 25 discourage a second child? (Loss of rewards and preferential treatment.)

Article 28

1. How are baby girls protected? (Not allowed to be drowned, abandoned, sold or mistreated.)
2. What happens to those who harm baby girls? (They will be educated through criticisms and disciplinary sanctions.)
3. What is the punishment for removing an IUD (intrauterine birth control device.)? (500 Yuan fine.)

The second part of this article is interesting since it explains the problems of peer pressure on women to make sure their only child is a boy.

One could have a discussion with the class and look for loopholes with this law. Questions that come quickly to mind for me are "Does this law do enough to protect infant girls?" in Article 28 and also what happens if the IUD slips.

Part 2 – Read an attack of the policy provided by "China Wakes"

This part follows the same format as the first one. Student should read the criticism of this policy from "China Wakes" by Nicholas D. Kristof and and Sheryl WuDunn (1995.). The relevant chapter is number 8 "Where have all the babies gone?" pages 210-240.

For this accompanying questionnaire, I have included page numbers relevant to the questions and answers in parentheses. This chapter is very relevant since it tackles a lot of the consequences of this policy. A photocopy of this chapter is in the appendix.

Page 212:	How far back does the legacy of abandoning female babies go? (4,000 years.)
Page 213:	What kind of female names suggest a preference for boys? (Bring a little brother.)
Page 222,3:	Why are there fewer girls in school? (Many drop out to save money or are not declared.)
Page 224:	Why do more sons survive? (They get preferential treatment with regard to food, health and medical care.)
Page 227:	1.) According to traditional Chinese lore, how many days would one lose of life for killing a baby? (3 or 300.)

2) When do the Chinese consider babies to be human and fully alive?
    (One year old or when they have grown a full set of teeth.)
3) What is the moral of the fable?
    (It is okay to kill a baby in order to feed adults.)
4) What is the shortfall of infant girls born in the 1990s?
    (One million per year.)

Page 228

1) Give 4 reasons why the Chinese prefer to have sons
    (Lineage passed down, boys look after parents in old age, girls marry into other families; boys better at field work; peer pressure.)
    - Read pages 481-482 of *Chinese Civilization: A Probe into the Mentality of 65 Rural Young Women Giving Birth to Baby Girls*, by Zhou Juhua (see appendix.)
2.) Why are the Chinese likely to want only one-child?
    (A second child means facing huge fines, prospect of home being vandalized and sterilization.)

Page 229

1) What is the normal world ratio for girls born to boys?
    (100 girls: 105 boys.)
2) What was China's 1953 ratio?
    (100 girls: 104.9 boys.)
3.) What was China's 1964 ratio?
    (100 girls: 103.8 boys.)
4) What was China's 1982 ratio?
    (100 girls: 118.5 boys.)

5.) The Chinese say they are different from other cultures and have more boys than other people in the world. But what does the 1982 Census figure suggest?
    (More boys than ever and that 1.7 million baby girls are missing.)

6.) Are these baby girls killed? (Probably not. Many are not reported, or are adopted by friends and relatives. Most are simply never born.)

Page 230

1) How many ultrasound scanners can be found in China? (100,000.)
2) What does Yh Chen say is the benefit of the ultrasound scanner in his village?
    (Only 1 girls was born in the last year; all the rest were boys.)

Page 231

1) According to the article in *China Information News*, 2,316 ultrasound cases resulted in how many female abortions? (1,006.)
2) According to *Public Security News*, out of 74 abortions in Ouhai County in Zhe Jiang Province, how many were female? (64.)
3) How will this affect boys in the future? (Not enough wives.)

Page 236

When did China achieve their goal of peasants having less than 2 children per family on average for the first time? (1992 – 1.86 per family.)

Page 237

How much pay was a teacher docked for having a second child within 3 years of the first child? (80% of wages from 1983-1993.)

Page 238

1) Why did the man have his possessions taken from him? (Although he had 2 children, he was not married.)
2) Why was the woman forced to give birth early? (To fill a quota.)
3) At what age was that baby born dead? (7 months.)

Page 240

1) What percentage of the world's population resides in China? (22%)
2) What percentage of the world's arable land does China have? (7%)

Part 3 – Look at photographs of one-child policy posters and one-child families which I took in China (See appendix)

Part 4 – Look at California Demography Map

Increase its population by ½ so it is relevant to 1998. Then increase the population 4 times for the ration of population in East China.

Then, compare with a map showing physical features so one can see where one cannot put the population.

The relevance of parts 4 and 5 is to place the student in the position of the Chinese so that he can understand by visualizing it how they have in fact very little choice but to do what they have done.

Part 5 – Discussion

I have put together the basic argument for four questions. These are:

1. Where do you put the population in California?
2. How can you stop the population from increasing?
3. If you have a one-child policy in China, what kind of children are preferred?
4. How has the one-child policy changed children?

I have put these arguments into note form so that they are easy to follow. These are by no means the only issues to be examined and I am sure students will develop many I have not thought of.

Discussion

1) Where do you put this excess population if California was faced with the same problem?

Once the area is saturated, people go up, into apartment blocks.	To wherever is available.
If the population moves up due to land shortages, how does this affect the city? *Pollution*: Roads not built for increased smog. *Overcrowding*: Produces squalor.	What happens if they don't want to be where the available land is?
In a coal-burning society, more pollution = 200 dangerous air days in Beijing annually.	How do you keep them there? Ban outsiders form legal work and education?

2) How can you stop the population from increasing?

Education/Posters:	Limit families to one child so population will decline: Get permission to have a child (license).
Have students design their own one-child policy poster.	What happens if they have more?
	Pay fines for privilege.
	What happens if they still have children?
	Forced sterilization.

3) If you have a one-child policy in China, what kind of children are preferred?

Boys over girls – why? (*China Wakes*, page 228)

How much of a discrepancy is there? (*China Wakes*, page 229)

See notes of numbers of female student of regular schools by level and type and compare with enrollment figures of regular schools in China. (Both are located in the appendix.) Deduct the number of female students from, for example, the total number of primary students, and you will have the percentage of female students. In 1990, the number of boys in primary schools was 54%, girls 46%. In 1994 53% were boys and 47% girls. This document came from Beijing's Education Department.

Does this discrepancy mean the missing baby girls are killed? (No)			How does the lack of women affect society?		
Some are not declared to avoid fines	Some do not go to school, but work at home	Most are probably not born but are aborted due to ultrasound	More men = more violent society	Rise in prostitution to satisfy sexual needs	People pay for kidnapped girls to become their wives

4) How does the one-child policy affect children?

Children are spoiled little emperors and overweight. Everything is done for them.	Parents are obsessed with only child and have to be re-educated about letting children learn for themselves.	Children are under tremendous stress and pressure to succeed, since they are the hope of the family.

Conclusion

Before I went to China, I was determined to criticize their one-child policy, but having now visited there, and having seen the tremendous problems they have with over-population, I am now in favor of this policy. However, I would like to see the natural first-born be viewed as that one child. This pretty much seemed to be the case in the cities and it is in the country where the shortage of baby girls is occurring.

Appendix

Document 1 - A copy of the law stating that the one-child policy from Chinese Civilization – a Sourcebook, by Patricia Buckley Ebrey (1993), pages 478-480.

Document 2 - A study showing the peer pressure put on women to have sons from Chinese Civilization, pages 480-481, "A probe into the mentality of 65 rural young women giving birth to baby girls" by Zhou Juhua.

Document 3 – "Where Have All the Babies Gone?" by Sheryl WuDunn from *China Wakes*, by Kristof and WuDunn (1995), pages 210-240, Chapter 8.

Document 4 - Photos of 2 posters depicting the one-child policy and 2 one-child families taken by myself when I visited China in July, 1997.

Document 5 - California Demography map 1975.

Document 6 - Document from Chinese Education authority detailing the number of female students of regular schools by level and type.

Document 7 - Document from Chinese education authority detailing number of all students of regular schools by level and type.

APPENDIX 1

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THE ONE-CHILD FAMILY

With its population of over one billion already pressing the limits of its resources, China has had to confront the need to control population growth. Since the late 1970s the government has actively pursued this goal, adopting a variety of strategies to convince couples to have only one child. Young people need permission from their units to get married, then permission to have a child. Targets are set for the total numbers of births in each place, and quotas then assigned to smaller units. In the cities, the one-child family has become commonplace, but most observers report that in the countryside families who bear a girl are usually allowed to try again for a boy, so that two- or even three-child families are still common there.

The first piece below gives some of the regulations adopted by Sichuan province in 1987 to carry out central government policies on the one-child family. Fines and other economic penalties are the main means listed for fostering compliance with the regulations. The second piece, which appeared in the magazine Young Women *in 1986, discusses some of the problems created by pressure to keep families small.*

SICHUAN PROVINCIAL BIRTH-PLANNING RULES

Article 1. To practice birth planning, exercise control over the population, and improve the quality of the population so that population growth would be suited to economic and social development plans, these regulations are enacted in accordance with the People's Republic of China (PRC) Constitution, PRC Marriage Law, and relevant regulations of the state, and in connection with Sichuan's actual realities.

Article 2. Both husband and wife have the duty to practice birth planning.

Article 6. Late marriage and late births are encouraged.

Late marriage means that both men and women are married three years later than the lawful age [of 20 for women and 22 for men]. Late births mean births by women aged 24 and above.

Article 7. Births should occur in a planned manner.

Each couple is encouraged to give birth to one child.

No births must occur without marriage.

Article 8. Couples who can meet the following requirements may have a second child:

1. The first child has a nonhereditary disease and cannot become a normal laborer:
2. Marriage between an only son and an only daughter;
3. In the rural areas, the groom moves to the house of the bride, who is an only daughter, after marriage;
4. Only sons and daughters of martyrs in rural areas;
5. Disabled demobilized soldiers in rural areas with Merit Citation Class II, A;
6. Those in rural areas who were disabled while on duty and are equivalent to the disabled demobilized soldiers with Merit Citation Class II, A;
7. The person is the only one of several brothers in rural areas who is capable of having children;
8. In the rural areas, the husband or wife is the only son or daughter for two generations;
9. In the rural areas of the Pengzhou mountain counties and the mountain townships (not including the flatland, hilly land, and valleys) within the basin approved by the cities (prefectures) of the economic construction zone, families with only daughters that have labor shortages;
10. In the rural areas of the remote mountain areas in Pengzhou mountain counties, families with only sons and daughters; and
11. Both husband and wife are retumed overseas Chinese who have settled down in Sichuan.

Article 9. Couples who have no children many years after marriage, but the wife has become pregnant after adopting a child, may give birth to a child.

Article 10. Those who can meet one of the following requirements may have a second child:

1. A widower or widow remarries and before the remarriage, the widower or widow has fewer than two children, while the spouse has no children; and
2. Husband or wife who remarries after a divorce and before the remarriage, one side has only one child, while the other has no children.

Article 11. For those who can meet the requirements of Articles 8, 9, and 10 and who want to bear children, both husband and wife should submit an application, which will be examined and brought into line with birth planning by the departments at the county level responsible for birth planning work. Second births should occur after an interval of four years.

Article 23. Those who refuse education and give birth to children not covered by the plan will be fined from the month the child is born. The wages or annual income of both husband and wife will be decreased by ten to twenty percent for seven years; the total sum deducted should not be less than five hundred yuan. Those who give birth to another child after the birth permiyted according to Articles 8, 9, and 10 of these regulations will be fined at a minimum of eight hundred yuan. A heavy fine will be imposed on those giving births not covered by the plan.

Regarding pregnancy not covered by the plan, both husband and wife will be imposed a fine of twenty to thirty yuan a month during the period of pregnancy. If the pregnancy is terminated, the fine imposed will be returned.

The fine imposed will be used for birth planning work only. The provincial birth planning committee and finance department will work out use and management methods.

Article 24. If those giving births not covered by the plan are cadres and staff members, apart from imposing a fine, the units where they work should

APPENDIX 1 + 2

also apply disciplinary sanctions according to the seriousness of the case.

Article 25. Those who have received certificates for only children and are allowed to give birth to a second child should return their certificates and will no longer get rewards and preferential treatment from the month they are allowed to give birth to a second child. Those who give birth to another child without approval, apart from the measures stipulated in Articles 23 and 24, will no longer get rewards and preferential treatment for only children and must return the certificates and health care benefits for only children.

Article 26. Regarding doctors, nurses, and working personnel in charge of birth planning work and marriage registration and state functionaries who violate these regulations, practice fraud, and accept bribes, the units where they work or the higher level competent departments should educate them through criticisms and disciplinary sanctions. If their practices constitute an offense, the judicial organs will investigate and affix the responsibility for the offense according to law.

Persons holding direct responsibility for accidents in ligation operations due to negligence will be handled according to relevant regulations.

Article 27. Regarding those who insult, threaten, and beat doctors, nurses, and working personnel in charge of birth planning work or use other methods to obstruct birth planning, the public security organs will handle the cases in light of the "PRC Regulations Concerning Public Security Management and Punishment." If the practices constitute an offense, the judicial organs will investigate and affix the responsibility for the offense according to law.

Article 28. Drowning, abandoning, selling, and maltreatment of girl babies and their mothers are prohibited. Regarding those involved in any of these practices, the units where they work or the leading organs concerned should educate them through criticisms and disciplinary sanction in light of the seriousness of the case. If their practices constitute an offense, the judicial organs will investigate and affix the responsibility for the offense according to law.

Illegal removal of intrauterine devices is prohibited. In addition to confiscating the income obtained from illegally taking out the intrauterine device, a fine of over five hundred yuan will be imposed. A heavy fine will be imposed on those who commit the offense repeatedly. The judicial organs will, according to law, investigate and affix the responsibility for injuries and deaths caused therefrom.

A PROBE INTO THE MENTALITY OF SIXTY-FIVE RURAL YOUNG WOMEN GIVING BIRTH TO BABY GIRLS

by Zhou Juhua

Last year when I was at Qidong, I heard that a village woman left her newborn baby girl by the side of the public restroom. This year I personally saw in Qiyang a resident find a girl infant at his doorstep when he opened the door in the morning. Tied to the infant was a slip of red cloth on which was written the infant's birth date and a message begging other people to adopt the child, as the father would not accept the baby girl and the mother had no choice but to abandon her. This has aroused my indignation and provoked my thinking. I felt the necessity to visit the countryside to probe into rural women's mentality regarding the bearing of baby girls in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What is the proportion of rural women who are unwilling to give birth to baby girls?
2. What are the causes for the unwillingness?
3. How do rural women fare both physically and mentally after giving birth to baby girls?
4. What do rural women plan to do after they give birth to baby girls?

1. Those Surveyed

The people I surveyed comprised rural women whose husbands were also parents, women who were between twenty and thirty, and whose firstborn were baby girls. . . . Ye X of Liren township,

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of Hengyang county said: "I was sterilized after the birth of two girls. My mother-in-law condemned me by saying: 'I have only one son who married a bitch like you. You have extinguished our family. Get out of here and get yourself killed; otherwise we will never turn around.' My husband abused me, beat me, and threatened to divorce me every day. He angrily reproached me: 'If I can get rid of you, you ugly woman, I'll get another woman who can bear me a son. I'll kill you if you do not clear out.' "

Peng X of Dashan township, Hengnan county, remarked: "Once you give birth to a girl, you get insults and humiliations from all sides. They call you the devil that extinguishes the family. You can hardly put up with this kind of life!"

Hu X of Changning county recounted: "Previously my husband and my parents-in-law all treated me well. After I gave birth to a girl and was lying in, my mother-in-law did not bother to take care of me even when I called her. The girl, having no milk to suck from, was always crying and made me very upset. My husband said I had caused him to lose face and he could not lift his head in front of others. When my parents came to visit me, they, too, were insulted by them. Later even my mother did not want to come. I wish I could die!" She used to be an activist in performing arts. Now she was reticent, dark, and thin.

Wen X of Yanzhou township of Changning county had this to say: "The so-called nursing home for the aged is phony. I have never seen one in my life. I'll bear a son whatever the price." When the surveyor pressed: "What if you have another girl?" she retorted in anger: "How can you say that my secondborn will still be a girl? No matter what, I'll keep on bearing children until I have a son. I'll be happy to have a boy even if I were to lose the whole family's fortune. I am willing to pay the 200 yuan of penalty [for second birth]."

Wang X of Jinqiao district, Qidong county, observed: "When I was pregnant, both my husband and my mother-in-law took good care of me. When they saw I gave birth to a girl, they were all disheartened. I also felt guilty toward my husband and my parents-in-law and was ashamed of myself. When I saw other people explode firecrackers and make feasts to celebrate the birth of a son, I felt even more sad. I want to give birth to another child, hopefully a boy and not a girl. People will look down upon you if you give birth to a girl. What a difficult lot we women have!"

Chen X of Xiaojia village, Qiyang county, remarked: "I gave birth to three daughters, one of them deformed. Sand, no matter how good, cannot be used to build a wall, and daughters, no matter how many, cannot provide for an old mother. Nor is it easy to find a live-in son-in-law. A young man by the name of Li Min moved into the wife's home and people called him bastard. In our village there was an unmarried old man. He became sick and died in bed, and nobody knew his death until a few days later. It was horrible! Better to have a son."

Most of the rural women are afraid to have a girl at the first birth. They are afraid of the cold shoulder turned to them by their husband, parents-in-law, and others. They are also fearful of having no one to carry on the family lineage and no one to provide for them in old age. Thus they are unhappy after the birth of baby girls, their health deteriorating and their minds laden with anxieties. They are anxious to have a second birth and they pose an obstacle to the implementation of family planning.

Suggestions:

1. Leadership at all levels should pay attention to educating families with only baby girls. In particular they should educate the husbands and parents-in-law in fostering a correct attitude toward the bearing of girl infants.
2. Leadership at all levels should show concern for women giving birth to baby girls. Efforts should be made, on the one hand, to help them resolve some practical problems and, on the other hand, to help raise their understanding so that they can be freed from their anxieties.
3. Wherever conditions permit, women's schools should be set up as soon as possible.

RYL WUDUNN

伍潔芳

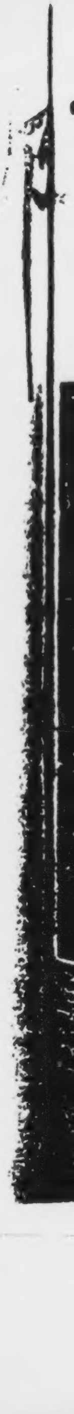
WHERE HAVE ALL THE BABIES GONE?

For a woman to starve to death is a small matter, but for her to lose her chastity is a great calamity.

—A neo-Confucian saying in the Song dynasty

Men cannot make rules for women that they do not keep themselves.

—Lu Xun, "My Views on Chastity," July 1918



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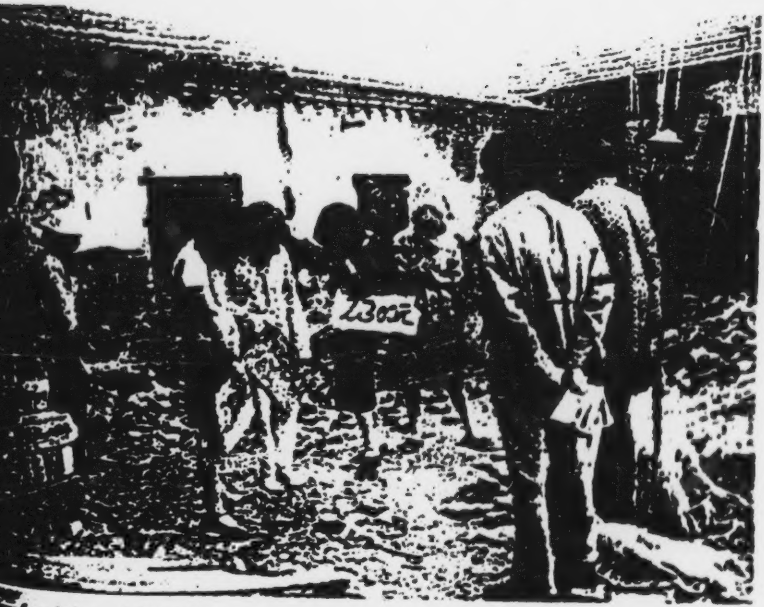


for sale in rural China. [Photo from the cover of the 1989 book *Gulao De Zui'e* (*An Age-Old*
.]

One day in late summer a thirty-year-old woman, slightly frail and innocent-looking, was sitting on a hillside near the grain fields of Liaohepo Village in Henan Province. Zuo Dechang, a young hoodlum who had been in and out of the local police station for various crimes, spotted her and cozied up to her. She wasn't much for conversation, for she was mentally retarded, but Zuo didn't mind. He brought her back to his village and tried to find a man who might buy her as a wife.

"I have no money," an unmarried peasant told Zuo, as the two negotiated a deal. "But I have a small calf. What would you think if I gave you this calf in exchange for this woman you've brought to our village?"

Well, Zuo thought, I could sell the calf for a bit of money. "It's a deal," he told the farmer, and the woman changed hands.

Her new husband gave her hardly anything to eat and little clothing to protect herself against the cold. A few months later, on a wintry day in 1990, she died.

A woman for a calf.

Something, I decided, was wrong with the picture of Communist equality that I had initially absorbed. When I first arrived in China, I was impressed that almost every woman I met had an occupation or a career. I did not notice any discrimination against women, and I met intelligent and capable women in academia, business, and journalism, as well as gutsy female vegetable merchants, engineering consultants, and toy makers. When we got to the Chinese border on Macao during my first trip into China in 1987, a crowd of ambitious, pushy cabdrivers crowded around Nick and me in pursuit of our fare. The most reasonable price was quoted to us by the most levelheaded of them all, a twenty-seven-year-old woman who owned her own taxi, and we chose her.

I thought, This is equality! I felt better about China itself, for as a Chinese woman, I was troubled greatly by the traditional distaste and discrimination that women faced. It was fine to be proud of the Great Wall but not of a 4,000-year legacy of abandoning female babies, of binding girls' feet, of keeping girls illiterate. Until the turn of the century, many Chinese girls were not even given names: They were called

Eldest Daughter, Second Daughter, and so on, until they married and took on a combination of their fathers' and husbands' surnames. Deng Xiaoping's own mother had no given name, and Luhui, our octogenarian friend, said that the same was true of his mother. We asked what his father had called her, and he thought for a long moment. Then his face lit up with the memory. "Eh!" He beamed. "He would just call out, 'Eh!' "

These days, girls do get names, even in remote areas. But some of these names are none too flattering. If the firstborn child in a peasant family is a girl, she is occasionally called Laidi, Zhaodi, or Yindi, all variations on the meaning "Bring a Little Brother."

I felt the weight of tradition in part because my own grandmother had had her feet bound as a young girl. This was an excruciating process, typically begun when a child was five to ten years old. Long strips of cloth were tightened around a girl's feet and maintained until the late teens. The binding forced the bones to break and the skin to rot. Toes sometimes dropped off, pus and blood covered the wounds, and the smell was sometimes overpowering. When Grandma moved to Canada with my grandfather in the 1920s, she unbound her feet, but it was too late: They had turned into flat, stubby blocks.

Mao tried to end all that. Foot binding itself had pretty much died out by 1949, but the Communists pressed relentlessly to admit women into the ranks of human beings. One of the Communist Party's greatest achievements—and one for which it is not given adequate credit—is its elevation of the status of Chinese women. The Communists emphasized from the start that power would be shared by women and men equally: As Mao said, women would hold up half the sky. The party outlawed prostitution, child marriages, the use of concubines, and the sale of brides. Women's associations were formed throughout the country and often intervened to help girls and women. Neighborhood committees began knocking on doors and scolding men who beat up their wives.

The party encouraged women to join its ranks, to become officials, to run factories, to do things they had never done before. The number of women in the industrial labor force soared, from 600,000 in 1949 to more than 50 million today, so that now some 82 percent of working-age women in the cities hold jobs. These gains gave women some economic independence and self-confidence. Side by side with their husbands, they built huts and tilled the fields. Above all, the party oversaw a revolution in educational practices, mobilizing peasant girls to go to school. For the first time in Chinese history, large numbers of peasant women graduated from the status of donkeys; they became almost human beings and not just walking wombs.

To be sure, even under Mao there was still a great deal of discrimination. But factories and offices were motivated to improve conditions by enthusiasm for change as well as fear of central leaders. And society was much more prudish then, so it was hardly possible to emphasize sexual differences. Cosmetics were effectively banned, and everyone wore the same blue or gray Mao jackets. Wolf whistles would have been unrevolutionary.

So when I arrived in China, I was generally impressed by the status of women. And with the new opportunities generated by a market economy, I expected life for women to get even better.

Then one day, I met Yang Yanru, a middle-aged peasant near Tianjin whose husband had become rich doing business. He asked her to stop working, and she was happy just to stay at home tidying up the house. That nagged at me. I could understand that now that she was rich she had better things to do with her time than to slave away in a factory for measly pay. But the same thing was happening all over China, and it seemed funny to me that economic progress in China would mean more housewives and fewer career women. What ever happened to Mao's belief in equality?

As I talked to more women and got better acquainted with their status, it became clear that the problems ran far deeper. The obstacle was not just the strength of traditional beliefs but the invisible hand of the market itself. The market economy raised living standards for women along with men, but it also led to the return of the male-dominated Chinese society—coupled with the sexist features of Western society. Advertisers quickly discovered that the best way to market their products was by airing commercials showing lovely young women, preferably wearing as little as possible. To promote sales of weapons abroad, the army began publishing a calendar with a pinup each month of a buxom young woman clutching a gun. In the 1994 calendar, for example, Miss February wears a bikini top and a red skirt slit to the waist, accompanied by an AK-47 assault rifle.

Miss November wears a strapless formal, high heels, red gloves—and carries a submachine gun in her right hand.

Nick once visited a school in Tianjin and was shown a twenty-minute introductory video that the principal had prepared. It began with a five-minute scene of the newly arrived high school girls scrubbing themselves from head to toe in the shower. The principal seemed to think that this was a tribute to his open-mindedness. Likewise, pornography and prostitution spread rapidly throughout China beginning in the 1980s, and bosses began to hire pretty young women as ornaments or playthings.

"These days if you're a woman, you're as good as a commodity," said Lihong, a young Chinese businesswoman whose work in a joint venture brings her in contact with men and women of many ranks and backgrounds. "You're worth either six pounds of gold or two tons of aluminum."

When Miaoxia, a twenty-eight-year-old married woman with long hair, olive skin, and sleepy, almond-shaped eyes, interviewed for a summer job one year, she was flattered that an employer decided to hire her immediately. Miaoxia went to her first day of work at the Beijing office of a machinery company to find her boss beaming with an envelope in his hand. He gave her a bit less than $1,000 to go out and buy clothes, makeup, and other accessories "to make you look prettier."

"I was so excited," she told me one afternoon a year later. "After I went out and bought a bunch of clothes, I was determined to go in and impress the boss with my skills. I thought I had better do a terrific job, or else he might be disappointed that he had spent so much money on me the first day."

The office was small, with only five other employees, and often they were out. On her second day, Miaoxia found herself alone typing a letter in English. All of a sudden, her boss walked up behind her and kissed her on her cheek and the back of her neck. She pushed him away with her shoulder, but he did it again. "I told him, 'I don't like this sort of thing.' You know what he said? He said, 'I'm a rich businessman, and I can buy almost any woman I want. Many women would love to use me to climb to the top. Others would just love to *bang dakuan*' [the colloquial term for finding a sugar daddy]. Not me, I told him. I'm not that kind of girl."

Later the other office workers told her that he made passes at female employees all the time, that in fact he'd been through many secretaries. "I stayed a week, and didn't get paid. But then again, I didn't return any of his money either."

Women face greater economic opportunity than they did under Mao but also more discrimination; they can find work more easily, but many of the jobs are on assembly lines in the noisiest, dirtiest industries; they may drive buses and taxis, but they usually take only one-third of the spots in universities; they enjoy excellent maternity benefits, but they are the first workers fired during times of economic austerity; while they are sometimes allocated land in the countryside, valued possessions are handed down from generation to generation through the male line.

Worst of all, the rising market economy now embraces women themselves as tradable commodities. A huge market emerged in the 1980s in the trafficking of women and children. Typically, a con man goes to a rural area and announces that he is recruiting young women to work in a restaurant or factory. He leads several of them away, often by public bus, on a long journey to some distant village. Many of the girls have never been outside their township before, and they have no idea what to expect. If they ask questions, they are reassured that they will get to the factory soon. Finally they end up in a village that has a shortage of young women, and some men in their twenties are eyeing them and offering prices of a few thousand yuan each. Or a calf.

Often the women are raped by the brokers who handle them along the way. This makes them feel as though they are damaged merchandise, unable to attract a first-rate husband even if they escape to their home villages. In addition, the women are sometimes tied up, and they certainly have no money with which to make the long journey home. Moreover, many peasants regard the practice as perfectly normal, and they sympathize with the man who spends good money—often many years' savings—to buy a wife. If the woman escapes, their pal's money is wasted. So the husband's neighbors keep an eye out to make sure the wife, almost always a complete stranger in the village, doesn't try to sneak away. When the authorities try to rescue a woman, the local peasants often erect barricades to keep the police out. In some places, peasants have fought pitched battles for several days to prevent the police from rescuing a kidnapped woman.

My Chinese friends told me all this. Even so, I couldn't really understand why more of these wives didn't try to escape. I understood that a naive girl of sixteen, kept under guard 1,000 miles from her home, might find it difficult to sneak away. But it is impossible to keep a wife under lock and key indefinitely, and I kept asking why the women didn't eventually run away—even if they had to wait months or years. Sure, some of the women have babies by that time and decide to stay put. Others don't have the guts or know-how. But if only one-third of the wives ran away within a year or two, the business of woman trafficking would collapse. Men would stop paying for livestock that kept escaping.

An investigative reporter named Jia Lusheng helped me understand why women often don't dare escape. Jia had coauthored a book about the trade in women. He had traveled throughout China, sometimes posing as a potential client, and he went to many of the poorest areas in Sichuan, Anhui, Henan, and the western corner of Shandong. It was in these pockets of poverty, where the grain grows sparse between vast patches of sand and scrub, where the children wear hand-me-downs if they wear anything at all, that he saw how women were bought and sold. He also saw what happened to them when they tried to escape.

"I saw her in the hospital in Shandong," Jia told me one afternoon, as he described a woman who had been sold as a wife to an uneducated Shaanxi peasant. "The first time she tried to flee, the peasant tied her to the bedpost. The second time she tried, he beat her. The third time, he gouged out her eyes. When I saw her in the hospital, she had white gauze covering the top of her head. The only thing you could see left of her eyes were two deep holes."

This was a slave trade. It appalled and fascinated me, and it occasionally alarmed me. A graduate student in Shanghai was kidnapped and sold to be the wife of a peasant in central China, and I occasionally wondered what would happen if a slave trader tried to grab me off the street of Beijing and peddle me to the peasants of Sichuan. I searched for more information, asking about wife trafficking whenever I visited the countryside and pressing my Chinese friends for anything they knew.

Once a friend gave me a confidential government document that provides some indications of the scale of the problem. The document, prepared for leaders of the National People's Congress, said that the authorities had investigated 18,692 cases of the sale of women in 1990. It said that in 1989 and 1990, a total of 65,236 people were arrested for trafficking in women and children. At about the same time, the *People's Daily* reported that in a twelve-month period in 1989–90, some 10,000 abducted women and children had been rescued by the authorities. Presumably many more, the great majority, were never rescued.

With so many abducted women out there, I wanted to find one to interview. I cast my net, mentioning my aim to all my friends, but they were urban intellectuals and didn't know any peasants who had been sold into slavery. They didn't know people like Zhu Li.

Zhu Li is a young, dark-skinned woman, with a tired-looking face, rough and unrefined, and big brown eyes that, alas, are very timid. She is twenty-two years old, but the wind and the sun have taken away her youth. She looks old and haggard. She is short and silent, the kind of woman I wouldn't even notice if I walked by her on the street. But she is neatly dressed, and she seems very innocent.

Zhu is from a poor area in Henan Province, and her family of five earns only about $125 a year in gross income. From that her parents have to pay school fees for her brother and sister—Zhu herself dropped out of school after the second grade to help out at home—as well as a $9 fee to pave a nearby road. That leaves just enough to survive. Her village is also installing electricity now, and her family has been assessed $25 to help pay the costs—but they don't know where they'll get that money. The family also has to send people on work teams, just as peasants have had to do for thousands of years under the emperors.

"Our village organizes mine-digging groups," Zhu said. "When you go, you go for a full month. If you don't go, you have to pay fifty yuan. No one has that kind of money in our village. The officials send their thugs to the homes of whoever refuses to go, and they take grain as collateral for the money."

Then Zhu casually dropped the fact that she had been sold—that she was one of the examples of merchandise that I was looking for.

"Actually, I'm from Sichuan, from Daxian," she explained. "I still have a younger sister in Daxian. Eleven years ago, my mother was abducted by traders and sold to Henan. They sold her to my current father for coupons to buy eighty *jin* worth of grain. [A *jin* is a bit more than a pound.] I was taken along with my mother. The traders then tried to get more money from my stepfather. They said that if he didn't give them money, they'd take us away from him. He was stuck. He gave them 350 yuan, which in those days was about a year's income.

"Luckily, my stepfather is a kind man. He was very good to me and my mother, so we stayed with him. Now I have an eleven-year-old brother in Henan."

When I talked to officials, they acknowledged that women were bought and sold, but they said it occurred on only a small scale and only in isolated regions. "It happens in the remote mountainous areas, where the economy is backward, in places where women don't want to go to marry," said Wu Baoyu, an official in the All China Women's Federation in the southern boomtown of Xiamen. But then I began hearing that the Beijing labor market was a center for the female slave trade. The labor market is a narrow paved road, dusty and cluttered with garbage, where peasants gather every morning to look for work. Beijing residents go there to look for nannies, for construction laborers, for people to do odd jobs—and for women to kidnap. It is a strange place, a truly free market, for there are no regulations. In fact, it is outside the law. The police scoot everyone away several times throughout the day, and there are plainclothes policemen crawling throughout the place. In many ways it is as dangerous as it is filled with opportunity.

In the summer of 1993, the police caught a slave-trading gang that had abducted 1,800 women from the Beijing labor market and sold them to a remote area in Shanxi Province. It had taken a while to crack the case, for in one village a year earlier, a rural official had led the police to a suspect only to have the villagers knife the official.

A few months after those arrests, I was wandering through the market, trying to find a woman who'd been sold, when I found myself standing behind an old man in his sixties. He wore a gray windbreaker and a hat that partially hid his wrinkled forehead and beady eyes. He was walking up to some of the prettier out-of-town girls on the street.

"I'm looking for someone to frame pictures," he said as he approached one attractive, plump-faced young woman.

"Why are you looking for someone from out of town?" the woman asked, with extreme skepticism. "Framing pictures requires skill. Why don't you get someone from Beijing?"

"Well, er, I also want someone to help out in the house. I have three sons and a daughter, and I need a maid. We're a family of intellectuals. I need someone to help me out and to help frame pictures."

"Are you a painter?" asked a young man, butting in on the conversation. The old man didn't pay any attention to him.

"Do you paint? Are you a painter?" the young man asked again. "If you're an intellectual, what is your specialty?"

Finally, the old man turned to his challenger and said, "Why, I'm an intellectual. I do everything and anything."

The old man, whose uncouth way of speaking suggested he was a manual laborer, certainly did not look like an intellectual. So was he trying to deceive this woman, using the lure of a lucrative job to take her away and sell her as a wife? Sensing the suspicion around him, he beat a retreat. But it was easy to see how a naive peasant girl could be tricked. He offered what he said would be very good wages, a huge temptation to girls who have borrowed money from their families to get to Beijing and are trying to find any kind of work. I talked to some young women who were sleeping in front of the train station and starving themselves because they had no money but couldn't bear to return to their villages and disappoint their families.

"Old men are the ones we have to look out for the most," said a woman in her twenties who was sitting on the ground in the labor market. "They even treat you to nice meals, and you'd never suspect them. But they're the worst scoundrels. I've seen it. We're all warned. They come here and want you to be a maid, and you get there, and you're finished."

Where were the police when this old man was wandering through the labor market? The police don't need an excuse to detain someone, as Honggan, a Chinese intellectual, discovered one day. Honggan was helping me look for kidnapped women, and a plainclothes policeman finally detained her for interrogation. "Why are you here?" he asked. "Are you working for foreigners? This place is banned to foreign reporters." Honggan insisted that she wasn't working for any foreigners, and she was released. But it seemed to me that the police might be more useful if they looked for slave traders instead of for people helping foreign correspondents.

I was still eager to find a woman who'd been tricked by the slave traders. Zhu Li had been sold, but only as a girl accompanying her mother. I was searching for someone who had been marketed as a wife. Then, just a couple of weeks before I left Beijing, on a bright fall day in 1993, I met Zhu Qianyun.

Adorned by a new red sweater, Zhu Qianyun has long, jet-black hair and a face almost equally long, with smooth white skin surrounding a pair of dull and cautious eyes. It was only after I bribed her with some peanuts—she hadn't eaten for three days—that her story tumbled out, in a thick rural accent. "I was tricked for two and a half days," the twenty-four-year-old Zhu said. "They cheated me for two and a half days. I was cheated by traders."

Zhu was a proud woman who had come to Beijing from a small city in Henan Province. (Despite her name, she was not related to Zhu Li.) As soon as she arrived, there was a cold spell, so she ran out and spent most of her money on warm clothes. "Then three men and a woman in her thirties, a pretty woman, they came to me on the corner here and said they'd find me a job at a restaurant," she recalled. "We kept switching buses. We took the public bus and kept switching. We were somewhere near Dahongmen in the south of Beijing. They kept saying they would find the restaurant, but they never did. That made me suspicious. They kept saying for two days that they would find the restaurant.

"Finally we were having lunch at a noodle joint, and they started talking among themselves. I heard them say that they could sell me for 10,000 yuan. They wanted to go to Baoding to sell me.

"There was a small boy, too. He was really ugly. He was about this tall," she said as she held her hand out at chest height. "I think he was seven years old. I think they were going to sell him, too.

"When I heard them say these things, I ran away. Me, look at me. My life? I don't care about my life anymore. So I fought like hell, without caring if they'd kill me. I didn't care if I died. I just kicked and screamed with whatever was in me. I kicked one of the men down there, real hard, with my heels. You know, in his crotch. I kicked the woman in the same place. They reeled over in pain. They were afraid that I'd injured them for life, so the other men didn't dare touch me. They let me run, and I ran and got a bus back to the Beijing train station.

"I don't dare go to the police because I don't have any ID on me. I didn't take it with me when I left home. And I don't want to go back home because I got into a big fight with my sister. Besides, there's no money back where I live."

It would be too simplistic to say unequivocally that Chinese women lost ground in the 1980s and 1990s. The market economy gave them new opportunities and in some cases independence as well. But, on balance, it seems to me that while women gained on any absolute scale, they lost ground relative to men. As the party stopped fighting for equality, traditional attitudes reasserted themselves.

One measure of that was simply the presence of women in the top leadership of the country. In 1978, on the eve of the reforms, two women served on the Politburo. Since the late 1980s, however, no woman has held so lofty a post, and today no woman is even close. In 1978, 11.1 percent of the Central Committee members and their alternates were women; the proportion is 7.5 percent today. In 1993, the government selected women for just three out of the forty-one ministerial jobs, and there are indications that the proportion of female party members has also dropped.

The official line is that there are not enough women with the training to be promoted to senior positions. This is partly true. Seventy percent of China's illiterates are women, and one-third of women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five cannot read a newspaper. But in hamlets throughout China, the problem is being perpetuated. Visit any rural school and the principal will tell you that 100 percent or 98.6 percent or 96.9 percent or some other impressive proportion of elementary school–age children are attending school. Then drop by the nearby villages, and you see it's a lie. Everywhere there are young girls who have dropped out in the third grade, or the fifth grade. School fees often amount to twenty dollars a year in rural areas, a huge sum that parents often think isn't worth it—particularly for a mere *yatou*, or girl, who will soon be married into someone else's clan. So rural parents frequently keep their daughters at home to help with the chores while sending their sons to school.

Nick once traveled to a rural area in the Dabie Mountains of central China to find out about the dropout problem. In America there are "college towns" to serve as the intellectual focus for a region, and in the same way in rural China there are "elementary school villages" serving as the scholarly locus of a larger area. Nick visited the Yejuao Elementary School, whose 130 students come from about thirty little villages in the surrounding hills. Most stay six nights a week at the school, hiking home only on Saturday afternoons and returning the

ight. In Yejuao, as in many such remote schools, there are 50
nt more boys than girls.

ne of the star pupils at the school was Dai Manju, a shy, pint-
hirteen-year-old who wanted to be a craft teacher when she
up. Dai's parents were peasants in a hillside village two hours
by muddy trail, and they owned almost nothing. When Nick
ped by their home, about their only possession was a coffin for
girl's great-aunt. She was in fine health, they explained cheer-
, but it was best to be prepared. Dai was an ace student who
d school, even though she had to share a bed with several other
s, wear the same clothes all week, and put up with atrocious facil-
s. The school had no hot water, and the toilets were a set of three
door pits surrounded by a low wall. There was no lighting, so stu-
nts and teachers did not lightly answer the call of nature at night.
evertheless, Dai fervently wanted to stay in school, to pursue her
eam of becoming the first in her family ever to graduate from ele-
entary school. Dreams weren't enough, though. When Nick met
r, Dai had already dropped out of elementary school four times.

The problem was that her parents said they couldn't afford the
hool fees of about thirteen dollars a year, including room and
oard. When Nick saw Dai Manju, she was in school only because
ome teachers had hiked to her house and offered to pay part of the
ees out of their own wages.

There was an epilogue: Nick's story about Dai Manju and other elementary school dropouts landed on the front page of *The Times*, with a woeful picture of the girl. We were then flooded with inquiries from readers who wanted to pay for Dai's education. Most checks were for thirteen dollars, but some were for larger sums. One reader went to the trouble of going to Morgan Guaranty Trust and getting a bank draft for Chinese yuan, equivalent to one hundred dollars. Morgan Guaranty, unused to dealing with yuan, mistakenly dropped the decimal point in the exchange rate, which meant that the bank sent the equivalent of $10,000 instead of $100. After the money had safely arrived at the school and was being used in a fund to keep dropouts in class, Nick called up Morgan Guaranty and pointed out the error. The bank decided not to ask for the money back from the school. "Under the circumstances," said John M. Morris, a bank spokesman, "we're happy to make a donation of the difference."

It is a nice little tale—except that there are kids like Dai Manju all over China. The situation is improving, but rural China is still a terrible place for a girl to grow up.

Even the mortality statistics bear this out. In all parts of the world, male children die more often than girls. At birth there are more boys than girls, but after that it is the girls who are the survivors. In the first year of life, boys are 30 percent more likely to die. In Japan, for example, there are 133 dead infant boys for every 100 girls. In the United States the ratio is 131 to 100. But in China, only 112 boys die for every 100 girls.

What is skewing the statistics in China? Why are boys doing relatively better in China than in other countries? Presumably, because people treat sons better than daughters. They give them more food. They pay more attention to them. They are quicker to summon medical help for sons. It is not that they intentionally expose their daughters to mortal danger but that they take marginally greater risks with girls than with boys.

"If a boy gets sick, the parents may send him to the hospital at once," acknowledged Li Honggui, an official in China's State Family Planning Commission. "But if a girl gets sick, the parents may say to themselves, 'Well, we'll see how she is tomorrow.' "

Life is particularly harsh for women who are peasants. Liming, a twenty-eight-year-old peasant, taught me that. Life had left myriad lines on Liming's face, so that she looked more like thirty-five. She was bitter and almost ugly, a woman with a dark, long face that bore a perpetually sallow expression. Her lips were dry and her small eyes expressionless as she sat on the sidewalk one autumn day relating her story. Liming lived in Zhumadian in the north-central province of Henan, in a small village where the nation's regulations don't seem to matter.

China's marriage law stipulates that men can marry at age twenty-two, while women can take a husband when they are twenty. But in Zhumadian, most villagers get engaged when they are seventeen years old, sometimes even when they are fifteen, and they start living together right away. When they turn twenty, they can pay one hundred yuan as a bribe to buy a marriage certificate from the local officials. Liming herself wasn't exactly the village beauty and was still ngle at eighteen—and thus humiliated—while her younger brother as already engaged.

"My father was furious and often scolded me for bringing such disrace to the family," she said. "He found a matchmaker, but I rejected ne men that the matchmaker sent until finally, after I could take no nore of my father's yelling, I agreed to marry a boy, a nineteen-yearld. That year, I was twenty-three."

"How was I supposed to know that this young guy had gotten his ormer girlfriend pregnant eight months earlier?" Liming said, as ears streaked down her dirty face.

"We were basically married, but I soon learned that my man, who as a nice-looking man on the outside, I soon discovered that the nly thing he was good at doing was riding a bicycle everywhere like feudal prince on tour. He was good for nothing. He didn't do any vork, and we had no money. I had to borrow grain from my family, nd so my father and my brother looked down on me. My man and argued all the time. My father had given me a hundred yuan when got married, but my man took that from me and spent it all. When hat was gone, he started hitting and kicking me.

"Six months later, when I was five months pregnant, my man ound a new woman. Me, with my big stomach, I ran back home. In ny village, if you return home, you disgrace the family. My father ost face. He wouldn't let me return home. I could only run to my cousin's house, and that's where I gave birth. The baby was a girl. I vanted my man to give me money to raise my daughter, so I complained to the police station. The police told me that since I never got an official marriage certificate, my daughter wasn't protected under the law.

"At home, my mother was mistreated by both my father and my younger brother. But after this happened, I left my daughter with my mother and took a plunge by coming to Beijing.

"I had just given birth, but I needed money to raise my daughter. So I did everything, even heavy manual labor. I was weak and then got sick. I worked in a restaurant, but because my hands and legs were slow, I was fired.

"I was only twenty-four when I came to Beijing, and I was really naive. One evening, a sixty-year-old man told me he wanted to hire a maid, and so I went with him to the high-tech district, where his wife's mother and father lived. The old man took a shower, and when he finished, he told me to take a shower. When I came out, he raped me. I told him I would go to the police station. He laughed. 'I work in Tianjin. I've no home in Beijing. This is my wife's parents' home. It'll do you no good to go to the police station. Hmph! All I have to tell them is that you came here in the middle of the night to sell your body.' I was scared out of my wits. The old man threw me fifty yuan. I took it and quietly ran out of the house.

"Luckily, I found a nice family that took me in as a maid. But they moved to Hainan, and I was put out on the streets again. Someone then introduced me to a place outside Beijing called Yangzha. I became a waitress in a restaurant there, but the boss often laid his hands on me. He scolded me often, too. After ten days, I couldn't take it anymore, so I left to learn how to become a hairdresser at a place in the neighborhood. The boss there was Fujianese. He had hired a northeastern girl and a Sichuanese girl to help him. Those two girls, they would cut hair during the day and then sell their bodies at night. Once, when I was cutting the hair of a young man, he put his hand on my leg. I scolded him. That northeastern girl turned and criticized me. Then she turned to the customer and said, 'That woman is an old virgin. You won't get any sex from her.' A few days later, the boss came up to me and said, 'You aren't suitable for the work here. Why don't you leave?'

"Then I met someone from my hometown. He worked in a slaughterhouse. His boss asked me to work for him. The boss said to me, 'Even though you're married, there's no need to be old-fashioned around here. You shouldn't be offended by things around here. If you do what you're told, I'll give you some extra money.' I knew right away that this guy had something in mind, so I refused. That guy was a scoundrel. He hit me, so I ran away.

"Then I was a maid for a family named Jin. They are descendants of court officials in the Qing dynasty, and even now, they follow a strict code of manners. They always scolded me for not having refined behavior, and they were offended when I called the head of the household Big Brother. I worked there for half a month, and then I caught a cold. The family kicked me out. They originally agreed to pay me 100 to 150 yuan each month. But I didn't get a penny.

"I don't want to stay in Beijing any longer," Liming finally confessed. "But my father doesn't want me to go home. I don't know what I'm supposed to do. All I know is that I must find out whether I can get money from my husband to raise my daughter."

Only gradually did we become aware of the most outrageous way in which females have suffered since the reforms began in China. Women, after all, suffer discrimination in countries all over the world, and kidnapping and rape occur in the West as well as in China. But since the 1980s there has been a dramatic rise in the worst kind of discrimination: that which denies females even the right to exist.

Female infanticide has a long history in China—and for most of that time, it was not even frowned upon. Certainly, there was a vague sense that one ought not to kill infants, but infanticide was just one minor sin among many. For example, a popular moral text that was distributed widely during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries orders people not to kill babies. But the injunction against infanticide is simply one of a long list of things that people should not do, such as leaping over food served on the floor; stepping over a person lying on a floor mat; weeping, spitting, or urinating when facing north (the direction of the emperor); spitting at a shooting star; or pointing at a rainbow. If you committed these sins, the Arbiter of Human Destiny would shave three or three hundred days off your life. The text does not indicate that infanticide is any worse than, for example, urinating when facing north.

Infanticide was not considered terrible in part because babies were not considered fully human until they were one year old or had grown a full set of teeth. An old Chinese fable even describes a young couple who were rewarded by the gods for trying to kill their baby. The parents worried that their infant would take food that could better be used by the man's sick mother, so they buried the baby alive. This act of filial piety so touched the gods that they arranged for the couple to find a pile of gold as they dug their baby's grave. Clearly Chinese tradition placed more emphasis on filial piety than on parental responsibility.

Still, the Communist Party virtually eradicated female infanticide after 1949. Subsequent censuses showed no shortfall of infant girls—until the 1980s. Then the statistics showed hundreds of thousands of baby girls going missing each year, rising to more than a million a year in the early 1990s.

What changed? The population policy. In the 1950s, Mao purged a famous advocate of family planning and declared that more babies would make China more powerful. But in the late 1970s, China's leadership introduced the most coercive family planning program the world has ever known. One-child policy is a misnomer, because in some circumstances parents can have two or even more children. Herding families in remote parts of Xinjiang Province are in some cases even allowed to have four children. But for all the exceptions, the new policy was a draconian attempt to curb family size, and peasants typically found themselves limited to one or two children.

Particularly if the first child was a girl, they didn't want to "waste" the last opportunity on another girl. Peasants want sons, not daughters, for many reasons. Lineage passes down through only the male line, so a man with daughters but no sons has no descendants. Moreover, daughters marry into other families while sons have the obligation to look after their parents in old age. Boys also are regarded as more adept at field work. Finally, there is peer pressure. A woman will be scolded by her mother-in-law until she produces a son, and she may even be divorced by her husband if she does not. Many rural couples feel that they have not accomplished life's mission until they have produced a baby complete with a penis.

Before the new family planning policy, a couple could afford to raise daughters and simply try again for a son. Now that is no longer feasible. A woman who breaks the rules by having an extra child faces huge fines, the prospect of her home being knocked down, and the likelihood of being forced to undergo sterilization. Some parents figure this would be worthwhile if the pregnancy resulted in a son, but not if it led to another daughter.

The scale of the problem is evident only as a shadow in the statistics. Normally, people of all races have 105 or 106 male births for every 100 female births. Since males die at higher rates than females, the sex ratio should even out by marriage age; then in old age there are typically far more women than men. The problem is that in China the sex ratio at birth is much higher than 105 to 100. We started seeking explanations from officials and scholars in the late 1980s, when new statistics showed a ratio of between 110 and 112 newborn boys for every 100 girls. The State Family Planning Commission temporized, suggesting that it was arrogant of Westerners to assume that China would necessarily have the same sex ratio as other untries. In fact, however, the People's Republic of China had a rmal sex ratio in its 1953 census and its 1964 census, the only ones nducted before the one-child policy was adopted. In 1953, there ere 104.9 newborn boys for every 100 girls. In 1964 there were 03.8 boys for 100 girls. It was only in the 1982 census, after the mily planning crackdown, that the ratios began to creep up.

Moreover, even now, for firstborn infants, China has a fairly noral sex ratio, of about 106 to 100. It is only the later-born infants hat are disproportionately male. Among fifth-born children, the atio is more than 125 to 100. Presumably this is because couples will ccept a daughter if she is their first child, because they expect that hey can find a way legally or illegally to have another child.

Meanwhile, the problem is getting worse. In 1992, the authorities were stunned by the results of a new government-sponsored survey which showed that the sex ratio for newborn infants had reached 118.5 boys for every 100 girls. If the norm is taken to be 105.5, then more than 12 percent of all Chinese baby girls go missing each year. That adds up to more than 1.7 million missing girls annually.

This does not mean, of course, that 1.7 million girls are killed each year. The majority are probably born safely but simply never reported to the authorities. One study found that several hundred thousand girls are informally "adopted" by friends or relatives each year, and others are quietly raised by their own parents without anybody paying attention. Only a small minority are likely to be killed, drowned in the bucket of water that some midwives keep at the bedside in case the baby is a girl. But whether a small minority means 10,000 cases of infanticide a year or 100,000 or 300,000 or even more, nobody knows.

Technology also conspired against females in the 1980s. As early as 1979, China began manufacturing ultrasound scanners, which use sound waves to generate a picture of the inside of a human body. By the end of the 1980s, China each year was importing more than 2,000 ultrasound scanners and making 10,000 of its own. One Chinese demographer has estimated that 100,000 ultrasound scanners were in place around the country by 1990. The scanners are supposed to be used to help doctors see problems in livers and other internal organs, as well as to check whether fetuses are developing properly. In addition, the family planning authorities use them to confirm that women are still wearing their IUDs. The catch is that ultrasound scanners can also be used to gain a rough idea of whether a fetus is male or female. As a result, expectant parents found that they could get an unscrupulous doctor to tell them whether they were likely to have a boy or a girl. If they were told to expect a daughter, they requested an abortion.

This practice had become hugely popular by the early 1990s. It may well be that in China today the modern machine that is having the most far-reaching impact on society is not the personal computer, the fax, or even the car but rather the ultrasound scanner. Of the 1.7 million missing girls each year, perhaps the largest number were simply detected before birth by ultrasound and aborted.

In 1993 Nick traveled to a series of rural villages in Fujian Province and chatted with the peasants about ultrasound. Even the most uneducated hillbillies had heard of it. And they loved it. As a violent rainstorm pounded the paddies of one village, a half-dozen peasants sat around a stone hut and spoke with glee about the new age of ultrasound.

"Everyone has boys now," Y. H. Chen said in a tone of awe, as the others nodded agreement. "Last year we had only one girl born in the village—everybody else had boys. You go to the doctor and pay him 200 or 300 yuan. He tells you if your wife is pregnant with a boy or a girl. Then if it's a girl, you get an abortion."

Chen's brother, Y. C. Chen, interrupted: "One family here in the village has five girls. They were desperate for a son, so they kept on having another child in the hope that it would be a son. But now you don't need to do that. Now technology is changing things."

The emergence of a market economy is partly to blame, for more and more doctors are setting up private practices, and even state-run hospitals are becoming more attuned to the need to raise funds. In either case, they buy ultrasound equipment because such machines are among the most profitable medical equipment available. In a busy clinic, an ultrasound machine can be used on more than a hundred patients a day, and the machine operator faces little risk of being caught taking bribes in exchange for revealing the sex of the fetus.

The Chens' brother-in-law, for example, is a private pharmacist who last year bought his own ultrasound machine. A Chinese-made machine costs only a bit more than $1,000, and he can charge pregnant women up to $50 each for a brief consultation on the sex of the fetus.

One problem is that ultrasound scans are not very reliable for sex
termination, not nearly as reliable as more complex tests like
nniocentesis. Moreover, a doctor cannot make an educated guess
out the sex of the fetus until the second trimester, when an abor-
on is a much more difficult procedure than at the beginning of
egnancy. There are many stories of women going to clinics late in
e second trimester to ask for abortions, even though they have gov-
nment permission to give birth. Usually the fetuses turn out to be
emale, but when one is a boy—about 20 percent of the time, pre-
umably because the ultrasound operator made a mistake—the
nother becomes hysterical with shock and grief.

A Chinese newspaper, *China Information News*, reported that
ltrasound was used in 2,316 cases in one county to determine the
ex of a fetus, resulting in the abortion of 1,006 female fetuses.
Another official newspaper, *Public Security News*, said that in a dis-
trict of Ouhai County in Zhejiang Province, a survey of seventy-four
aborted fetuses found that sixty-eight were female.

"Ultrasound is just like nuclear technology," *Public Security News* lamented in late 1993. "It is a wonderful thing for society, yet it also brings great tragedy." In a sign of alarm at the sex ratio, the official press is beginning to warn that today's infant boys will be unable to find wives in twenty years' time. Yet aside from vague warnings about "bachelor villages" multiplying in the countryside, no one is exploring the social consequences that may arise in a nation with a huge surplus of males. To be sure, China is not the only country facing this problem. Throughout Asia, with its historic preference for boys, ultrasound scanners and other medical technologies are being used to check the sex of fetuses so that females can be aborted. Apparently largely because of ultrasound scans, the sex ratio of newborn children in South Korea is about 113 boys to 100 girls. But in China the problem is unusually severe because of the family planning policy. As the Communist Party loses control and authority, it is difficult to see how it will control the illicit use of ultrasound for sex selection. Although the practice has been banned since 1987, it has steadily gotten worse. In five of China's thirty provinces, the sex ratio has risen to 120 boys for every 100 girls.

What will China be like in fifteen or twenty years if there are far more eligible men than women? What will its society be like if one-fifth of all its men never find partners?

The starkest indication that women face problems in China is statistical: At least 30 million females are missing in China.

Partly because women ordinarily live longer, they should outnumber men. In most industrialized countries, where males and females get equal access to food and medicine, there are about 5 percent more females than males in the overall population.

In China, however, the 1990 census showed only 93.8 women for every 100 men. Moreover, the imbalance is getting worse, for in the 1982 census the ratio was 94.1 females for 100 males. The statistics are extremely complex and subject to different interpretations, but even a conservative analysis suggests that 5 percent of Chinese females are missing. Thirty million of them—that means little girls, teenagers, young women, and old grandmas.

Where are these missing females? Some were killed at birth in the 1930s and 1940s and so are not present as elderly women today. Some died as girls because they were not given adequate food, clothing, and health care. Some died in the 1958–1961 famine because their parents saved the rice for their brothers. Some are the female fetuses of just the last few years who were discovered by ultrasound and then aborted.

Other countries, such as Afghanistan and India, also have huge numbers of missing women. But not all poor countries are discriminatory: Sub-Saharan Africa has more women than men. The problem, it seems, is particularly acute in Asia and the Arab world.

What if Grandpa hadn't left China, I thought, and I'd been born in China. I was born in 1959, early in the great famine in which 30 million died. Would I have had to compete with my younger brother, Darrell, for food? And if there hadn't been enough food to go around—what then? Would I have been one of those 30 million females missing from China's population today?

That thought certainly wasn't on my mind when I first arrived in China. I was then quite sympathetic to China's family planning efforts, for the country clearly has a huge population problem. It seemed to me that one major reason to be more optimistic about China than about India is that China appears to have defused the population bomb.

Yet at what a cost! The family planning authorities routinely force young women to undergo abortions and sterilization. The township authorities send teams into the villages once or twice a year to collect all the women who are due to be fitted with an IUD or to be sterilized. Some run away, in hopes that they can remain fertile and have another baby, and the authorities then send goons to the women's relatives in other villages, even in other provinces, to find and sterilize them. Usually they do not have to drag a woman to the operating table; when half a dozen young men surround her home and order her to come out, she may not see much sense in fighting back.

Take Wu Xinlian, a thirty-year-old peasant who was born a member of my clan, the Wu family of Shun Shui village in Guangdong Province. I met her when I returned to my ancestral village to interview people about family planning, among other topics. Wu grew up in my village and later married into another clan. She had two daughters—she was bouncing her younger one in her arms as she talked to me—but her dream was to have a son. The problem, of course, was that since she already had two children, the officials insisted that she be sterilized.

The women in my clan are a plucky lot, however. When the family planning authorities swept into the village where Wu lived with her husband, preparing to take her and other women to the clinic to be sterilized, she fled to her parents' home in Shun Shui. She stayed there, planning to meet her husband secretly and become pregnant. But the authorities discovered her whereabouts and sent two dozen officials to take her to a hospital for her tubal ligation. She didn't dare refuse. How could she?

"I have no idea how they found out I was here," Wu told me, cuddling her younger daughter. "I really wanted a boy."

Another member of my clan, a man named Wu Tiaoyuan, was luckier. He and his thirty-three-year-old wife hid for several months while she was pregnant with their third child. She finally gave birth in February 1992 to the son they had always wanted. "We kept moving around from village to village," he told me. "It was very hard, and I was scared."

My mind raced as I listened to these distant relatives of mine. I wondered what Wu Tiaoyuan and his wife would have done if, after their months of hiding, their third child had turned out to be a girl as well. It would have been impossible to remain in hiding for two or three more years and have a fourth try (rural mothers often breastfeed their babies for a year or two, delaying the chance of becoming pregnant again). So would they have accepted fate and returned to their village with their infant daughter to accept the fines and sterilization? Or would they, in their torment, have told the midwife to plunge their baby daughter into a bucket of water?

My other thought as I stood in Shun Shui, near the house where my grandfather had lived, was more personal. As I listened to Wu Xinlian talk wistfully and painfully about her yearning for a boy, I began to wonder about how my grandparents had felt when I was born. Grandpa had left his first wife back in the village because she didn't bear him a son, but it would all have been to no avail if Dad had failed to have a son as well. The family line would have ended with Dad, and there would be nobody to sweep the family graves and bribe the gods to look after Grandpa. I thought, with sudden pain—and anger—that they must have been enormously disappointed when their only son's first child was a girl. Perhaps in some way I had brought shame to the family.

My parents never ever gave the slightest hint that they had first wanted a boy, and I have never asked them about this. If it had mattered at one time, I know it doesn't matter now—in part because my brother, Darrell, has dutifully pursued the Chinese-American dream by earning both an M.D. and a Ph.D. and practicing medicine. I know that Mom and Dad are open-minded, but even if they had no personal preference, I wondered if they had felt pressure for their firstborn to be a son. Was I a disappointment? Were their two other wonderful daughters also a letdown? The thought gnawed at me. I know the burden of these pressures, for when I was pregnant my Chinese friends kept taking guesses at whether my baby was a boy or a girl. It was clear that many thought a girl would be fine but a boy would be better.

In the United States, I never could decide whether I wanted boys or girls as children. But in China, when I had Gregory, I was a bit relieved that he was a boy. It just made life easier, and China is not even my home. I remember calling up Lihua, a Chinese journalist friend of mine, to tell her about my newborn baby. At first, there was silence on the other end of the line, and she asked, "Is it a boy or a girl?" I told her, and only then did she extend congratulations. I can imagine the anxieties the millions of Chinese mothers must feel when they are about to give birth, particularly those who will not be allowed to have another baby. Many around them will see it as life's most important exam, a pass-fail test in which half the people fail.

Infanticide and ultrasound sex selection appall me, but I can derstand how—when faced with such an important exam—people el the urge to cheat.

hatever one thinks of the one-child policy, this is not just the ommunist Party looking after its own interests. People often ebate whether the party has any principles anymore, but I think that e family planning policy is proof that it does—warped principles, erhaps, but principles nonetheless. The restrictive family planning olicy earns the party no favor; in fact, it is one of the most hated feaures of party rule. Most peasants don't care much about democracy, ut they often have a visceral hatred for anyone who prevents them rom having more sons. So the party is exercising genuine leadership nd it is paying a political price in popularity to do what it thinks is ight.

But is it right? Whenever we went to villages, we asked about family planning, and we found that the policy caused enormous pain. It often punished the poorest and most miserable peasants by destroying their homes and taking what little they had.

One particular vignette stays with me, from my unauthorized taxi ride around Guizhou Province (the same ride that introduced me to Luo Qingguo, the man who couldn't afford pants for his children). It happened in a tiny hillside hamlet when I peered inside the dilapidated makeshift hut of a couple who had had a son the previous year. The father's parents lived next door, in a larger hut put together from thick branches, brush, straw, and stones gathered along the hillside. The floors were dirt. It was not a countryside view of lush green fields and fresh air. Instead, everywhere I looked there was brown dirt and mud, gray stones and dry wood. The only fragrance I could pick out was of human and animal waste.

The family had had the misfortune to be caught up in a nationwide crackdown by the family planning authorities. The baby was a second child, and the parents had not waited the full four years before a second child is allowed in that area. The baby was born five months before it would have been permitted.

Four days after his birth, a brigade of ten men and women came from the township to spoil the celebration. They demolished the family's original home, strewing stones and straw all over the place.

Then they demanded the equivalent of forty-five dollars, or one year of the couple's meager income, and when the family could not pay, they smashed the parents' chest of drawers—their only furniture aside from a bed.

"They took away our family cow," said Peng Dagui, the sixty-year-old head of the household and grandfather of the baby boy. "I wouldn't let the cow out of my sight. I followed it all the way to the township and pleaded with the officials there. But they didn't care."

Three months later, two dozen officials appeared in the village to take the baby's mother, Wang Zhengmei, to the clinic to be sterilized. Wang, a twenty-seven-year-old with long hair and frightened eyes, did not dare refuse, and, in any case, she was told that she would get $3.50 if she had the operation. She had a tubal ligation, but the officials never gave her the money.

At least rebuilding a home was easier in the Guizhou countryside than it would have been in a city. The baby's father, Peng Fagang, rebuilt the hut in a month from stones and dry grass collected in the fields. The only consolation for the Pengs was that they were not alone: The officials had done the same thing to another family in the village.

This crackdown, which began in early 1991, was the product of a new strategy to get localities to tighten enforcement of the rules. The nation's leaders announced that they were implementing a "responsibility system" for family planning targets. They called in the provincial governors and party secretaries and warned them that if their provinces had too many births, they would be held personally accountable. In other words, they would be fired. The provincial governors became alarmed, called in the county leaders, and passed on the warning. And so it went down to the village level. The result was that the rules were tightened only modestly, but enforcement and punishments were made much harsher.

There was not much impact on people in the cities, but for the 900 million peasants the consequences were enormous. In 1992, the total fertility rate—the expected number of live births for a woman in her childbearing career—dropped to 1.86, the first time it had ever dropped below two births per couple. China had reached targets it had not expected to meet until the year 2010. It would be difficult to imagine any policy anywhere in the world having such a huge effect on the daily lives of so many people.

Where were we at the time? Asleep. I'm embarrassed to say that, for two years, we didn't notice this extraordinary event. Neither did diplomats, scholars, or Chinese intellectuals. It was one of the major policy decisions of that period, but because it happened in the Chinese countryside, nobody had a clue. That is a pretty good indictment of the state of China watching today.

The matriarch of the family planning system is a tubby, beaming grandmother named Peng Peiyun. One of eight children herself, Peng has four children of her own, all born before the one-child policy was dreamed up. Now she oversees the sterilization of millions of women each year. Peng claims that the authorities use persuasion to encourage families to have fewer children. Force, she says, is prohibited—although she can't cite a single example of a family planning worker who has been punished for using force.

She should talk to the people I met in Guizhou.

"Please, can you tell me, ultimately, what is the nation's family planning policy?" a forty-five-year-old grade-school teacher asked when I was in another small village in Guizhou. In 1983, he and his wife had a second child, three years after they had had their first. He had thought that this was permissible. But the policy had apparently changed, so officials fined him $2,456, about seventeen times his annual salary at that time. Since he did not have the money, they deducted it from his salary, docking about 80 percent of his wages for a decade. These fines by installment plan turned out to be common, probably because otherwise no one could pay them.

"They often take things, your furniture, your cow, your pig, your chickens, your preserved meat," said a thirty-five-year-old woman in another village in Guizhou. "If you get sterilized, they take your stuff, and if you don't get sterilized, they beat you. Some people have been beaten badly, family members and women. They take electric batons, and they hit whomever they see."

She and other villagers were gathered in the house of Huang Guohai, a thirty-seven-year-old peasant who has two children, six years apart. Careless with formalities, as peasants in remote areas often are, Huang never got a marriage license when he married eleven years ago. Because he had no license, a brigade of ten people, wielding sticks and screwdrivers, came to his house in 1992 at one o'clock in the morning to punish him for breaking family planning rules—he wasn't quite sure which ones. They took away his washbasin and black-and-white television. What upset Huang the most, however, was that they confiscated the coffin and funeral clothes he had prepared for his aged mother, to be used when she dies. But there was nothing he could do: "If you don't let them take your things, you'll just get beaten."

Under the responsibility system for family planning, local cadres went out of control all over China. In 1993 we obtained a classified document, *Cankao Xuanpian,* with an account of obstetric atrocities in Hunan Province. Under China's complex quota system for births, the county officials wanted certain babies born in 1992 rather than 1993. "Some district and township officials feared that they would be fined for not meeting the family planning targets, or would not receive their bonuses," the report declares.

So at the end of December the family planning officials formed an "early birth shock brigade" to round up nine women so labor could be induced before the end of the calendar year. On December 30, the team showed up at the home of Li Qiuliang, a twenty-three-year-old who was seven months pregnant. Li had a permit to have her child, and she had broken no rule. Li's mother-in-law pleaded with the officials: "My daughter-in-law's health isn't good, and she may not be able to get pregnant again," the report quotes the woman as saying. "So let her have one baby, someone to look after her and my son when they grow old. It doesn't matter if it's a boy or a girl. After it's born, she'll go get sterilized."

The officials rejected the plea. And at the first-aid station, when the doctor said Li was too frail to undergo induced labor, they swept his protests aside and ordered him to proceed. Li bled severely, fell unconscious, and almost died. As for the baby, it lived for just nine hours.

Family members took Li to the township clinic, which saved her life. Now she has returned home, but the report says she is crippled, without specifying the nature of her injuries. A local official who confirmed the accuracy of the report also told Nick that the only governmental response had been to summon the officials responsible for the early birth shock brigade to a meeting, where they were told not to induce labor in the future. The State Family Planning Commission declined to comment. After Nick's story on Li Qiu-appeared on page one of *The Times*, the Chinese government furious. Neither Peng Peiyun nor any other top official had been ested in the case when it appeared in *Cankao Xuanpian*, but that it was in *The Times* they swung into action. Shortly after- , they published a rebuttal stating that the classified report had wrong: Li Qiuliang's baby had been due in mid-January, not in ch, and she gave birth on December 31 at the end of the normal ation period. The rebuttal finessed the question of whether had been induced and suggested that the baby would have anyway.

is of course entirely possible that the classified document was It is conceivable that the county official reached on the tele- e also chose to lie. Government reports normally whitewash lems, but it's impossible to prove that in this case the officials aring the report didn't exaggerate the case instead.

f course, I tend to believe the original document, because I've d Chinese officials to be pathological liars. But until the govern- t allows people to travel freely, so that journalists can interview iuliang herself, we can't be sure.

en Nick and I wrote stories about forced abortion and steriliza- we received reproachful letters from organizations like Zero ulation Growth that support family planning programs. On the r side of the spectrum, the die-hard congressional critics of abor- were delighted with our stories because they gave them tools which to attack China. Such reactions distressed us, because le often seemed to have formed their own conclusions long re they looked at the evidence. Even experts debated the policy vacuum, without ever going out and talking—without an rt—to some ordinary peasants. Visitors would be far better off ng to peasants and skipping the State Family Planning Com- ion, rather than the other way around.

iews of China's family planning program are so polarized that ost no one ever tries to wrestle with the hard question: How h coercion is legitimate in controlling a nation's swelling popula- ? The family planning lobbies refuse to acknowledge the enor- s suffering that China's policy causes in the countryside. And the abortion crowd refuses to recognize that China really does have an urgent need to control its population: 22 percent of the world's people are living on 7 percent of the world's arable land.

As for me, however much I sympathized with China's need to control its population, it was impossible not to feel that the one-child policy was out of control. I now regard China's family planning policy as a major mistake, for two reasons.

First, I find it morally offensive. It puts too much power into the hands of corrupt local officials, who sometimes pocket the family planning fines themselves. The policy also leaves hundreds of millions of peasants miserable. Forced sterilizations and forced abortions strike me as particularly repugnant. It is one thing to support legalized abortion as a choice—among other forms of contraception—but quite another to support a system in which township cadres swoop down on villages and abduct pregnant women.

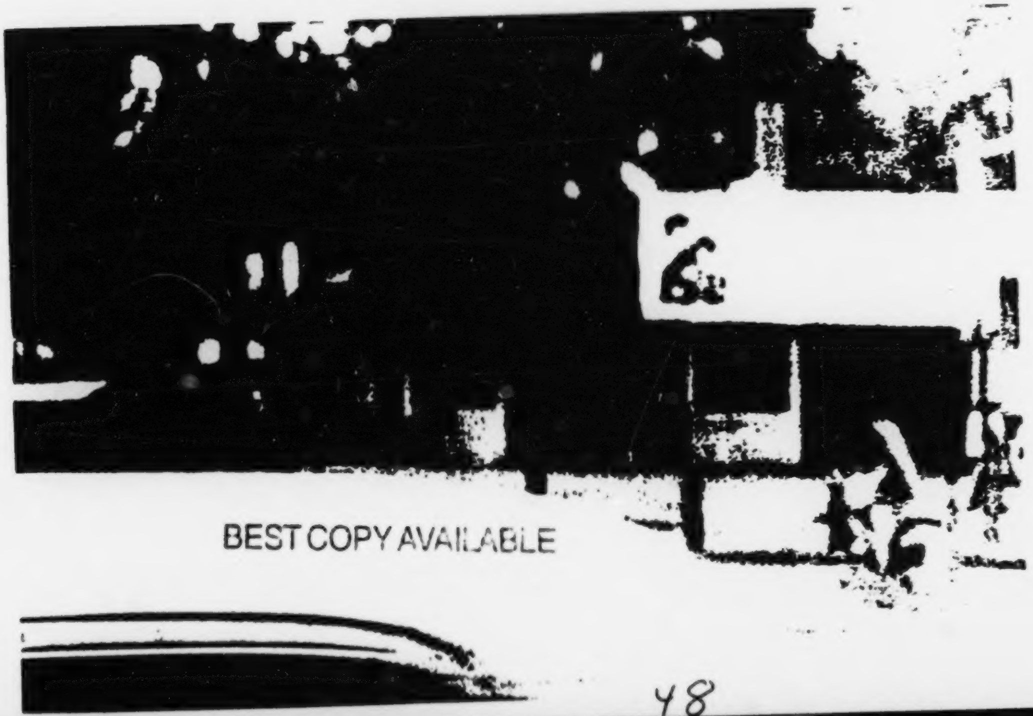
Second, China may have a brighter future if it has a smaller population, but not if there is a 20 percent shortfall of girls and young women. I see no way in which China can maintain a very restrictive policy without aggravating the imbalance in the sex ratio, particularly as ultrasound machines and eventually amniocentesis become more common. I suspect that China would be a healthier place with a larger, more balanced population than it would be with a smaller population masking a large surplus of males.

I agree that China desperately needs some sort of family planning policy, but I hope that it can move to a less brutal kind of coercion, like the kind that gets Americans to pay taxes or to obey parking rules. Coercion, in the sense of reasonable rewards and punishments, may well be legitimate. But the government needs to retreat from forced sterilization and forced abortion, from knocking down homes, from confiscating the cows of impoverished peasants. Instead, it should rely on fines and subsidies, coupled with intensive counseling, education, and rural development programs, particularly aimed at raising the status of women. We shouldn't fool ourselves: This won't work as well as contraceptive terrorism. China will end up with more people and will perhaps be a poorer country. But at least on my next trip to the hillside villages of Guizhou, I won't see penniless peasant women who've had a baby a bit too soon and consequently lost their homes, their livestock, and their ovaries.

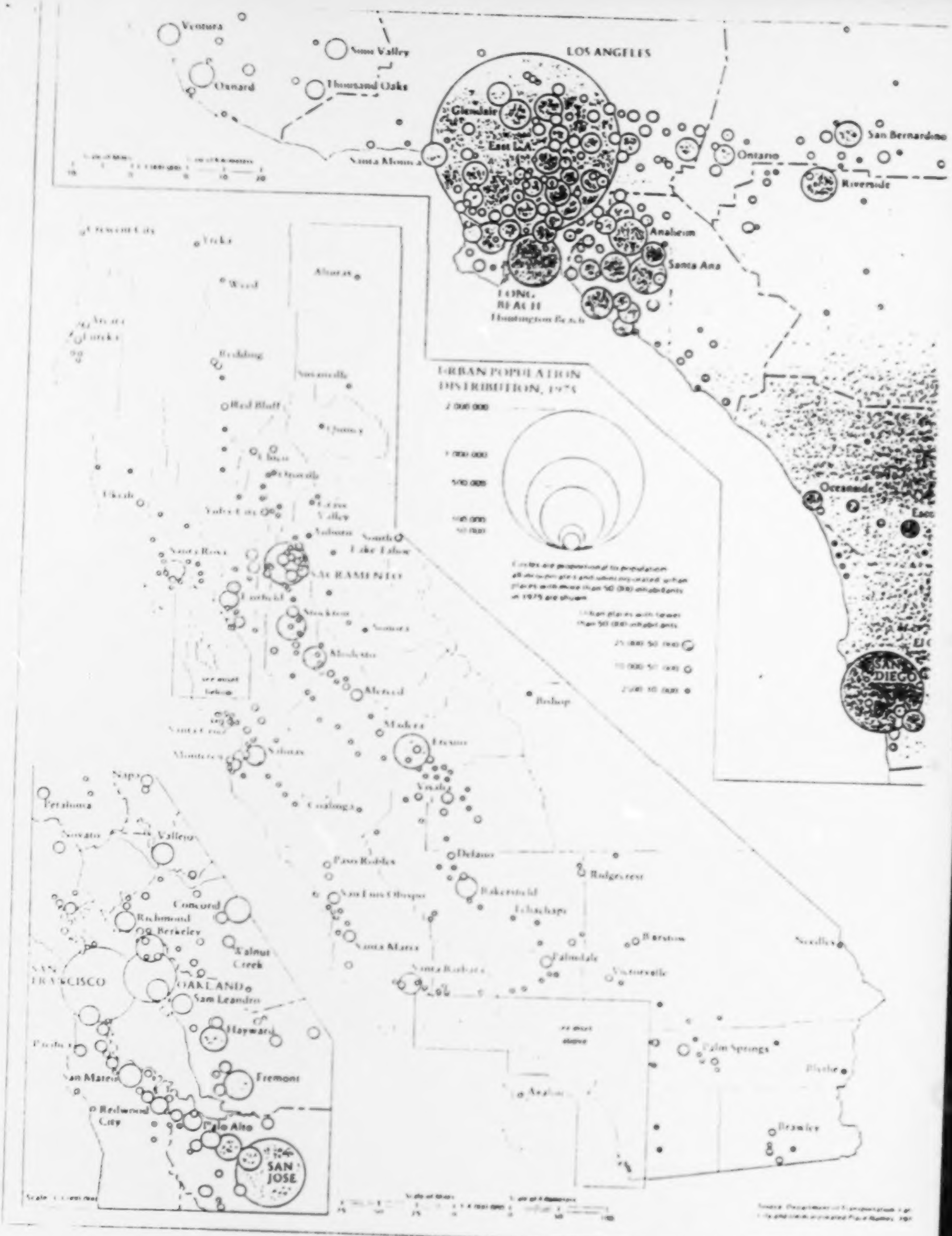
伍潔芳

APPENDIX 4

ONE
CHILD
FAMILY
POSTERS



A TYPICAL SCENE. ONE CHILD FAMILIES


URBAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1975
2 000 000
1 000 000
500 000
100 000
50 000
Circles are proportional to population. All incorporated and unincorporated urban places with more than 50 000 inhabitants in 1975 are shown.
Urban places with fewer than 50 000 inhabitants
25 000–50 000
10 000–25 000
2 500–10 000
LOS ANGELES
Ventura
Oxnard
Simi Valley
Thousand Oaks
Santa Monica
Glendale
East L.A.
San Bernardino
Ontario
Riverside
Anaheim
Santa Ana
LONG BEACH
Huntington Beach
Oceanside
SAN DIEGO
Crescent City
Yreka
Weed
Alturas
Arcata
Eureka
Redding
Susanville
Red Bluff
Quincy
Chico
Oroville
Ukiah
Yuba City
Grass Valley
Auburn
South Lake Tahoe
Santa Rosa
SACRAMENTO
Fairfield
Stockton
Sonora
Modesto
Merced
Bishop
Madera
Fresno
Santa Cruz
Salinas
Monterey
Visalia
Coalinga
Paso Robles
Delano
Ridgecrest
San Luis Obispo
Bakersfield
Tehachapi
Santa Maria
Barstow
Needles
Palmdale
Victorville
Santa Barbara
see inset above
Palm Springs
Avalon
Blythe
Brawley
see inset below
Napa
Petaluma
Novato
Vallejo
Concord
Richmond
Berkeley
Walnut Creek
SAN FRANCISCO
OAKLAND
San Leandro
Pacifica
Hayward
San Mateo
Fremont
Redwood City
Palo Alto
SAN JOSE

IPPENDIX 6

各级普通学校女学生数

Number of Female Students of Regular Schools by Level & Type

单位：万人
in 10 thousand

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1995年比1990年递增(%) Average Increase Rate from the Year 1990 to 1995
研究生 Graduate Education		2.04	2.34	2.75	3.40	4.01	
普通高等学校 Reg. Inst. of Higher Education Undergraduates	69.51	68.25	73.6	85.2	96.4	102.90	8.16
中等专业学校 Specialized Sec. Schools	101.99	103.82	111.1	133.7	156.2	187.10	12.90
中等技术学校 Sec. Technical Schools	66.48	68.63	74.5	92.3	109.5	135.20	15.25
中等师范学校 Teacher Training Schools	35.51	35.19	36.6	41.4	46.7	51.90	7.89
普通中学 General Sec. Schools	1920.11	1997.64	2056.5	2071.7	2207.0	2407.50	4.63
职业中学 Vocational Schools	133.65	143.63	158.2	169.4	193.8	218.20	10.30
工读学校 Correctional Work-study Schools	0.05	0.045	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	3.71
小学 Primary Schools	5655.52	5654.64	5685.6	5815.9	6035.3	6241.10	1.99
特殊教育学校 Special Education Schools	2.76	3.28	5.0	6.4	7.8	10.85	31.49
幼儿园 Kindergartens	936.92	1038.36	1140.9	1197.6	1230.1	1267.60	6.23

各级普通学校女教师数

Female Teachers of Regular Schools by Level & Type

单位：万人
in 10 thousand

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1995年比1990年递增(%) Average Increase Rate from the Year 1990 to 1995
普通高等学校 Reg. Inst. of Higher Education Undergraduates	11.48	11.58	11.6	12.0	12.7	13.20	2.83
中等专业学校 Specialized Sec. Schools	8.87	9.00	9.3	9.7	10.2	10.70	3.82
中等技术学校 Sec. Technical Schools	6.85	6.98	7.2	7.5	7.9	8.30	3.91
中等师范学校 Teacher Training Schools	2.02	2.02	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.40	3.51
普通中学 General Sec. Schools	95.57	99.99	104.5	107.8	112.1	119.20	4.52
职业中学 Vocational Schools	7.05	7.70	8.3	9.0	9.9	10.80	8.90
工读学校 Correctional Work-study Schools	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.00
小学 Primary Schools	240.88	242.27	245.9	250.7	257.0	264.00	1.85
特殊教育学校 Special Education Schools	1.00	1.15	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.73	11.59
幼儿园 Kindergartens	72.17	72.62	77.0	78.7	81.6	82.70	2.76

APPENDIX 7

全国各级普通学校在校学生数
Enrolment of Regular Schools in China by Level & Type

单位:万人
Unit:10 Thousand

	1949	1980	1985	1990	1993	1994
一、研究生(人) Graduate Education (Person)	629	21604	87331	93018	106771	127935
二、普通高等学校本专科 Undergraduate Education in Regular HEIs	11.65	114.37	170.31	206.27	253.55	279.86
三、普通中等学校 General Sec. Schools	127.05	5747.83	5167.46	5239.19	5558.14	5894.70
1. 中等专业学校 Specialized Sec. Schools	22.88	124.34	157.11	224.44	282.03	319.79
中等技术学校 Sec. Technical Schools	7.71	76.13	101.29	156.71	209.83	241.40
中等师范学校 Teachers Training Schools	15.17	48.21	55.82	67.73	72.20	78.39
2. 技工学校 Skilled Worker Schools	0.27	70.04	74.17	133.17	173.90	187.09
3. 普通中学 General Sec. Schools	103.90	5508.08	4705.96	4585.96	4739.11	4981.66
高　中 Senior	20.72	969.79	741.13	717.31	656.91	664.80
初　中 Junior	83.18	4538.29	3964.83	38683.65	4082.20	4316.86
4. 职业中学 Vocational Schools	—	45.37	229.57	295.01	362.59	405.61
高　中 Senior	—	31.92	184.34	247.13	306.35	342.56
初　中 Junior	—	13.45	45.23	47.88	56.24	63.05
5. 工读学校 Reformatory Work-study Schools	—	...	0.65	0.61	0.51	0.55
四、小学 Primary Schools	2439.10	14627.00	13370.20	12241.38	12421.24	12822.62
五、特殊教育学校 Special Education Schools	...	3.31	4.17	7.20	16.86	21.14
六、幼儿园 Kindergartens	...	1150.80	1479.70	2428.21	2552.54	2630.27

CHINA CHOOSES

A SIMULATION

A TEACHING UNIT
SUBMITTED TO
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
U.S.- CHINA RELATIONS

BY
Richard Celio
January, 1998

I.
OVERVIEW

Among the important themes which should be part of current secondary school social studies curriculum units on the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), none is more elusive than teaching about the trends and direction of China's "new economy". Many reforms are evident, but it is difficult to gauge their extent or their impact.

High school students who encounter the abstractions of economics must be extensively engaged if they are to understand the crucial decisions which Chinese policymakers face. This activity brings Chinese economic policy decisions into the classroom.

This lesson is a simulation game. In a simulation students assume the roles of real or hypothetical characters, whose roles are described and whose goals in the game are defined as the way to "win" the game if they can be achieved first or best. Various roles are set into competition as they progress toward their goals. The more effectively students "play their roles", the better their chances of achieving their goals. At the conclusion of the simulation game, roles, goals, and outcomes are reviewed and evaluated. In this way simulations offer an engaging learning experience as sudents encounter curricular issues and problems in a first-person setting.

Thsi activity simulates a meeting of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party. Members of differing ages, backgrounds and ideological orientations create a spectrum which is likely to cause debate about the options concerning several government policies. Ten to twelve Politburo Members make up one "team". Five Policy Analysts appear before the Politburo, each explaining and advocating choices on these government policies. They are joined by Data Persons who bolster the Analysts' recommendations with supportive evidence. Thus the five Policy Analysts and Data Persons form another set of "teams". The teams are actually in competition within their own ranks. The Politburo interviews the presenters of policy options, debates their value, is subject to "lobbying" by the presenters, and finally "chooses" a policy to pursue by voting in secret ballots. The Politburo Member(s) who choose the "correct" mix of policy options will win the game, while the presenters who receive the most votes will also win. In the process students learn some of the important economic and political decisions which currently confront the Chinese leadership. Students also visualize the various trends and directions which the PRC may follow.

II.
GRADE LEVEL / TIME ALLOTMENT

This activity is designed for grade 10-12 high school students. It is appropriate for heterogeneously grouped students in courses on world civilizations, cultures or history. It may be included as an enrichment activity or a higher-order thinking experience at the culmination of a teaching unit on China. Some background knowledge of Chinese history and culture is a prerequisite for understanding the context of the simulation. A two or three week teaching unit on China will normally provide sufficient grounding for students to participate effectively in the simulation.

The simulation game itself, including preparations during class and assessment, can be completed in three-to-five class periods or approximately three hours. One feature of this simulation is its flexibility, since the teacher may decide on the number of policy issues to be included.

III.
DESCRIPTION OF THE SIMULATION

A. Game Materials: for ease of handling, the role cards should be mounted on heavy stock posterboard, and may be laminated or color-coded so that they are suitable for display.

1. Rules of the Game (1)
2. Politburo Member Role Cards (12). Each Role Card identifies an individual, includes a copy of a photograph, and provides a brief biography which describes his age, background, and tendency to take conservative or reform-minded positions. Data is current through 1996.
3. Presenter Role Cards (5). Each Role Card identifies a viewpoint on government policy decisions. It includes an outline of the argument which the Policy Analyst should take, and recommendations on six policy choices. The Presenters' viewpoints (in order of most conservative to most reformist) are:
    a) Security and Self-Sufficiency, in which nationalism and isolationism are advocated to ward off the dangers of social disintegration and political chaos;
    b) Communist Party Centralization, in which the Chinese Communist Party maintains centralized control;
    c) the "Asian Tiger" Model, in which areas of industrial and agricultural growth are targeted to be protected by a government managed economy while the state maintains social controls;
    d) Decentralization and Democratic Socialism, in which a pragmatic and regionalized approach replaces a centralized command economy, accompanied by compatible, gradual loosening of social and political controls;
    e) Free Market Shock Therapy, in which a privatized, for-profit supply and demand economy undergoes a temporary shakedown before revivifying, while a multi-party political system develops simultaneously.

3 (Cont'd). Each Presenters' Role Card provides recommendations on six policy issues:
- * Privatization of State Owned Enterprises (SOE's)
- * Development of private business and investment
- * Political reform and the role of political parties
- * Dissident voices and human rights
- * Foreign investment and influences
- * Hong Kong's autonomy and integration

4. Data Person Role Cards (5). Each Data Person provides facts in support of the Presenter's recommendations. Thus one Presenter and one Data Person constitute a partnership in advocating their viewpoint. Data are numbered to match each recommendation, though often more than one fact is provided to support the Presenter's recommendations.

5. Ballots (12). Each Politburo Member receives a ballot sheet, which contains enough ballots for votes on all six policy issues to be presented and debated. Ballots are intended to keep all Politburo Members' votes secret.

6. Memos (10 or more). These sheets are used for written communication between Presenters and Data Persons who are observing the presentations of others, and who wish to influence a Politburo Member. The teacher/referee acts as page to deliver memos.

7. Student Simulation Evaluation Form (one per student). Each student completes an evaluation as a culmination to the activity.

B. Teacher Preparations

1. Mount the Role Cards onto posterboard.

2. On a ballot select the "correct" policy choices. The teacher may use any criteria to determine which choices are preferable. This ballot should then be set aside until the conclusion of the simulation. It will determine the Politburo Member winner(s).

3. Assign the roles. Roles may be randomly chosen or assigned according to the teacher's criteria. Note: there are 22 roles provided in this simulation, but the roles are adaptable to classes of varying sizes. Each Presenting team may consist of up to four people by subdividing the six issues.

4. Arrange the room. The Politburo sits in a semicircle at one end of the room, in order to facilitate discussion among themselves. Seats for Presenters face the Politburo. Seats along the sides are occupied by other Presenters and Data Persons.

5. Overview the simulation with students, using Rules of the Game. Check for understanding of the simulation format, as well as how to play the game and how to win.

IV.
PLAYING THE GAME

A. Warm-Up Phase (15-25 minutes)

1. Politburo Members introduce themselves by reading Role Cards aloud. Each Politburo Member also announces his version of the completion of these sentences: "What I like about China's recent development is...." and "What I don't like is ....". Although there are no "correct" answers to these statements, they give each Politburo Member a chance to "get a feel" for the role and to relate it realistically to past learning.

2. The Politburo chooses a Chairman. It may be Jiang Zemin, but his leadership role is not mandatory. The Chairman acts as moderator of the Politburo.

3. If time remains, the Politburo may familiarize itself with the issues by perusing the Ballot sheets.

4. Meanwhile, in another place the Presenters and Data Persons confer to organize their plan for presentation. Presenters are encouraged to use the Role Cards as a foundation only, to embellish their recommendations and to communicate their views convincingly. Data Persons are encouraged to be creative in forcefully elucidating their data. Role Cards should not merely be read aloud, since they are competing to win the game by convincing Poltburo Members to accept their recommendations. The order of presentations is determined randomly for each issue.

5. The teacher should first assist the Politburo to begin, then facilitate the Presenter-Data Person conferences. Encourage notes and highlighting on the Role Cards, planning an outline for presentations, and the inclusion of relevant data at the optimal moments.

B. Presentation Phase (20-30 minutes per issue)

1. Each team of Policy Analysts appears before the Politburo. They identify themselves by placing their Role Cards in view. They present their arguments, recommendation(s) and data.

2. Politburo Members may question Policy Analysts. The teacher/referee may limit the question period.

3. Other Presenters may observe but may not speak. They may send memos to Politburo Members, either to individuals or to all by indicating the recipients on the memo sheets. The page (teacher) delivers memos, screening dilatory messages.

4. The Chairman (or teacher/refereee) calls for votes on each issue after a cycle of presentations and questions. Ballots are cast and held by the teacher/referee until the conclusion of this phase.

5. The cycle of presentations, questioning, discussion and votes is repeated for each policy issue. The number of issues may be limited by the teacher/referee because of time constraints.

6. Short Version: if time is severely limited, several recommendations may be combined into a single presentation, with several votes following the cycle of presentations. The result is a faster, but more superficial simulation.

C. Concluding Phase (15-30 minutes)

1. Count the ballots. The chosen recommendation on each issue determines the "winner" among the Presenter-Data Person partnerships. The partnership which wins the most votes is declared the game winner. The teacher's predetermined selection of correct choices is matched against the Politburo Members' voting record to determine which Politburo Member voted most "correctly" in order to be declared the game's winner.

2. Debriefing. The following topics should be discussed:
    * effective role playing
    * factors which influenced the decision-making process
    * summaries of the Policy Analysts' viewpoints
    * introduction of the Student Simulation Evaluation Form

CHINA CHOOSES-RULES OF THE GAME

This is a simulation game. You will be playing the role of a Chinese government official who must make critical decisions about your country's future development. How well you play your role and the decisions you make will determine who wins the simulation game.

Roles

There are three different roles. First, there are Politburo Members. They make the key decisions about China's development. Some are old, others young; some are very traditional, others more innovative; some are strongly Communist, others more pragmatic. The Politburo Member who makes the best choices will win the game. Second, there are at least five Policy Presenters. They have strong viewpoints and will argue to convince the Politburo Members to adopt their recommendations. Their viewpoints include:

- the Asian Tiger "Targeted" development model
- the Communist Party Centralized control approach
- the plan for Decentralization and Democratic Socialism
- the Free Market Shock Therapy plan
- the Security and Self-Sufficiency plan

You will learn more about these viewpoints as the game proceeds. Third, there are at least five Data Persons, each in partnership with a Policy Presenter. They provide facts which support the Presenter. Together they try to convince the Politburo to vote for their recommendations. The Presenter and Data Person partnership which wins the votes for the most recommendations will win the game. There is also a Referee to help with the rules of the game, to keep order and to count votes. Decisions of the Referee are final.

Playing the Game

Time will be alloted for all players to prepare their roles and viewpoints. Then the Presenters and Data Persons will meet with the Politburo, to try to convince its members to vote for their viewpoints. Other teams will offer competing recommendations. Each may be questioned and must defend its viewpoint and recommendations. Other partnerships of Presenters and Data Persons may observe and try to also influence Politburo Members by sending them written memos. Then the Politburo will vote for one of the recommendations. There will be several rounds, as each recommendation is presented, discissed and voted upon.

Winning the Game

When the ballots are counted, each Politburo Member receives one point for making the correct choice as predetermined by the Referee. The Politburo Member who comes closest to the Refereee's correct ballot wins. The partnerships of Presenters and Data Persons receive one point each time their viewpoint wins a vote. The partnership with the most accepted recommendations wins.

There will also be an opportunity to evaluate the game and write about China's choices.

Good Luck!

Hu Jintao

(hoo)

Born 1942

President, Central Party School; member of Secretariat

HU JINTAO Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee; Secretary of Tibet Autonomous Region CCP; Deputy for Guizhou Province to the 7th NPC

Born in Anhui in 1942, Hu graduated from Qinghua University in 1965. In 1987, Hu became the Secretary of the CCP Guizhou Provincial Committee, and in 1988, was appointed Secretary of the CCP's Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee. Hu was the first Tibet Party Secretary not to have come from the military. A member of the 12th and 13th CCP Central Committees, Hu was appointed to the Standing Committee of the CCP-CC Politburo at the Party's 14th Congress in October 1992, becoming its youngest member. He is also currently the youngest provincial governor in China.

Jiang Zemin

(jeeyahng)

Born 1926

President; General Secretary;

JIANG ZEMIN Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee; General Secretary, CCP-CC; President, PRC; Chairman, CCP Military Commission; Chairman, State Central Military Commission

Jiang was born in Jiangsu in 1926. In addition to numerous affiliations with scientific, technical, and engineering organizations, Jiang has more than thirty years experience in science. He served as commercial counselor at the Chinese embassy in Moscow from 1950 to 1954. From 1956 until about 1970 he held the positions of deputy director and director at several industrial research institutes. From 1971 to 1979 he was a deputy director in the Foreign Affairs Bureau. He became secretary general of the State administration Commissions on Import and Export affairs and on Foreign Investment Control in April 1980, and became minister of the Electronics Industry in April 1982. A year later, Jiang publicly acknowledged China's need to rely on foreign investment, imports, and joint ventures while encouraging the electronics industry to become self-sufficient. He was replaced by Li Tieying as minister of the Electronics Industry in 1985. After 1985, he served as deputy secretary of the Party Committee and Mayor of Shanghai. In January 1988 he relinquished his mayoral position and became first Party Secretary of Shanghai.

Jiang was elevated to the Politburo at the 13th Party Congress in October 1988. He was known to be inflexible towards the student demonstrations that erupted in Beijing and Shanghai in April 1989. Instrumental in the dismissal of Qin Benli from his post as editor of the outspoken journal, Shanghai's World Economic Herald, Jiang apparently won praise for his firm actions during the turmoil. He became general secretary of the CCP at a meeting of the Central Committee in late June that year. Jiang then assumed Deng Xiaoping's military posts after the latter's retirement in November 1989. In October, 1992, he was re-elected as general secretary of the CCP-CC at the CCP's 14th Congress. Jiang is also currently a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP-CC. At the National People's Congress in March 1993 Jiang was elected president of China.

A sophisticated, urbane man, Jiang speaks English, Russian, and Romanian, and is reported to read Japanese and French. He met with President Clinton in November, 1993 at the APEC summit in Seattle, and in New York in October, 1995 during the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of the United Nations..

Li Peng

(lee)

Born 1928

Premier

LI PENG Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee; Premier

Born in 1928 in Sichuan Province and the "adopted" son of Zhou Enlai, Li is an electrical engineer who spent the years 1948-54 studying at the Moscow Power Institute. After 1955, he served successively as deputy chief engineer of the Northeast China Electrical Power Administration, director of the Fuxin Power Plant in Liaoning Province, and director of the Beijing Electrical Power Administration. Li became a vice minister of Electric Power in 1980; the next year he was appointed minister. In March 1982, when his ministry was merged with the Ministry of Water Conservancy, Li became a vice minister in the new ministry. He was made a vice premier in 1983.

After the reorganization of the Ministry of Education in June 1985, Li was appointed head of the new body, now known as the State Education Commission. Li travelled to the United States and Canada in July 1985, during the state visit of then President Li Xiannian. He was appointed to the Politburo in September 1985. In 1987 at the 13th Party Congress he was elected to the Politburo Standing Committee and named acting premier, a position which was later confirmed at the 7th NPC in April 1988. Also at the 7th NPC, Li was named minister-in-charge of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System.

Generally regarded as one of the most conservative of China's top leaders, Li was one of the principle targets of pro-democracy demonstrations during the spring of 1989. Confronted with mounting unrest, Li, backed by senior leaders within the Party, imposed martial law and ordered PLA troops into Beijing. One of the key figures behind the suppression of the movement, Li is regarded as the front man for the Party's hard-line faction but the amount of power he actually has is unclear. In October 1992, Li was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo

Li Ruihuan

(lee)

Born 1934

Chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

LI RUIHUAN Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee and Secretariat; Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

Li was born in Tianjin in 1934. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1959 after working as a construction worker in the Beijing No. 3 Construction Company. In the late 1960's he served as the Company's deputy secretary of the party committee and secretary-general of its timber plant. In the early 1970's he was in the city's trade union federation. From 1979 until 1981 Li worked as a member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League and vice chairman of the All-China Youth Federation.

In 1982, Li was elected deputy secretary of the Party Committee and Mayor of Tianjin. He was elected a member of the 12th Party Central Committee and at the 13th Party Congress was both promoted to secretary of the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee and named to the Politburo. Li is very energetic with an outgoing personality and is seen by China-watchers as a real "comer." In the wake of the crackdown on nation-wide unrest in June 1989 and the political shake-up that followed, Li was promoted both to the new six-man Standing Committee of the Politburo and to the Central Committee Secretariat at a meeting of the CCP-CC in late June. Li was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo in October 1992, at the 14th Party Congress. In March, 1993 he was elected chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at the National People's Congress.

Li Tieying
(lee)
Born 1936
State Councilor; Minister,
State Commission for
Restructuring the
Economic System

LI TIEYING Member, CCP-CC Politburo; Minister, State Commission for Restructuring the Economy; State Councilor

Li, one of the younger generation of Chinese leaders, was born in 1936 in Changsha, Hunan Province. Li graduated from the physics department of Charles University in Czechoslovakia in 1961 and served in a number of technical and administrative posts in his field (electronic engineering) through the 1960's and 1970's. In 1979, he was made an alternate member of the CCP-CC; he achieved full membership in September 1985. In 1987, he was elected to the CCP-CC Politburo and at the 7th NPC in April 1988 he was selected to the post of minister-in-charge of the State Education Commission. At the 14th Congress of the CCP in October 1992, Li was re-elected to the Politburo, and in March of 1993, he was appointed to his current position of Minister of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economy.

Liu Huaqing

(leeyo)

Born 1916

Vice Chairman, Party

Military Commission

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LIU HUAQING Member, Standing Committee of the Politburo, CCP-CC; Vice-chairman, Military Commission of the CCP-CC; Former Member, CCP-Central Advisory Commission; Member, Central Military Commission

Liu was born in 1916 in Hubei Province. He joined the CYL in 1929, joined the Red Army a year later, and in 1935 joined the CCP. During the Sino-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War, Liu worked in various political departments in the Southern Hubei, Plains, and Southwest China Military Commands. In 1958, he graduated from the Voroshilov Navy Academy in Leningrad and returned to become the commander of the Lushun Naval Base. In 1982, he was appointed the commander of the navy after having served as vice minister on several commissions involved with industry, technology, and national defense. After being the deputy secretary-general of the CCP-CC Military Commission and a member of the 12th CCP-CC he was appointed the Vice Chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP-CC in 1989. In October 1992, at the 14th Congress of the CCP, Liu was appointed to the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP-CC, becoming its only military member.

Peng Zhen

(Pahng)

Born 1902

Vice Chairman,

NPC Standing

Committee

PENG ZHEN Member, Standing Committee of Presidium of the 13th Party Congress

Peng, born in 1902 in Shanxi Province, has been a major figure in the CCP since the early 1940s and was mayor of Beijing from 1951 to 1966. He also played a key role in developing relations with foreign communist parties in the late 1950s. Peng was among the few people singled out as one of Mao's "close comrades-in-arms"--until the Cultural Revolution. An early victim of the Cultural Revolution, Peng reemerged in 1979 and was elected vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee at the second session of the 5th NPC. Concurrently, he became a member of the Politburo and was elected director of the State Legal Commission of the NPC, which was responsible for drafting China's first legal code. The code, which went into effect on January 1, 1980, is considered a vital part of China's modernization program. Peng relinquished this latter position to Xi Zhongxun in 1981. In 1983 he became chairman of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee. Peng lost all of his party posts at the 13th Party Congress in October 1987 and gave up his position as Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee to Wan Li in the spring of 1988. Despite his retirement from formal positions of power, Peng continues to exert influence over the direction of policy in China, playing a behind-the-scenes role in the crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators on June 4, 1989.

Qiao Shi

(cheeyow)

Born 1924

Chairman, National People's Congress

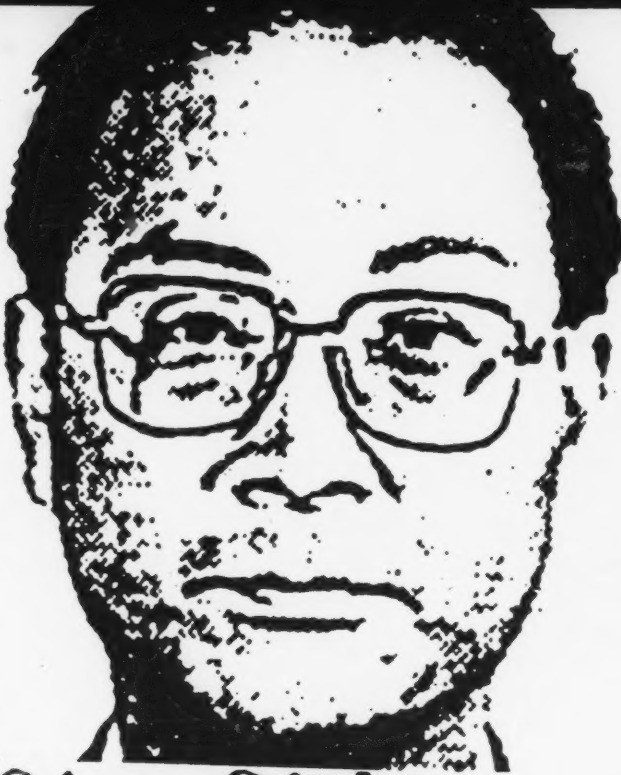
QIAO SHI Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee; Member, CCP-CC Secretariat; Secretary, Central Discipline Inspection Commission; Secretary, Political and Legal Commission; Chairman, National People's Congress

Qiao joined the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai in 1940 when he was 16. Four years later he was one of the organizers of the students' movement in Shanghai. From 1954 through 1962 Qiao worked on the industrial front as a technical division chief of the largest iron and steel enterprise in China, Anshan Iron and Steel Works, and later as director of the Design Institute of the Jiuquan Iron and Steel Company in Gansu Province.

In 1963 Qiao was transferred to the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and worked there until 1982 when he became a member of the CCP-CC and an alternate member of its Secretariat. Qiao was elected both a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Political and Legal Committee under the CCP-CC in 1985. Appointed vice premier of the State Council in 1986, he retained that post until the 7th NPC in April 1988. At the 13th Party Congress in October 1988, he was named to the Standing Committee of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and advisory body that plays a watchdog role against corruption. He plays a leading role in security issues.

While Qiao's position within the Party remained unaffected by the shake-up following the suppression of pro-democracy demonstrations in June 1989, Qiao's political inclinations remain unclear. Some political analysts align him with moderate elements within the Party, while others view him as a protege of old-guard conservatives like Chen Yun and Peng Zhen. In October, 1992, Qiao was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo at the 14th Congress of the CCP-CC. At the National People's Congress in late March 1993 he was elected chairman of the National People's Congress.

Qiao is familiar with the history of Communist Parties in various countries. He sometimes reads books in English.



Qian Qichen

(cheeyen)

Born 1928

Vice Premier;

Minister Foreign

Affairs

QIAN QICHEN Member, CCP-CC Politburo; Vice Premier; Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Born in Shanghai in 1928, Qian joined the Communist Party in 1942. He was involved in Shanghai's underground student movement and with the newspaper Da Gong Bao until Liberation in 1949, Qian then became a key figure in Shanghai's Communist Youth League. In 1953, he was promoted to the Central Committee of the Youth League after which he steadily grew in power and prominence. From 1954-1955, he studied in the Soviet Union and began his diplomatic career as second secretary and counsellor in the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. Thereafter until 1977, he served successively as deputy director of the Ministry of Higher Education and ambassador to Guinea and Guinea-Bassau. Appointed director of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry in 1977 (China's first foreign ministry spokesman), Qian advanced to vice minister in 1982 and, ultimately, minister in 1988. From 1982-1988, he was the vice minister responsible for discussions with the Soviet Union. He headed the delegation in 1987 when the border talks with Moscow resumed. He was elected a member of the 12th and 13th Central Committees of the CCP. In April 1991, he was appointed state councilor. At the 14th Congress in October 1992, he was appointed to the Politburo of the CCP-CC. In March 1993 he was elected vice premier of China at the National People's Congress.

Qian has visited the United States several times; his English is excellent.

Rong YiRen
Born 1942
Member of
Secretariat

RONG YIREN Vice President; Former President and Managing Director, China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC)

A former Shanghai industrialist and still a "capitalist," Rong was made vice mayor of Shanghai in 1954 and served as vice minister of the Ministry of Textile Industries from 1959 to 1966. He dropped from sight during the Cultural Revolution and surfaced again in 1972 during Nixon's visit to China.

Rong was appointed to his position at CITIC in July 1979 and has made many trips to the U.S. since then, taking part in banking and investment conferences. In March, 1993 he resigned

Wu Bangguo

(woo)

Born 1941

Shanghai party secretary; member of Secretariat

WU BANGGUO Member, CCP-CC Politburo, Vice-Premier; Member, CCP-CC Secretariat, former secretary of CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee

Wu was born in 1941 in Anhui Province, grew up in Beijing, and joined the CCP in 1964 From 1960 to 1967 he studied engineering in the Radio and Electronics Department of Qinghua University. Following graduation he worked as a technician, section head, and deputy managing director at various electronics factories in Shanghai. From 1981 to 1983 he served as deputy Party secretary of the Shanghai Telecommunications Industrial Bureau In 1983 Wu became a Standing Committee member of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee and Party secretary of the Scientific and Technical Commission, in 1985 deputy secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee, and in 1988 head of the Leading Group for Restructuring the Political System. In 1991 he succeeded Zhu Rongji as secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee. Wu was an alternate member of the 12th and 13th CCP CC and is a member of the 14th CCP CC. He was elected vice-premier in March 1995 and is now the youngest among the six vice-premiers.

When he was Shanghai Party Secretary, Wu stressed the need for the city to integrate its development with that of the rest of China. Although Wu spent his whole career in Shanghai, he is believed to have strong support at the Center. As vice-premier, he is in charge of industrial production and state-owned enterprise reform.

Zhu Rongji

(joo)

Born 1928

First Vice Premier

ZHU RONGJI Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee; Vice Premier; Secretary, Shanghai Communist Party; former Governor, Bank of China

Zhu was born in 1928 in Changsha, Hunan Province and completed his secondary education there. In 1947, he entered Qinghua University in Beijing. After graduating in 1951, he spent over thirty years working for the State Planning and Economic commissions. Initially denounced during the "Anti-rightist" Campaign in 1957, little is known about Zhu's activities until he was identified as the director of the Technical Transformation Bureau under the State Economic Commission (SEC). In 1983, he was promoted to vice minister of the SEC.

Zhu became Mayor of Shanghai in April 1988, after serving for three months as secretary of the city's Municipal Party Committee of the CCP. In August 1989, he was appointed secretary of the Shanghai Communist Party.

In April 1991, Zhu was appointed vice premier and moved to Beijing. At the 14th Congress of the CCP-CC in October 1992, he was appointed to the Standing Committee of the Politburo. In March 1993 Zhu was elected vice premier of China at the National People's Congress. He lacks a deep party base and has spent his career largely in the economic and planning bureaucracy. But he is seen as the most pragmatic of all the Politburo members and has the backing of Deng Xiaoping.

Zhu assumed the position of governor of the People's Bank of China (PBOC) in July 1993. He initiated a 16-point austerity plan in order to cool down the overheating economy and regain some centralized control over economic activity, particularly expenditures and investment. In June 1995 he was replaced as governor of the PBOC by his deputy, Dai Xianglong.

A tall man with a commanding presence, Zhu is very forthright, aggressive, and relates to foreigners very well. He visited the United States in July of 1990 as head of a National Committee-sponsored delegation of mayors. He understands English and speaks it quite well, though prefers to use interpreters.

CHINA CHOOSES BALLOT FORM

ROLE NAME ________________________

ISSUE ________________________

I vote for (circle one only):

- Asian Tiger Model
- Communist Party Centralization
- Decentralization & Socialism
- Free Market Shock Therapy
- Security & Self- Sufficiency

ROLE NAME ________________________

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CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: PRESENTER

YOUR POSITION: THE SINGAPORE "ASIAN TIGER" MODEL

YOUR ARGUMENT: China's economy is too underdeveloped to compete openly with the developed nations, but too stagnant under Communism. The government should select a few "target industries", and subsidize them to crate a "world-class" source of wealth and economic growth. Working with private entrepeneurs, domestic and foreign, the government can provide a protected and stable environment for this "targeted economy", much as Japan did after WW II. Political disruptions can only retard this development and must be meticulously controlled to prevent a drift toward chaos.

Recommendation # 1

The state has undertaken too much in owning its many enterprises. These SOE's are often inefficient. The best ones should be nurtured by the government, which can provide funds for advanced technology, high grade work forces and development loans. But they are best run for profit by investors in joint ventures. Areas such as textiles, small appliances, toys and agricultural products could become target industries in which China would seek to excel.

Recommendation # 2

Target industries must be mixed with private endeavors. Since the targeted businesses will be favored by government policies and protected against foreign competition, other sectors of the economy should be "traded off" to foreign investors, native entrepeneurs or joint ventures.

Recommendation # 3

Social order and tranquility are important if the peoples' standard of living is to improve visibly. Businesses should provide many services which the state has offered less efficiently. Factories should provide housing, daycare, health care and education as fringe benefits for workers. Public monuments, vacation facilities and entertainments should be sponsored by corporations. The government can support social order by strictly enforcing moral codes, from limiting political activity to cracking down on lewd and disruptive public behaviors.

Recommendation # 4

An atmosphere of harmony conducive to economic progress is necessary. Political upheavals may be tolerated only in societies with a history of public dialogue. In China the first priority must be economic well being, so political dissent would be disruptive. State control of the media will promote harmony.

Recommendation # 5

A favorable balance of trade is essentail to China's developing economy. A rush of foreign investment would crush China's young and developing economy. So key targeted sectors must be protected from foreign competition. Only state-chartered joint ventures may proceed. But unprotected sectors of the economy would be free to foreign interests.

Recommendation # 6

Hong Kong's shipping industry is a target. China should encourage shipping along our coast in order to protect our pre-eminent position as import-export traders. China should also link its economy to Taiwan's. By stressing economic co-operation and minimizing political differences, the goal of reunification is more approachable.

ASIAN TIGER
SINGAPORE MODEL

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: DATA PERSON

YOUR POSITION: THE SINGAPORE "ASIAN TIGER" MODEL

YOUR DATA: supports the view that China's economy is relatively weak, and therefore needs the protectionist policies of a strong central government. A few sectors of the economy should receive most government attention as "Target Industries". These should be subsidized in joint ventures between the government and private investors. This deliberate favoitism will create a few "world class" industries. A strict government policy to keep an orderly society is imperative during the transition.

Data # 1A

China's labor force is the largets in the world, and is fairly well-educated.

Data 1B

China is the world's # 1 producer of textiles, grains and toys. But the large population requires wheat to be imported.

Data 1C

The Asian Tigers of Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore have found market niches in electronics, toys, automobiles, shipping and banking, which have driven their economies to considerable success.

Data #2A

South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Singapore have managed economies. The economic policies of the government are favorable toward targeted sectors of the economy.

Data 2B

Per capita income as part of GDP, (US$) 2500 (U.S. 21,000). Chinese GNP- 7 trillion (U.S.- $70 trillion)

Data # 3A

One political party has controlled the Japanese Diet in all but 2 of years since WW II. One political party has controlled Korean and Singapore governments for last 20 years.

Data 3B

Singapore's strict laws on loitering, littering, jaywalking, petty crime and vandalism have virtually eliminated those nuisances. Caning is a legal penalty.

Data # 4A

Violent political expression, such as the Om Shin Ricio terrorist attack in Japan, are stunning exceptions in the Asian Rim countries, which have the lowest crime rates in the world.

Data 4B

Political demonstrations in South Korea and Singapore are limited by law in size, duration and content.

Data #5

China now has a trade surplus with the U.S. (between 10-38 billion). Discrepancy exists over counting Hong Kong, whose shipping capacity (bottoms) is # 1 in the world.

ASIAN TIGER
SINGAPORE MODEL

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: PRESENTER

YOUR POSITION: COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRALIZATION

YOUR ARGUMENT: Communist Paty control of China's development is essential. The Party led the revolution, and remains the great vehicle to achieve a classless society. The ultimate goal of socialism has not changed. Deng Xiaoping understood that using market forces and some private enterprise to keep the economy growing is justified. The CCP is China's best hope for improving living standards and maintaining political stability.

Recommendation # 1

We must maintain State owned Enterprises (SOE's), which can be made to run more efficiently if managers adopt more incentives for workers. Innovatios such as bonus plans, vacations, housing upgrades, retraining programs, promotion from within and better trianed managers all can work. SOE's are non-exploiting, and provide needed benefits for workers.

Recommendation # 2

Some privatization on a rather small scale is acceptable. Deng has said, "To get rich is glorious", but not at the expense of others. High moral standards set by the CCP should serve as models for the people.

Recommendation # 3

Social conscience is China's strongets asset, so the CCP must continue to promote socialist idealism, encourage public service and publicly applaud actions which "serve the people", as Chairman Mao has urged. So elections at local levels need not stress Party membership, but should give leadership to those whom the local population trusts. At higher levels Party cadres, re-educated in CCP schools, will increasingly be the more qualified people.

Recommendation # 4

There will always be a few Capitalist Roaders and counterrevolutionaries. We shall never cease to try to re-educate them also, although it may require a long time and necessitate their removal from the general society, lest they contaminate our youth. So while we should allow foreign ideas and influences to filter into China, we must keep up our moral standards, and not become decadent and sleazy by allowing free reign to any and all foreign provocations.

Recommendation # 5

But we should encourage foreign investment to help our growing economy, especially in areas of new technology, telecommunications and scientific research. Still, we should keep firm controls on when and where it gains a foothold. Complex licensing processes and customs barriers are to our advantage in channeling foreign investment.

Recommendation # 6

Hong Kong is a ready and excellent source for channeling foreign investment and expertise into needed development. It is to our advantage to honor the Basic Law which maintains Hong Kong's separate economic and political systems, but which recognizes the primacy of Beijing outside of the territory.

COMMUNIST PARTY
CENTRALIZED CONTROL

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: DATA PERSON

YOUR POSITION: COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRALIZATION

YOUR DATA: Supports the successes of the Chinese Communist Party and points toward maintaining continued centralized control of the economy and political activities.

Data # 1A

SOE's employ 55% of our industrial worker population. They provide insurances, retirement pensions, vacations, housing and educational payments.

Data 1B: The Management Responsibility System decollectivized farms, made factories accountable for profits, and created a worker bonus/penalty code.

Data # 2A

Family business employing up to seven people are not taxed.

Data 2B

Government sets prices for staples: grains, mineral ores, domestic transport, some durable goods; farmers' markets and consumer goods are free market items.

Data # 3A

Model Businesses are recognized with placques and promoted in the media, when they are cited for efficient services at fair prices.

Data #3B

The Spiritual Civilization Campaign teaches Socialist ethics in school curriculum, cultural activities, and media campaigns. It warns against corruption, moral decay and greedy excessive materialism. It emphasizes the role of CCP in addressing social problems, and stresses traditional Confucian values of respect for family, elders, traditions and authority.

Data # 4A

There are fewer than 30 criminals still in custody from the Tienamin Square conspiracy.

Data 4B

CCP membership is not required to hold political office. Approximately 15% of the Chinese population holds Part membership.

Data 4C

Drug dealers face capital punishment. Prostitution is a problem in large cities where many foreigners visit.

Data 4D

Internet access is currently being established through universities, government agencies and in large businesses. Widespread access will take at least 20 years.

Data # 5

Special Economic Zones (SEZ) were established in 1979 to bring in foreign investment. They are located in coastal areas near large cities. They give tax breaks, land rentals, and expedited market access to businesses chartered to operate there.

Data # 6

The Basic Law guarantees Hong Kong's present systems of political and economic autonomy for 50 years.

COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRALIZED CONTROL

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: PRESENTER

YOUR POSITION: DECENTRALIZATION & DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

YOUR ARGUMENT: Modifications to Marxist ideology has occurred in many places in response to changing times. Chairman Deng Xiaoping recognized that pragmatism is preferable to strictly dogmatic thought, but knew that Marxism was still relevant. Marx's social ideals can be combined with political reforms which will let regional decisions be made for very different regions. Political change will create "socialism with Chinese characteristics".

Recommendation # 1

State Owned Enterprises have not worked well because they treated employees like mechanical parts in the machine of production. They became dehumanized. But they have provided a livelihood and basic benefits for workers which cannot be dropped without risking great social unrest. The solution is to shift to EOE's- employee owned enterprises. Issue stock in these companies for sale to workers via payroll deductions, thus raising the needed capital to sustain them. The workers' commitment to make them succeed will grow. But each EOE must be able to make its own decisions, and not be controlled from Beijing. Holdings not purchased by employees may be offered to private shareholders.

Recommendation # 2

Private enterprise should continue to prosper. But the danger of a greater gap between rich, East coast industrial areas and poor, Western interior provinces could be explosive. Equitable national development should be a goal. Regions should have the option to lure investors. Taxation of excess profits on business should go to funding quality social welfare programs, which especially help less developed regions.

Recommendation # 3

The principle of Democratic Centralism has allowed local democracy to take hold. Town elections should be free immediately. If they are successful, provincial elections should be held within 3 years, and an open national election within 10 years for delegates to the National Peoples' Congress. If prosperity is managed fairly, its leaders will be rewarded with political office by the people.

Recommendation # 4

As elections are gradually expanded, so too should rights of free speech and press China is a diverse population from diverse regions; these regional voices should be given representation. Regional autonomy would recognize the differences between cities on the coast and inland provinces. Dissident voices will be heard, but only at regional levels. Loosening central controls will release pressures to develop in rigid unison.

Recommendation # 5

Foreign investment is necessary to development, but it should not become a "Robber Baron" era. Foreigners must be held to high standards in fair labor practices, environmental awareness and social responsibility to help employees improve life.

Recommendation # 6

Hong Kong's progress may be applied to coastal cities, but may not help much of rural, underdeveloped China. We should promote the "one country, two systems" approach, which does not ask much or take much from Hong Kong.

DECENTRALIZATION & DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: DATA PERSON

YOUR POSITION: DECENTRALIZATION & DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

YOUR DATA: supports the view that pragmatism works better than Marxist dogma. But Marxist ideals which can improve common peoples' lives is a high ideal, which can be attained if local decsion-making reflects the peoples' interests. So less centralized, looser controls lead to more democratic local policies which do not exploit workers.

Data # 1A

There may be 4 million "floating population" who flock to the cities seeking work, and who often engage in petty crime. In the next decade an estimated 100 million peasants will leave their land and migrate to cities

Data 1B

SOE's lose about 3% of China's GDP each year, draining 70% of all funds available for investment.

Data # 2A

4.3 million Chines earned 12x the average city worker's salary in the last year statistics were available, and 32X the average farmer's pay

Data 2B

In 1993 there were over 12,000 significant disputes between workers and factory managers. Where former workers became managers, the number dropped greatly.

Data # 3A

Town elections without Party slates and with secret ballots have been held in more than 500 lodations.

Data #3B

Non-Party members control local governments in thousands of rural communities, yet still pledge allegiance to Socialist ideals.

Data # 4

Satellite dishes, internet access and foreign newspapers are now commin sights in urban areas, so control of the flow onf information is no longer practical.

Data 4B

The one-child policy, so necessary for crowded urban areas on the east coast, have never been strictly enforced in the sparsely populated west, in areas with large ethnic minorities or in deep rural zones.

Data # 5

Computer-using pornographers now earn hundreds of millions of dollars in churning out their obscene products for export.

Data 5B

Special Economic Zones have purposely been located in areas of slum housing, with clauses that the population there be re-settled in new apartment complexes.

Data # 6

Hong Kong's "one country, two system policy has been studied as a model for several reforms of socialism in other areas.

DECENTRALIZATION & DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: PRESENTER

YOUR POSITION: FREE MARKET SHOCK THERAPY

YOUR ARGUMENT: Communism has caused stagnation, since incentives are limited. A shift away from a centralized command economy to a free market, supply & demand economy necessitates a temporary "shock", while private, for-profit enterprises take hold. A decade of instability and hardship may occur. But the economy will start growing within two years when profitable businesses spread and inefficient operations are repalced.

Recommendation # 1

The goverment must stop ~~managing~~ the economy. State Owned Enterprises(SOE) must be abandoned. They are obsolete and inefficient drains on government revenues. They should be privatized or simply go into bankruptcy.

Recommendation # 2

Since Deng Xiaoping approved privately owned small businesses and family farms, the economy has soared. Entrepeneurs are eager to hire workers and start businesses. Private banks are ready to loan seed money. There will be some failures, but many more successes. Wealth will be redistributed. When a few get rich, others' hopes rise: economic optimism is contagious. A fee-for-service system must replace the guarantees of social benefits which have made people passive. Education, healthcare, housing, childcare and retirement plans will become more expensive, but their quality will improve.

Recommendation # 3

Once the economy is revitalized and wealth is redistributed, market forces will also create a climate for political reform movements. The CCP must learn to compete for ideas with other political factions. But the Party is well-set to appeal to workers. Remember, Communist parties still dominate the governments of most formerly Marxist states. But free, multi-party elections are part of this shock therapy.

Recommendation # 4

The apparatus of state repression will be unnecessary in a free market system. The clamoring of a few dissidents will be drowned amid the many calls for reform. But the natural conservatism of the masses of people will prevent any violent political hemorrages. With no Western press to clamor for human rights, the banner of the Tienamin dissidents will be a minor influence.

Recommendation # 5

A free market economy needs capital, and much may come from foreign sources. China is the world's biggest domestic market, and has been starved for goods for half a century. Foreign investors will line up to gain access to our markets.

Recommendation # 6

China should emulate Hong Kong, which one of the least regulated economies anywhere. Although there are more millionaires per capita than anywhere, average workers do not resent this concentration of wealth, but percieve opportunities for gain in their own future when unlimited success is open to all.

FREE MARKET SHOCK THERAPY

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: DATA PERSON

YOUR POSITION: FREE MARKET SHOCK THERAPY

YOUR DATA: supports the shift to an open market economy, free of government controls, which will create a climate for political changes to a multi-party democratic society, in the Hong Kong style.

DATA # 1A

75% of SOE's operate at an annual loss, making no profit. Government revenues must shore up these operations.

DATA # 1B

The main reason SOE's persist is as a welfare program for 100 million workers. As a result the government has no funds to invest in new business, or even to upgrade present facilities, so a downward spiral continues.

DATA 2A

Economic growth has run at 9-10% per year since 1990. The U.S. growth rate is approx. 2-3% per year.

DATA 2B

Agriculture has boomed since the demise of large communes. The Responsibility System allows sale of produce on free markets after quotas have been met on staples. The result is the "10,000 yuan farmer" model, increasing some farm incomes by 500% for one farmer in ten. Average farm income: about $(US) 3,000.

DATA 2C

More new private schools and colleges have opened since 1990 than since the revolution in 1949. Still only 4% of Chinese can enter college, making competition on entrance exams fierce. All must now pay something for education, from approx. $US 50 per year for elementary school to $US 400 for state universities.

DATA 3A

The Solidarity Model of a labor movement which replaced the Communists in Poland is a path for transition. Former communists have joined other factions, but the Party has survived and almost won a majority in recent elections. The Party has become more responsive to constituents and learned the value of coalition politics.

DATA 4A

Experience in the former Soviet Union shows that the state security apparatus was not very efficient or effective, but was expensive and penetrated many areas of society.

DATA 4B

Human Rights begins with the "Five Guarantees"- a society which is well fed, clothed, housed, educated and healthy. This goal has been met. Political dissent is permissible now that the quality of life issues have been mastered.

DATA #5

Special Economic Zones have been successful. Foreign firms now employ mostly Chinese managers. Most SEZ's are on the east coast. Western SEZ's would benefit this now depressed region.

DATA # 6

Hong Kong is our biggest investor, controlling 20% of all enterprises. Next are Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Germany, France and the U.S.

FREE MARKET
SHOCK THERAPY

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: PRESENTER

YOUR POSITION: SECURITY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

YOUR ARGUMENT: The danger of social disintegration and political chaos which would destroy all the progress of the last 50 years is great. The stability of the social order and the security of the PRC is paramount. Do not let the lessons of the last century, when China was downtrodden by colonial imperialists, be forgotten. We have stood up. We must not succumb now to the temptations of the bourgeois-leaning Capitalist Roaders.

Recommendation # 1

The problem with SOE's is that they have not received enough government support. We expected them to be productive only on the basis of Chairman Mao's ideology. SOE's need new equipment, modern technology, bright young management and dedicated workers. Offer real incentives to the state owned sector and it will flourish.

Recommendation # 2

One great disadvantage SOE's must cope with in the unfair edge of recently privatized business. With fewer restrictions and newer technology they have seemed successful. But evidence of fraud, profiteering and corruption is everywhere. We should move to nationalize these bourgeois tendencies. We will gain the assets of the capitalists just as we did in 1949.

Recommendation # 3

Without a carefully planned introduction into democratic practices, elections in the near future will fall prey to factional strife, torn between cultural leftism which would bring back the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, or a bourgeois puppet regime fostering renewed class conflict. Either trend would polarize China between different regions and classes. Upheaval and violence is a real possibility. Remember the terrible years of the Warlords.

Recommendation # 4

China must avoid the fate of the USSR, which has disintegrated into ethnic struggles and criminal cartels. Balkanization is an all-too-real threat, not only among our many ethnic minorities, but also between rich regions in the coastal east and the "have nots" in poor Western regions. The glue of stability has been the Peoples' Liberation Army. It is essentail that defense dpending be maintained or increased. There are few dissenters who are not truly enemies of the people, even without realizing it. The chaos they preach cannot be tolerated.

Recommendation # 5

Counter-revolutionary programs too often find sympathy with foreign interests. We must not let foreigners dictate China's internal policies- a danger if we permit too many loosely conceived joint ventures. Special Economic Zones can help development, but should be restricted and limited to defined enclaves and non-essential industries. China should learn from foreigners, then develop and protect its fledgling industries which will satisfy our huge domestic markets.

Recommendation # 6

We are proud that Hong Kong has returned to China. The Basic Law permits 2 systems to co-exist, but ultimately Beijing will reassert its authority. We should allow independence to Hong Kong now, both to promote economic growth and to serve as a model for the return of Taiwan.

SECURITY

AND

SELF- SUFFICIENCY

CHINA CHOOSES
A SIMULATION

YOUR ROLE: DATA PERSON

YOUR POSITION: SECURITY & SELF SUFFICIENCY

YOUR DATA: supports the view that the risk of violent disintegration across China is real and dangerous. Regional differences, class income gaps between rich and poor, and ethnic separatist movements all are worsened by policies of privatization and foreign influence. A strong military presence is needed to keep trouble from breaking out. Emphasis on nationalism will bind China's people together.

Data # 1A

Some SOE's (approximately 25 %) are profitable.

Data # 2A

Guanxi, the term for "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" is common in business transactions.

Data 2B

In Beijing 80% of residents report at least one bicycle theft in the last year.

Data 2C

A Shanghai plant manager was arrested after embezzling over $3 million. Another escaped with a reported $30 million.

Data # 3A

A government study shows that the events of Tienamin Square in 1989 make peaceful mass demonstrations less likely, forcing dissidents to take violent actions.

Data 3B

China's defense budget is 33 billion (U.S.$). The U.S. budget is $270 billion.

Data 3C

Demonstrations in Tienamin in 1989 continued for seven weeks before the military was called in, only after outside agitators and labor organizers began to gain control of the demonstrators.

Data #4 A

China has faced separatist movements in Mongolia, Tibet and Islamic Xinjiang. Terrorist bombs have exploded in Beijing and the ancient capital of X'ian.

Data 4B

Units of the Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA) are not stationed near their homes, but serve in distant provinces. Problems exist because troops from the Cantonese-speaking south cannot understand or communicate with Mandarin-speaking northerners.

Data # 5A

A century ago China's attept to permit Western Treaty Ports in limited areas led to economic dependency and humiliation, as colonial powers gained hegemony over much of the coastal regions.

Data 5B

Using technical assistance from General Motors and Toyota, China will begin producing its own subcompact cars in 1999.

Data # 6

Taiwanese and Macao investment in China now exceeds 12 billion (U.S.$)per year, more than all U.S. Investments.

SECURITY

AND

SELF- SUFFICIENCY

CHINA CHOOSES

MEMO

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CHINA CHOOSES

STUDENT SIMULATION EVALUATION FORM

1. Name ____

2. My role was ________________________________

3. In my role I learned that I ...

4. In my role I learned that China ...

5. My most important recommendation/decision was:

   ____

   because ...

6. Comment on where you think the Peoples' Republic of China is headed in the 21st Century on each of these issues. Be sure to quote at least 3 examples or evidence to support your opinion.

   A. Privately owned, profitable business vs. state owned, security providing enterprises

   B. Increased human rights and democracy vs. political upheaval and potentially violent chaos

   C. Foreign influence, invetsment and trade vs. China's national pride and concern about being culturally changed by rich, foreign interests

China: Tradition and Transformation
Curriculum Project
Kathleen E. Dillon

Course: World Cultures: China

Grade: Nine

Class Meetings: 4 50-minute periods per week

Topic: Women of China: Past, Present, Future

Goals: using both deductive and inductive processes to enable the students to engage in informative and provocative discussion, to assess the gains made for modern Chinese women, to appreciate some of the traditional values, and to venture some educated guesses as to the future role of women in Chinese society.

Day One

Lecture on Women and Children
Source: Fulbright Program Lecture
Beijing Normal University
July 11, 1997

(I lecture once a week to help students develop organizational and note-taking skills. Their notebooks are graded, and they are quizzed on the material.)

Topics:

1. Confucianism: women and the traditional importance of the family

2. The One-Child Policy

3. Birth Statistics: urban and rural

4. Consequences of defying family planning policy

5. Urban vs. rural situations

6. Daughters and Sons

7. the 4-2-1 phenomenon

8. Education

9. Employment Opportunities

10. Divorce: property settlement and child custody

Day Two
Slide Show and Discussion

I Village women

1. woman working in rice paddy
2. woman weaving
3. woman sleeping at outdoor market
4. woman with large basket at market - Long Sheng
5. Zhou woman
6. young women dancing in native costume

II City Women

1. women cleaning city street
2. women in paper factory
3. teachers in kindergarten
4. city worker having breakfast
5. Shanghai woman talking on cellular phone

III Generations

1. child with rice bowl
2. girl with heavy cart
3. elderly woman in wheelchair
4. 2 younger women supporting elder

IV Future

1. contraceptive store
2. Philippine "amahs" of Hong Kong

Day Three

Reading and Group Discussion

Assignment: read and outline the textbook selection "Peasant Women and Village Change."

Group Preparation - 15 minutes

The class divides into groups of four to deal with the following questions:

- Why did communism appeal to the poor peasants?
- Why was Guo Hengde an effective communist cadre?
- To what extent have peasant women benefited under the communist regime?
- In what ways does it appear that Communist peasant women still are not completely equal?

Presentation to the Class and Discussion - 35 minutes

Each group has prepared the answer to one of the questions. They formulate a response and explain it to the rest of the class who also contribute their perspective and raise questions.

Day Four

Surfing the Web

(Class meets in the computer lab.)

Assignment:

Part One: Find the following items by using any of the servers available, such as Yahoo.

1. "Women's Issue and Human Rights in China" - C. Anderson-Huang

2. "NGO Report on Women in Hong Kong"

Part Two: Read on screen or print. Then type up answers to the following questions: (Students will complete work on this assignment for homework.)

Article One:

1. Summarize the events in the author's life molded her opinion of women's rights in China.

2. Although the situation for women in the US is far from perfect, why does the author find it better than in China and other countries?

3. Who/what is to blame for the treatment of women this author describes?

4. What does the author hope for? What can be done?

Article Two:

Of the topics raised, which do you think should have the first priority: women workers, poverty, marriage and family, sexual violence and harassment, health, social policy, the media, sexual orientation? Explain and defend your choice.

Women
in Modern China

Transition, Revolution and Contemporary Times

by
Marjorie Wall Bingham & Susan Hill Gross

Written under **Women In World Area Studies**, an ESEA, Title IV-C Federal Project
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D. Peasant Women and Village Change

In 1947, during the Chinese civil war between the Guomindang and the Communists, two English sociologists, Isabel and David Crook, lived a number of weeks in a village in the area occupied by the Red Chinese. In the 1960's, they returned to this village -- Ten Mile Inn -- to study changes that had taken place since the Communist Revolution.

In this follow-up study of Ten Mile Inn, they begin by reviewing what it was like to be a poor peasant in the 1930's and 1940's before the Communist era:

"Before the land reform [1948] 70 percent of the people of Ten Mile Inn lived for most of the year on husks, wild herbs and watery gruel 'so thin you could see the reflection of the moon in it.' It was no rare thing for a family of five to share one ragged quilt, sleeping in a circle on the kang (heated brick bed), feet in the middle and heads out all round. In the very poorest families husband and wife might share one pair of trousers, to be worn by whomever went out.

"In 1942-43 in the midst of bitter struggle against the enemy [Japan] famine struck....

"For untold generations famine had been a regular feature of Chinese rural life. It had brought death and disease to millions and forced millions more into beggary.

"It had broken up families, forcing parents to sell, give away, abandon-- even kill-- their own children, rather than see them starve.

"The famine of 1942-43 was exceptionally severe and in adjoining areas under Guomindang administration the misery of the people was on a scale and of a nature which hardly bear description. The Communists, however, though they had only just established themselves in the Ten Mile Inn area, called on the people not to yield to famine as they had done in the past. On their initiative a militant peasant union came into being, which seized the hoarded grain of the landlords and rich peasants, cooked it in great cauldrons and served it to the hungry.

"But these efforts, especially in the face of the Japanese onslaught, had their limits. They lessened suffering. They could not prevent it. People still went begging, sold their children, hanged themselves. In 49 of Ten Mile Inn's 400-odd families, 59 people starved to death."[1]

It is not surprising that communism particularly appealed to the poor peasants who made up 70% of Ten Mile Inn's population. The Crook's information indicated (and numerous other sources agree) that the Communists showed greater fairness and concern toward the poor peasants than did the Guomindang. Perhaps these peasants did not really know what a communist regime would involve, but they did know that

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[1] Isabel and David Crook, *The First Years of Yangyi Commune* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 3-5

Peasant woman brings tea in thermos to workers in the field the Communist "cadre"[2] usually treated them with justice and tried to ease their sufferings with the famine.

This next life story illustrates how new leaders were found among the poor peasants. Guo Hengde was the first woman from the Yangyi area (where Ten Mile Inn was located) to join the Communist Party. No doubt the harshness of her early life influenced her decision to join with the Communists:

"Before Guo Hengde was born (in 1919) her father died, leaving his wife two mou of land.[3] For a lone mother and daughter to survive on that, in the landlord-ridden, warlord-ravaged Chinese countryside of those days, took strength of character. Both mother and daughter had it. As a child Hengde scoured the hillsides for fuel and carried back crushing loads. By the time she was thirteen she was a skillful spinner. When she was fifteen she married, but her husband was soon forced by poverty to leave for the far Northeast to try and scrape together a living.[4]

"...Meanwhile the young wife supported herself by needlework. When she was seventeen her mother died.

"Two years later, in 1937, news of the Communists' activities further up the valley reached [her village].... Following the Communist practice of relying on the poorest peasants, a woman cadre, named Guo Jing, found shelter in Guo Hengde's home. She ate the same food as the poor peasants-- husks and wild herbs-- wore coarse homespun cloth and spoke in homely language. 'We were soon like sisters,' said Guo Hengde. Guo Jing stayed with Guo Hengde two years and this close contact helped set the course for Guo Hengde's life....

"When Japanese forces drove through the area on mopping-up expeditions, Guo Hengde showed the communist cadres to secret caves, cooked for them and hid their documents. When a landlord threatened her with death for associating with the 'red bandits' she was not intimidated. 'I never wavered,' she said. 'I knew they were for the poor. I would have given my life for them.'...

"In the same year she was elected head of a small spinning group, set up as part of the movement to fight famine by increasing production. Later she headed an 8th Route Army relief center, which distributed grain and cotton and saved 140 people from starvation. 'That was a terrible year,' said Guo Hengde. 'Over four hundred people left the village to go to Shanxi Province as beggars. But it was a bad time for begging. A hundred and twenty-odd starved to death. And here in the village it was the same. In Guo Da-cheng's family of five, two starved to death, one daughter was given away as a child bride and one son as a child bridegroom. There were suicides, too. Guo Ruzhi couldn't pay his rent so he hanged himself. His cousin scraped together enough to pay it, but then he had nothing left. So he hanged himself too.' In one family the husband wanted to sell the children rather than hear them whimper with hunger, but the wife threatened to leave him if he did. Guo Hengde gave them food saved from her own scanty meals and half a bushel of grain bought with money she had earned by spinning. This saved the marriage....

Guo Hengde helped young wives, too, to stand up to tyrannical mothers-in-law. In 1944 she was elected Spinning Heroine, First Class, at a conference of the whole Border

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[2] Communist Party workers on all levels-- later the term came to include government workers as well.

[3] Women normally didn't inherit land, but there may have been some changes by 1919 or perhaps there were no male relatives to claim the land.

[4] Nothing was heard of him for years as he did not know how to write and could not save enough to go home. The couple were finally reunited and brought up a family.

Workers on commune near Shanghai

Region. The same year she became head of the village Women's Association...."[5]

The Communist Revolution did not always guarantee liberation from male tyranny for women. Some Communist village leaders became bullies, just as wealthy landlords had often been in the past. Cases came to light in the early Communist government days, of women -- especially wives or daughters of ex-landlords -- being abused or even raped by Communist cadre.[6] In other cases women were forced to marry men against their will:

"Many stories revealed that [Communist] Liberation had not yet guaranteed free marriage or even the property rights upon which free marriage must be based. In East Portal one woman had been forced to marry a veteran. The cadres said, 'This man has fought for us many years. How could we live a peaceful life if it hadn't been for his efforts? We must reward him with a wife.'

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[5] Crook, *Yangyi*, pp. 16-19.

[6] For example see William Hinton, *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966), pp. 226-231.

When the woman refused, she was ordered to explain herself at a mass meeting.

"A second woman there wanted to marry a man from another village, but the local cadres would not give her a permit. Why make things difficult for themselves by further reducing the number of unmarried women?"[7]

However, after awhile these peasant women did begin to stand up for themselves. They ran for village political offices and became village leaders for the first time in China's history. They began to refuse to marry if they did not choose to and demanded property rights such as men had. At least under the new regime, these women did not have to endure the terrible deprivations so common to peasant life in China before 1948. The "Old Lady Wang" told her story to Communist cadre who had recruited her to work for the Party. Later she was elected a delegate from her village to a Communist Party convention called to suggest laws and policies for the new regime:

"The old lady told us how she had come from Shandong Province more than twenty years before, after her first husband had died. She, her mother, her brother, and her daughter ran out of money on the road. They had to sell the little girl for enough cash to continue. A buyer was found, but when the time came to leave the child behind, both the grandmother and the child cried so bitterly that the man thought better of the deal. He returned the child and gave the family enough wheat flour to last them a few more days. But tragedy trod the family's luck. Even before the wheat had been consumed, the little girl became ill and died.

"The surviving wanderers from Shandong finally arrived in the mountains of Shanzi as outright beggars. A distant relative arranged for Old Lady Wang to marry the laborer, Wangshen, a man twenty years her senior. It was either marry or starve to death, so the handsome young widow consented. The match was ill-starred from the beginning. She was so badly treated by Wang's brother that her own mother and brother walked out one day in protest and were never heard from again.

"'I did not hate him,' Old Lady Wang said of the brother, who had long since died. 'It was the old society that made him cruel. In the old society everyone oppressed others.'

"'During the famine year I peddled beancake. My pants wore so thin that people could see my pi-gu (buttocks) through the holes and made fun of me,' she said. 'Now things are much better. We got an acre and a half at the time of the distribution and 30 bushels of corn and millet. We also bought half a donkey, and I got an old felt mat for the kang for five ounces of grain. The cadres didn't want me to have it, but I got it anyway.'"[8]

It's difficult to determine how much the lives of present-day peasant women in China have been improved:

- Since no one owns farm property, all peasants live and farm on communes, there is no question of inheriting this property.
- There seems to be evidence that village marriages are still often arranged with the help of a "go between" and the majority are still "patrilocal" marriages. Women are placed at a disadvantage because they move to their husband's village. ***"They lack the local reputations and experience to earn them positions of responsibility and***

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

Commune housing

power. They lose seniority at work."[9]

- --- Pictures taken by recent travelers to China show only peasant women doing laundry at country canals. It appears that women still mostly are responsible for "women's work" such as laundry and housekeeping.

- --- Because of these household responsibilities and childbearing, their agricultural work is less consistent than that of men, therefore, they cannot earn the same commune "work points" as men. Other criteria for awarding of work points are physical strength and experience. Again, these criteria work against peasant women. The accumulated work points decide what benefits from the commune are received. It is tempting for a wife to free her husband to work towards more points, by doing all the domestic labor herself. Domestic labor does not count towards work points.[10]

Even though peasant women have not achieved equality in modern China, the gains they have made are real. Women can participate in the CCP and as village leaders. They are not legally under the domination of their husbands. Their mothers-in-law no longer can claim their obedience and labor. They can hope for a reasonably comfortable life free of the fear of unexpected disasters.

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[9] Judith Stacey, "When Patriarchy Kowtows: The Significance of the Chinese Family Revolution for Feminist Theory," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2/3 (1976), pp. 92-93. See also: William L. Parish: "Socialism and the Chinese Peasant Family," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (May, 1975), p. 613.

[10] Stacey, *Patriarchy*, pp. 91-92.

Women's Issue and Human Rights in China

C. Anderson-Huang

CCF 9604 (Wednesday, January 31, 1996)

The Shanghai Orphanage, Wei JingSheng, Harry Wu and such issues have been on the news recently. While I could see why they are controversial and where people's viewpoints are coming from, I often feel uneasy about that people's different backgrounds and such put their arguments into different priorities, even though they may agree on the same facts and grounds.

The thing I feel most uneasy about is the fact that some of our readers and writers do not necessarily understand the basic human-rights issue due to their cultural background. I am disappointed that some people simply sweep it aside and put all their efforts on less important issues to argue and dispute. Some people treat human rights problems in China as "the family dirty secret not to go out in public". Some claim that the issues are due to cultural reasons and better to leave them alone. The ones who are in the spotlight for raising these issues are made traitors with their ugly purposes. Then let us ask, is it more a problem to produce and allow the existence of these problems, or should the people who dare to expose them carry a larger blame? How sad is our blind patriotism?!

To me, I am glad that all of us can speak freely here in the USA, though I do think that sometimes some people have abused the freedom of speech by using the freedom of speech.

In my view, all these issues mentioned are related to human rights. Human rights should be given and respected to any human on this earth. While people went to great difficulties to expose these problems in China, they came to overseas. That is how they become "the traitors".

However, I feel that any human-rights issues will be hard to solve until women get enough respect from men, who as a group are still the dominant factor in Chinese society. In my opinion, we can not hope our Chinese fellows to respect of the human rights of a smaller portion of political dissidents or some deserted orphans, if many Chinese men do not even have a basic respect for women. These human-rights violations are not just the fault of the government; they are also due to our culture which has less respect for individual rights, especially for women and children. I do not agree when I hear someone righteously argue why this or that minority do not deserve their rights. Especially, I am bothered by our male-dominated society for keeping quiet on the issues for women, along with their human rights.

In this article, I want to expose a few aspects in this regard on how women are discriminated and put down by men through my own experience.

I do not appreciate our culture of Confucianism in the way many of you may do. Despite the fact that there IS a lot of wisdom in the deep culture that I grew within, I have been a victim of it from my birth. The reason is simply, I am a woman. Confucius said: "Only women and 'XiaoRen' are difficult to deal with." I am sure that most of our male readers know this sentence and benefited from it on the sacrifice of women's interests, even though they may not realize it or publicly acknowledge it.

I am writing this article because I want you to give more attention on this matter. When I am talking about some bad experience I had from being a female in China, I only remember the "get used to it" attitudes from our Chinese fellows. I can not tolerate this ignorance again and again. When I am talking to Americans, I do receive some attention. Does this really merit being called a "traitor" for bashing our Chinese' own face?

I know my "allegation" will cause great outrage and dispute from some of our "innocent" readers. The worst of all is these people will consider themselves as unrelated despite the fact they are members of that same community. In my opinion, no one should stand by and let it happen. I must speak of the truth and experience I had to prove it. I also understand my harsh words may hurt our male readers' feeling. Yet, I must say, I would like you MANkind to give some rational thinking and try to put yourself into my shoes -- as a woman.

I love my homeland and wish it and its people well. But it does not stop my pain of the way I was and am treated, as a woman there. (Yes, I am glad that I am here in America and away from the annoyance and pain I had there, like many other Asian women.) Here are some of my experiences.

I was born the second daughter of my parents. When the news first arrived to my father, it was my grandmother's sigh to my father: "Oh, another girl!" The sky got dark at that moment.

My father really wanted to have a son. Otherwise, he would not be entitled to get any inheritance from the family estate, nor could his name be continued on the hundreds year old family book. Naturally, girls names did not go in the family book, nor was it necessary for my name to follow the lettering our ancestors determined for us a long time ago.

My father does very good calligraphy, like all his ancestors did as the intellectual family of the area. When I had demonstrated my reading and calculating ability at the second grade level before I even entered the elementary school, he sighed, "Too bad that you are not a boy. Otherwise, I'll teach you everything I know." He repeated that many times until the day I left China for America. Evidently, it was the exact words my grandfather told my second aunt, who was considered to be the brightest child among all the eight siblings.

Despite communist slogans (that was the "iron girls" and "half sky" era), I was clearly taught how cheap a girl's life is at few years of age. Across the beautiful city moat from our home was the provincial hospital. Now and then when I was wandering around that river park, I would see abandoned babies. I soon learned that they were unwanted girls and handicapped boys. No healthy boy could be found when our neighbor couple tried to adopt a child.

I remember walking through the park one summer evening at the age of eleven and seeing something still on the roadside. Being so nearsighted that I had not seen blackboards for more than a year despite sitting in the front row, I had a VERY CLOSE look at that thing. It was a decomposed baby with worms all over. That night, I pictured myself being that baby and did not dare to sleep in the nights for the following month.

As a child, whenever I felt uneasy about my parents giving most of their attention and resources on my younger brother, I had to feel lucky. My father told me that there were no girls around my age at the villages he visited. The parents had to "get rid" of them to save the boys during the three years starvation period. How could it happen? "Just throw them into the toilet." Should not I feel lucky to be born in the city?

I witnessed the result when I visited the village where my sister was re- educated. The young men were afraid to get bald. If they got bald, they would immediately be the defeated candidate for the very few girls available there. There were various bizarre tales about how these single men met their sexual needs. Many of them violated the general ethic code of our human culture. (Naturally, the city girls immediately became hot hunting items as soon as they arrived.)

One of my childhood duties was to stay in line in the market almost every other day. Now and then, I had to deal with the situation of some man behind me doing what he wanted sexually. Even nowadays, I keep one yard away from the line when I am waiting in line, despite that it often makes others confused.

When I was thirteen, I took a boat for the first time. When I walked around the deck, a sailor suddenly grabbed my braid by one hand. His other hand fondled my face and then he kissed me. I screamed. "What a cute face. Too bad it is daytime." He said and let me go. I stayed with my father and never dared to leave another yard away for the second day. Surely there were many similar accounts like that during my grown up time.

During my middle-school years, despite good grades, I was poorly treated by my teachers because of my "black" family background. However, one teacher made me very thankful because he liked me and treated me well. He would tell me that I was the most intelligent girl he had ever seen and came to defend me when I was beaten up by the classmates for refusing gave the exam answers to them. He would tell me that I was the prettiest girl in the school after he heard the girls laughing at my unsuccessfully mended old clothes and broken shoes. However, it was only later that I found out that he loved to take sexual advantages on girls, just about all the pretty girls in the class.

My low self esteem was eased off a little after I entered University of Science and Technology of China without completing my high school. Despite that girls made up only 10% in the Department of Modern Physics, I thought that I was finally treated equally disregarding my sex. It was not true. I was not offered the job I was interested in when I entered the Institute of Atomic Energy. The person in charge replied to my face: "You are a woman. You are going to bring a lot of inconvenience to us." When I tried to convince him by presenting my merits, he told me: "Neither the grade, nor the ability could be counted on this matter."

I am much more relieved to be here in America, despite the fact that America is not a perfect equal society either, but at least non-discrimination is written in the law and the law is in a much better shape to be carried out. In my own encounters, American men do ask first. They also stopped immediately when I asked them so. The only one bad experience I had was with the eye doctor for my contact lens. It happened in such an ambiguous way that one could hardly charge him anything. He told me how much he had been attracted to Chinese girls when he was stationed in Hong Kong. Maybe that is where he picked up his hooligan style.

My most unpleasant experiences in the USA were involved with our very own well-educated Chinese (both have Ph.D. degrees). One event happened in my apartment with an acquaintance. When I refused, the person said: "Why not? My wife has several boy friends. I do not mind." He forgot to ask me if I minded or not.

The other event happened in my co-worker's office who already had a live-in girlfriend. He pushed me to the floor while I was unprepared. Fortunately, I did have strong arms to stop him. Later, a similar thing happened again while we were doing lab research together in the dark. I had to tell my advisor that I could not work in the lab without giving him the reason. Why? I thought it would make our Chinese lose our face. (By the way, in the lab, he tried to cover my mouth by saying: "What a bad impression you are giving to the Americans.") I had never talked to him since then, despite my Christian friend's suggestion of forgiveness and reconciliation.

During the past decade, I have traveled alone to many different parts of the world, and have met people who came from many different origins and cultures. I also enjoyed strange males' companionship (fewer lonely females on the road) to accomplish parts of my journeys. However, it could only be enjoyable on mutual respect and mutual agreement. Till today, I do not understand the mental state of males who try to take unwelcome physical advantages on females.

I have seen enthusiastic American men. I have seen persistent Arabic men. I have seen flirtatious Mediterranean men. I have seen romantic French men. I have seen distanced Japanese men. I have seen many nice and wonderful Chinese men. Yet, my favorite kind is the exotic kind Scandinavian men, which I am fortunate enough to have half of in my husband (the other half is French). Unfortunately, most of the bad experiences happened in China. They are enough to make me resent the cultural root of this sexual discrimination, along with the people who are responsible for it. Within that atmosphere, it is the victim who feels ashamed and is condemned. And one barely hears these complaints because of the pressure received from this male dominated society. The heavy big hats were used to seal our mouths. And I will not be surprised that some readers' first reaction is to think that I was responsible for the unwanted attentions of others. People may even suggest that we often hear of spouse abuse sort of the things in America, especially after the O.J. trial. Yet, in this case, the women are partially responsible for making an unwise choice and decision.

I know that people will tell me that these kind of things happen everywhere. It is true. But I have encountered such a larger scale and higher frequency with such a degree of offense in China than the other countries I have been in. I recognize that the Chinese society has been improved over the years. Yet, it is not quite enough.

One of my Chinese friends once suggested to me that the fact that I look too young, am petite, and pretty with a friendly smile are all more than enough to put me in trouble. "It is like the Arabic men thinking that women with shorts are prostitutes," he proclaimed. Is it not that attitude that makes the victimized women able to do nothing but keep silent, with only themselves to blame?

Accompanied by these experiences, I am especially saddened by the fact that when things like that happened, there is no public outcry to stop the wrong doings. In this aspect, I still remember how I almost got in a fight with a young and strong man when I was in China. He raised his fist above my head while I was trying to hold the door so some almost full-term pregnant woman could get on the bus. By the way, how often do you see people give up their seats for a pregnant woman or someone with a baby on a bus in China?

I am still having bad experiences when I return back to China. The tremendous economical development in China did not help to improve people's morals proportionally. I especially emphasize situations regarding a single female (or sometimes with her male American companions) being sexually assaulted by strangers. Here are a few examples.

In 1992 it was the first time I brought my husband back to China. With him nearby, I encountered a similar experience on the boat again. When I pushed the half drunk person away, he said: "You sleep with a foreigner and look down at your own Chinese?" I do not know what he had thought about his pride and glory for our dear homeland.

In 1993, I attended an exhibition for my company in Beijing. With my American colleague standing next to me, someone asked me if I ever got my chance to sleep with him (my American colleague) and how it would be. Fortunately, the question was asked in Chinese.

Last year, being a few months pregnant with two pieces of heavy luggage, I was fighting my way to visit my parents on a summer night. Again, there were men taking sexual advantage on me. Not one, not two, there were three separate encounters in the one train station! What can you do?!

Once, after both my sister and I received an insult on the bus by the same person, my sister jumped up and kicked the person so hard that I was worried that he may have a broken leg. It was then I suddenly learned the reason for some portion of the violence on the buses in China. My sister said: "That's the only way to teach them a lesson." I do not agree. I think that the men's world should recognize this situation and stop the "few mice feces that spoil the congee". Yet, I am always disappointed by the lack of effort and conscience from our Chinese community to realize and understand this problem.

As long as people are silent about women's issues, I could see why many people are silent or even defend what the government has done in regarding the prisoners, orphanage, and political dissidents. Despite that China is not a democratic society, which means that its government does not necessary represents its people, we also must recognize that this government is composed by some of its own people. Therefore, the government reflected its people.

I expect that, by now, there are a lot of men keeping quiet or trying to argue over what I have written (or even dispute my "bad character" if he has the chance to know that I do laugh like a devil and look like a witch). What makes me upset is that the people who do it seem to have no remorse. The people who did not do it seem blind and deaf. The people who are victimized are further victimized by shame and silence due to the Chinese culture. And the educated people (including the ones on CCF) talk about all the fancy and decent topics, except this one. Is it because this kind of problem seems trivial and worth nothing to talk about?

Here, I am sincerely asking you, please, please gave some thoughts. With no intention to accuse all the men out there, I just want to speak of truth and wish your awareness on women's issues, along with the other human rights issues in China.

Yet, I have to admit that I am always saddened by the fact that our Chinese female community is used to being silent, to take what they were offered without daring to complain. Maybe they are ashamed of admitting abuse, do not even think of speaking publicly. Maybe they got used to it and took it as the way life is. Maybe they always have their male protectors next to them. Maybe they are just plain much luckier than what I had to go through. A few of them may act like my sister, even though that is not the solution I believe in.

If half (well, less than half after the starvation years and many abandoned baby girls) of the population do not get the respect they deserve, how could we expect the communist government to respect the much fewer prisoners, orphans, and the even fewer political dissidents who are brave enough to speak out? Guys, do not let me say that you are no better than the dictators. Let us treat everyone as the way you would like to be treated. Let us respect them in the way they deserve as all humans are entitled. Despite that we need time for both our government and our own citizens to learn and to act in a more civilized way, it is our duty to learn and to Contribute for a faster progress.

Please, please give your conscience and improve this society!

Note 1: After this article was finished, my husband refreshed me of our encounter in Nanjing train station which was one of the heavier experiences I intentionally excluded. While we were waiting in line, three peasant looking young men in front of us looked at us first like zoo animals, just like many others. Then they all laughed. One of them asked me the question while using his hands to make a universally understandable sign: "What is his size?"

Note 2: I watched last night's "60 minutes" report on the Shanghai orphanage and I was really disappointed with the Chinese government official they interviewed. Without giving the possibility that such a thing might happen in individual cases and/or will be investigated, he simply jumped into an effort to discredit the messenger; not because the message was not true, but because "unauthorized secrets" were revealed. Why do I believe at least some of the details? Comparing with the case of the child who was tied up to the bed, my mother (and later her colleague of that time) always told me how I was tied up and unfed when I was in the hospital at age 2. Comparing with the case where the children were made to sit on the pot for hours, I still remember how my colleague cried for a whole day when she found out her baby was made to do so by the caretakers of the institute nursery.

[From: Ciping Anderson-Huang, HCP@physics.utoledo.edu]

HONG KONG WOMEN CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

Women's Situation in Hong Kong

1. NGO Report on Women in Hong Kong

2. Women and the Church

3. Updates

NGO REPORT ON WOMEN IN HONG KONG

Original Report Prepared by The Hong Kong Women's Coalition on Equal Opportunities

This condensed version prepared by: Sue Romaniuk, United Church of Canada, Hong Kong Women Christian Council. Updated for the Second East Asian Women's Forum, August 22-24, 1996.

INTRODUCTION

In 1984 the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed by China and Britain. Hong Kong will return to China on July 1, 1997. The Hong Kong government began drafting the Basic Law Agreement which will become the constitution for Hong Kong after July 1, 1997. In this Agreement the promise of One Country, Two Systems and the promise to give Hong Kong the status of Special Administrative Region (SAR) are Hong Kong's future assurance of sovereignty from the Chinese government.

However, many people find the future uncertain and have decided to emigrate, causing numerous social problems. Family break-ups arise when women and children emigrate while the husband stays in Hong Kong working where he is assured of employment.

The economic development of Hong Kong has reinforced the traditional role of women. It has also created escalating conflicts in women towards their role and status in society. This awareness has assisted in the promotion of a feminist consciousness and has moved women to identify and lay claim for their rights as citizens deserving of equal status with men.

For the women of Hong Kong, the return to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, 1997 presents important challenges. The larger political, economic and cultural differences between China and Hong Kong have a direct impact on Hong Kong women's family life. Another challenge is drawn from the very real differences between state institutions and other organizations in Hong Kong like the many non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Finally, there are social and political differences which produce divisions among womens groups. For instance, differences in socio-economic status, in approaches to women's issues (eg. a service or research orientation versus advocacy), and in political stance (eg. those groups which are pro-China, women's groups versus those which are independent, feminist groups).

This paper will briefly outline the face of inequality, the obstacles facing women seeking social reform and the need for Hong Kong to make social and political advancement before 1997.

I. WOMEN AND WORK: THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON WOMEN WORKERS

While economic development which took off in the 1960's contributed to higher employment rates for women and an improved social status, the industrial restructuring that began in the 1980's has brought women a new set of problems. The high cost of land and labour have seen factories moving out of Hong Kong to mainland China where land and labour is cheaper. Eighty percent of manufacturing plants in Hong Kong have subsidiaries operating in China. The number of manufacturing workers in Hong Kong has decreased from 900,000 in 1988 to 590,000 in 1993. Women in their 30's and 40's with 10-20 years of industrial work experience have been thrust into a service industry where they lack skills and confidence. Many remain unemployed and unemployable due to sex and age discrimination in the service industry's labour force. It is difficult for women over 30 to find jobs.

This movement of Hong Kong factories into China continues to affect countless numbers of women and children in Hong Kong in another way. When companies move to mainland China many of the male executives and managers move in order to run the operations. These men leave their wives and families for months and sometimes years at a time. Once in China, many of these men take "second wives" and start another family. The wives and families left behind in HK are completely alone, with no rights for compensation. It seems that the government feels it is too difficult to prove that a man has taken up with another woman. So long as he has not "legally" married another woman, what's the point in pressing the issue! This is creating a great number of single mothers, marginalized and struggling to survive and to raise their children.

Cutting down on labour cost often means a move on the part of the employer to hiring part-time labourers. The majority of part-time workers are women earning a wage of about HK$2,000 per month.

Sex discrimination in the work place is evident in the wages as well. Women on average are earning only 77% of the male dollar. Women aged 45-49 were earning only 58% of what men earned.

Sex-role division of labour is still prevalent in Hong Kong. In 1991 83% of women between the ages of 20-24 were participants in the labour force. But between the ages of 30-34 and 35-39, the numbers dropped drastically to 60% and 50% respectively, after all women had family responsibilities and roles to fulfill. The lack of child care facilities available keeps women at home with their children, where the women remain economically dependent upon their husbands.

II. WOMEN AND POVERTY

Women's disadvantaged position in the labour market is a significant factor contributing to women's poverty. Social assistance goes mainly to women who make up the greatest percentage of single parents, unemployed and aged. In the family, the poverty of married women is less visible because the unequal allocation and access to family resources for women has been overlooked. Social deprivation, the inability to get out and develop social relationships because of family responsibilities, is a great source of poverty for women.

III. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Traditional gender roles continue to prevail in the family. The man is the breadwinner and the woman the care giver, even if both spouses are employed outside the home. Men are the decision makers, women are the homemakers.

A survey was conducted in Tuen Mun which found that 80% of the women surveyed believed that taking care of the family was more important than personal careers. Sixty percent believed that a woman's place was in the home. According to this survey 70% of women depend on their mothers or mother in-laws to assist with child care and housework.

Families in Hong Kong are becoming smaller. The number of births can be seen to be decreasing, when in 1981 there were 86,751 births and in 1990 only 67,731. Birth rates are declining with decreasing fertility rates which are a direct result of women becoming more educated, women's increased participation in the labour force, a change in social norms concerning child rearing from emphasis on quantity to quality, and the increased costs of child rearing. In Hong Kong today birth control remains the responsibility of the women.

Abortions are easily available to those women who can afford it through private clinics. Public hospitals are less 'free' with permission for abortion, therefore women who are less economically privileged often put their lives at risk obtaining illegal abortions in Hong Kong or going to lower quality clinics in China.

Family violence is on the increase. Women are reluctant to come forward, even to friends and family. The average age of battered women is 31-40. Over 56% of battered wives are full-time housewives who are economically dependent on their husbands. Immigrant wives from mainland China are often victims of abusive marriages. They are easy targets, lacking social, family and community support.

The police in Hong Kong lack training and experience in handling family violence. This is evident when only 41% of battered women are referred by the police to social agencies, and a meagre 43% are informed of their legal rights.

The transformation of Hong Kong's economy has seen many males move to work in China. This has caused an increase in mistresses being kept by Hong Kong men in China as well as periods of long separation between husbands and wives. These extra marital affairs cause emotional and financial strains that many women are unable to overcome.

Divorce is on the increase in Hong Kong. New legislation makes it possible for divorce proceedings to begin after one year rather than a forced waiting period of three years.

Social agencies need to develop preventative measures that meet the special needs of these families involved, in particular the women who are left on their own to deal with the struggles.

Most recently, groups in Hong Kong have begun consultation on introducing reproductive technologies which would allow a child's sex to be decided before it is born, that is, if it is the second child, and if the decision is for medical reasons. While technology has improved the lives of Hong Kong people, there are many decisions over the ethics of technology's applications, especially as it impacts women, which have yet to be made.

IV. SEXUAL VIOLENCE & SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Hong Kong society still believes that women, the most prevalent victims of sexual harassment and violence, are somehow responsible for the treatment they receive at the hands of others. Suggestive gestures, "seductive" clothing or going out late at night are off limits for women who do not wish to be victims of sexual crimes.

The lack of training that police receive in dealing with a victim of a sex crime discourages victims from reporting the crime. There is a general lack of a victim support system which would enable the victims to get the help they need. Rape within marriage is not acknowledged by the police or legal institutions. In the area of domestic violence, the Hong Kong government has ignored the hardship faced by many abused women.

The Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions has in place a Women's Committee that is committed to dealing with women's labour issues, to raising and promoting women's issues and rights. Over the past two years, they have promoted a large campaign against sexual harassment in the workplace. Part of this campaign was the sexual harassment survey completed in September of 1994.

There often exist a number of myths that prevent respect being given to the issues of sexual harassment brought forward by women in the labour force. The surveys point out to the workers, employers, government and general public that the problems are much larger than they had been led to believe by those who do not wish to deal with the issues. There is still the belief that women are being sexually harassed because of the provocative clothing they wear or because of their youthfulness. HKCTU's survey showed that in fact many women working in offices that employ a conservative dress code, and women over the age of 45, were still being harassed in the workplace. The HKCTU's surveys raise awareness and challenged the myths and attitudes of the labour force, the government and the general population.

At the present time Hong Kong women struggle to come to grips with sexual harassment in the work place. Guiding legislation has yet to be out in place in Hong Kong.

Anna Wu's private member's Equal Opportunity Bill was debated, but was defeated in mid-1995. In its place, two less comprehensive bills were passed: the Sex Discrimination Ordinance and the Disability Ordinance. Neither bill covers age discrimination, one of the greatest contributors to women's unemployment. Over ninety three percent of women over the age of 40 are unemployed due to age discrimination.

The Sex Discrimination Bill was passed in July of 1995; however, it has no starting date and is riddled with exemptions that weaken its effectiveness. Clearly the government continues to stall in picking up its responsibility to ensure equal status for women and men in Hong Kong.

Women will continue to be oppressed by the church in cases of sex discrimination. The churches in Hong Kong are exempt from this sex discrimination legislation.

In the case of domestic violence, a number of factors contribute to the problem. Hong Kong is a patriarchal society in which traditional family values are still very strong. It is felt that abuse should be kept as a private matter. Hong Kong men maintaining mistresses in mainland China puts stress on Hong Kong marriages from which domestic violence may result. In addition, there is a lack of public awareness and insufficient resources with which to tackle the problem. Support for abused women comes in the form of counseling, shelters and some legal protection. However, stronger social policies, inter-departmental coordination, statistical research, implementation monitoring, and training could improve government's input on the problem. More resources for public education, stronger legal protection, additional social resources, and specialized counseling services would help greatly in addressing the issue of violence against women.

The greatest opposition faced by those lobbying for women's rights, for equal opportunities, is the government itself. The inequitable composition of the "elitist" government which houses a greater number of appointed seats than directly elected seats, results in the needs of the business sector being met at the cost of an equitable society.

V. WOMEN AND HEALTH

Women's health is shown to be closely related to their disadvantaged positions in the family and in the workforce. The isolation and socially undervalued positions of housewives leads to poor self image and mental health problems. The double burden of paid work and family responsibility is a major cause of post-natal depression in women. Women's role as household carers, their dual roles of housewives and employee, and their lack of resources are all factors contributing to women's unsatisfactory physical and mental health.

AIDs is an increasing health concern for women. While the numbers of AIDs patients in Hong Kong increases, it is increasing at a greater rate among women than men. With the increase of extra-marital affairs and prostitution, heterosexual contraction of aids among women is on the rise as husbands bring the disease home to the family.

With the increased awareness of women's health issues and the need to address those issues, action has been taken. Recently Hong Kong has seen the development of three Women's Health Centres that will focus on the specific health needs of Hong Kong's women.

VI. SOCIAL POLICIES AND WOMEN

Child-care:

In the eyes of Hong Kong society and its government, child care remains primarily the responsibility of mothers. There is very limited subsidised child care available which in turn restricts women to the traditional role of housewives. Government subsidized child-care services meet only 10% of the need. While there is private child care available, none of it is government regulated, therefore the quality of care is not guaranteed. Kindergartens are also privately operated and very expensive.

Education:

Sex stereotyping of females and males in fields of study persists in the Hong Kong education system. In grammar schools, science subjects continue to be male-dominated and arts subjects attract more female students. In the Universities' areas of study which tend to lead to less lucrative jobs, e.g. arts and social sciences, have become increasingly "feminized".

Housing:

Women, especially poor women, are more likely to face housing problems than men. Single women and single mothers face numerous problems related to housing and living conditions in Hong Kong. Single moms are not given any priority in public housing and therefore they are often forced to rent single rooms or to share apartments with other women.

There are only two temporary shelters for battered women in Hong Kong, each providing about 40 places. There are no other housing services available for these victims after they leave the shelters.

VII. WOMEN AND THE MEDIA

The media in Hong Kong continues to abuse the image of women as newspapers, television and advertisements all promote sexist images of women. Beauty contests in Hong Kong continue to devalue the lives of women as they promote women's bodies as some sort of commodity of which there is an ideal model.

In the summer of 1994, a series of posters were produced by the government's Labour Department for an industrial safety campaign. Provocative images of women, along with suggestive slogans such as "Before You Go All the Way, Take Precautions," were used in the posters to attract attention. This campaign which draws heavily on sexist imagery brings into question the sincerity of the Hong Kong government which is supposedly promoting equal opportunities and opposing sex discrimination in the workplace.

After a number of demonstrations organized by labour and women's organizations with the support of a group of Legco members, the government withdrew these posters. A recent survey revealed that advertising in Hong Kong continues to promote stereotypical sex roles, to portray women as sexual objects or accessories, and put women in a subordinate role.

VIII. SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Although women of sexual minority groups have existed throughout China's history, the modern Hong Kong movement to secure equal opportunities for these women began in the late 1970s and early 1980s. For example, there was an early "gay and lesbian group" called the Pink Triangle which existed in Hong Kong during the 1970s.

One of the major tasks facing groups such as the Pink Triangle, and later the Hong Kong 10% Club is the job of lobbying for the repeal of the Sodomy Law (finally achieved in July 1991). Women have participated in these "gay and lesbian" groups from the 1970s until the present, but always in lesser numbers than men. This is because only about 40% of the participants identified themselves as lesbians, and the other 40% identified themselves as other sexual identities, mainly bisexual and single-by-choice.

Since the non-heterosexual women's population in Hong Kong included women from the full spectrum of possible sexual orientations, a more inclusive word, "queer" was used by some of these women to describe themelves. The Cantonese equivalent to the word "queer" is "tung zhi" (a rough translation is "same purpose" or "comrade").

In early 1995, one of the first feminist queer organizations in Asia was founded in Hong Kong. The establishment of the Queer Sisters is to promote visibility of queer women, to provide services such as a counselling hotline catered to their needs, advocate equal and social treatment for queer women and to educate society with regards to unbiased information about queer women in Hong Kong. One of their major tasks was to push for the passing of anti-discrimination legislation for lesbians and bisexual women in the Legislative Council session which just ended in July of this year. If this legislation passes, the nest major job will be to insure that the new law will be enforced by the Equal Opportunities Commission which will begin operation in September of this year.

IX. SEX DISCRIMINATION ORDINANCE

Through organized lobbying activities directed at the Legislative Councillors and political parties, women's issues have been raised to unprecedented levels of attention in the public arena. As a direct result of their determination, the lobby groups have successfully initiated debates, that never would have taken place in the legislature. Legco member, Anna Wu, presented the government with a draft of a private members bill, the Equal Opportunities Bill, which prohibits all forms of discrimination. This bill, along with the pressure of women's groups, forced the government into action. In 1994, the government, responding to the pressure, announced that it would introduce legislation against sex discrimination in the community and discuss the possibility of extending the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to women in Hong Kong.

In October 1994, a Sex Discrimination Bill was drafted as presented to the public for consultation. The bill prohibits discrimination, based on sex, pregnancy and marital status, in the workplace, in education, training programs and social life. It also requires advertisers placing discriminatory advertisements to pay a fine. Sexual harassment is forbidden as well.

The Sex Discrimination Bill was tabled and debated at the Legco meeting on June 28, 1995. While the Bill was passed it has no starting date and is riddled with exemptions that weaken its effectiveness, including the lack of legislation againsr age discrimination and concern for the traditional family responsibilities expected of women. Clearly the government continues to stall in picking up its reponsibility to ensure equal status for women and men in Hong Kong.

The extension of CEDAW to Hong Kong is still up for debate, but an Equal Opportunities Commission was established on May 20, 1996. It will come into operation in September of 1996. However, sufficient representation of women's views on the commission is still being questioned.

X. WOMEN AND POLITICS

Though economically advanced, Hong Kong is still under-developed politically. The government of Hong Kong is predominantly an elitist decision making structure. While general elections by universal suffrage were introduced in Hong Kong in 1991, they resulted in the election of less than one third of the seats. The rest are obtained by appointment. Those appointed represent business and professional interests. The Legislative Council (Legco) amended the electoral ordinance so that by 1995 membership of Legco no longer included government officials and appointed members. Elections for the District Boards in 1994 and the Municipal Councils in 1995 did away with the appointment system as well.

The gradual opening up of the political system since the 1980's has helped to politicize the hitherto "apolitical" population in Hong Kong. However, it should be noted that there has been no significant change over the years in the overall percentage of women councillors on the representative political bodies. Moreover the higher up the power hierarchy, the fewer the number of women elected.

Women, although they are often appointed because of their abilities and their record of community participation, seldom run for election. Academics and social activists have explained the low level of women's participation in electoral politics in terms of inadequate provision of social services to relieve women from household chores, the low status of women in society in general, the public image of women and women's own self-perception. However, these factors aside, electoral politics in Hong Kong are inherently discriminatory.

The fundamental flaw of the system of functional constituencies is that it restricts the electoral franchise to a small male-dominated population. The system also excludes housewives who constitute about half of the adult female population, and are not considered to have a "function", and therefore are not accorded a functional constituency seat.

XI. DISCRIMINATION OF WOMEN IN THE NEW TERRITORIES

Geographically, Hong Kong is divided into three regions: the Hong Kong Island, and Kowloon which were ceded to Britain under separate treaties, and the New Territories which was leased to Britain for 99 years in 1898. Those who inhabited the New Territories in 1898, and their descendants are known as the indigenous people of Hong Kong.

Under the British administration there is a New Territories Ordinance which preserves the customary Chinese law of land inheritance rights. According to this Ordinance, women in the New Territories are denied the right to land succession when the owner of the land dies intestate, though women in other parts of Hong Kong enjoy equal land succession rights with men.

Large housing developments in the New Territories have resulted in 42% of Hong Kong's population living there. A New Territories Land Exemption Bill which exempts all non-rural land from the application of the New Territories Ordinance has heightened the level of discrimination against indigenous women. Women's groups in Hong Kong have reacted by demanding the repeal of discriminatory customary practices in the New Territories as a whole. Indigenous women from the Territories began to come forward and join with the women's groups. After months of lobbying activities, and the move by one of the women councillors to propose an amendment to the land exemption bill to include all land, victory was won in June 1994.

However, indigenous women continue to battle issues of sex discrimination. The Small House Policy allows only male descendants to apply once for land to build a small house on. A recent vote on this issue within the Legco debate on the Sex Discrimination Bill will uphold this policy.

Women are virtually excluded from the political realm of the village where only the heads of households (invariably male with rare exceptions) are eligible to vote for their village representatives who then form the Rural Committees. Women's groups are challenging the legality of the discriminating election system as the Bill of Rights guarantees equal political rights of women and men.

XII. THE COALITION'S PLAN OF ACTION FOR THE HONG KONG GOVERNMENT

In light of the far-from-equal status of Hong Kong women, the Hong Kong Women's Coalition on Equal Opportunities has drawn up a plan of action for the Hong Kong Government in urging them to put women's issues higher on their agenda, and do more to help women acquire equal status with men in all spheres of society.

Legislation:

The Hong Kong Coalition of Women's Organizations are presently lobbying the government to add age discrimination and other gender-related grounds of discrimination to the Sex Discrimination Bill. The government should also implement legislation guaranteeing equal pay for equal work, full pay instead of two thirds pay for working women on pregnancy leave, and the extension of CEDAW to Hong Kong without reservations.

Social Services:

The government should conduct a thorough study on problems faced by families in which one spouse needs to frequently work away form home. It should set up as soon as possible women's development centres to assist families which are facing breakups, and to counsel women whose husbands are having extra-marital affairs either in the mainland or within the territory.

The government should increase and enhance its existing child-care facilities, and encourage private firms to allow job-sharing and other flex-time work schedules. Public housing allocation should be modified so that women with special needs can obtain affordable housing.

The government should set up a more supportive network for battered women, victims of sex crimes, single parents and other women in need.

Public Education and Training Schemes:

The government should assist women in learning about their rights under the law. The police force should be sensitized and trained to deal with issues of rape, sexual harassment and domestic violence. There should be more resources to retraining programs for women who have lost their jobs due to economic restructuring.

Fathers should be educated on the need for them to play an equal part in family life and to shoulder their share of the household chores.

Teachers should be sensitized to stereotyping concepts, and be trained to avoid discriminatory practices. Career counsellors should be sensitized to the imbalance in the sex ratios in various disciplines of studies, and be trained to encourage students to study non-traditional subjects and courses. Textbooks used in the school system should be reviewed and revised so as to do away with gender-biased concepts.

CONCLUSIONS

There are numerous grass-roots women's organizations in Hong Kong fighting for their rights. Each group in and of itself has a major focus. Each group works diligently with great determination to bring about their vision of a fair and equitable society. Together, these groups form a very strong coalition of women.

Member groups of the Hong Kong Women's Coalition for Equal Opportunities have a long history of fighting for women's rights, rendering community services to women from all walks of life, and conducting public educational programs. They have continued to work for these goals following the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It is hoped that our efforts will pay off in that more and more women will become individuals, who enjoy self-confidence, freedom, independent thought and action, and health, and who can contribute fully to society.

Member Groups of Hong Kong Women's Coalition on Equal Opportunities:

The Association for the Advancement of Feminism (AAF)
Chan Hing Social Services Centre Concern Group on Women's Rights
The Concern Group on Single Parents
Family Ideal Community Education Project of Harmony House
The Hong Kong Federation of Women's Centres
The Hong Kong Women Christian Council
The Hong Kong Women Worker's Association
Queer Sisters

Women and the Church

UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Updates

Legislation for the Privileged

On Feb. 1, the Preparatory Committee decided not to repeal the New Territories Land (Exemption) Ordinance that allows indigenous women in the New Territories to inherit land when there is no will left by their parents. However, the committee stressed that the Special Administrative Region (SAR) government would make changes after the handover if it thought they were necessary. This action was viewed as a means to settle the discontent of several rural leaders on the committee towards the ordinance. On the same day, the committee also decided that 25 laws that it claimed contravened the Basic Law were to be partially or totally repealed. The most controversial proposals were to partially reinstate the Public Order and Societies ordinances. The suggestion of reinstating these two draconian laws was made by the legal subgroup of the Preparatory Committee well before the committee meeting. While the suggestion triggered strong resentment among the community, 26 groups, including Christian groups, women's organizations, labour unions, political groups, social workers' associations and human rights groups, formed the Hong Kong People's Alliance for Human Rights to counter these proposals by collecting the real voice of the general public. Some commentators claimed that the partial, instead of full, reinstatement of the draconian laws resembled a victory for public opinion, yet it is too early to be optimistic. Like the New Territories Land (Exemption) Ordinance, this was a conditional decision as the chief executive-designate, Tung Chee-hwa, has pointed out that the matter will be left to the provisional legislature to settle. In other words, it is probably a matter of time before these laws are repealed in some fashion. After all, it is envisaged that the legislation of the SAR government will favour the personal interests of those who have already attained seats on the legislative and administrative bodies of the future government through China's direct or indirect influence, people who will represent the Chinese authorities' will within the Hong Kong administration. Thus, there is no doubt that China will keep her promise to let Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong. However, these Hong Kong people whose hearts and minds are obedient to the central authority will perhaps take even more extreme positions than the Beijing leaders' wishes in order to show their loyalty. As a result, the real concerns of society as a whole it is believed will be diluted still further.

Sexual Violence No More

The Association Concerning Sexual Violence against Women, a newly formed association by a group of individuals concerned with women's rights, especially concern for the problem of sexual violence against women, is launching a hotline for rape survivors. This pioneer service, which is to be held in March, provides counseling and referral services to the callers and is part of the group's plans to promote public awareness of sexual violence in our society and ultimately to end this hidden but very serious social problem that affects women's lives.

Stories for Eva

Eva, a middle-aged woman who comes from a family in which daughters were not held in high regard, was not permitted to even finish her secondary education when she was young, yet her brothers were granted the opportunity to enter university. This is a typical experience for most of the grassroots women in Hong Kong. Their experiences prompted Susanna Hoe, a writer and English teacher, to commission a book of stories and English course specifically for middle-aged housewives in the territory. A total of 52 women, many of whom hold prominent positions in the territory, contributed to the book Stories for Eva. They shared their life experiences and insights on issues ranging from sexual equality to environmental protection and women in politics in their essays. Hoe then did some rewriting to ensure that the pieces were more easily understood by average English students. After taking her course and reading the book, Hoe's students found that their

English ability and communication skills had improved! Some even expressed that they were excited to know what's on the mind of other women through the book. This is the greatest reward for their teacher. Hoe's ideas as well as her book are now gaining a wider audience. More women's groups and even Chinese University's School of Continuing Studies are going to organize similar courses for women at different competence levels. Hopefully the trend can continue so that the educational rights of ecomomically deprived women can be reclaimed.

★ Home ★ HKWCC ★ Women ★ Publications ★ Campaigns ★ Programs ★ Activities ★

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION: AN INTRODUCTORY UNIT FOR THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA

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OVERVIEW

TEACHING ABOUT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

This unit consists of one lesson for high school students in history, political science, and world affairs classes. The focus is on one of the most volatile periods in Chinese history. The goal here is to provide a historical context and to provide students with factual information about the period between 1966 and 1976. This lesson is workable within a two or three day period or it can be extended depending upon how much overall research,video, and oral reports are utilized and how students are tested.This lesson includes some historical background , statistical data, and sources which can be found in most city, college libraries. For those who teach Chinese history, this unit will be essentially elementary. For others who would like to introduce the Cultural Revolution into their classes they will find this unit useful, with an accurate, condensed overview, and quick to use.

OBJECTIVES

1. Students should be able to explain the background which helped cause the Cultural Revolution.

2. Students should be able to explain Mao's motives in starting the Cultural Revolution.

3. Students should be able to explain some of the main targets of the Cultural Revolution.

4. Students should be able to explain the role of the Red Guard in the Cultural Revolution.

5. Students should be able to explain the impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese society.

6. Students should be able to explain the factors which brought an end to the Cultural Revolution.

BACKGROUND

EARLY YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

On October 1, 1949, the Peoples Republic of China was formally established, with its national capital at Beijing. Mao Zedong(1893-1976)declared the creation of a "people's democratic dictatorship." The people were defined as a coalition of four social classes: the workers, the peasant, the petite bourgeoisie, and the national-capitalists. The four classes were to be led by the Chinese Communist Party(CCP), as the vanguard of the working class. At that time the CCP claimed a membership of 4.5 million, of which members of peasant origin accounted for nearly 90 percent. The party was under Mao's chairmanship, and the government was headed by Zhou Enlai(1898-1976) as premier.

The Soviet Union recognized the People's Republic on October 2, 1949. Earlier in the year, Mao had proclaimed his policy of "leaning to one side" as a commitment to the socialist bloc. In February 1950, after months of hard bargaining, China and the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, valid until 1980.

For the first time in decades(keep in mind the civil war between the Nationalists and Communists from 1927 to 1949) a Chinese government was met with peace, instead of massive military opposition, within its territory. The new leadership was highly disciplined and, having a decade of wartime administrative experience to draw upon, was able to embark on a program of national integration and reform. In the first year of Communist administration, moderate social and economic policies were implemented. The leadership realized that the overwhelming and massive task of economic reconstruction and achievement of political and social stability required the goodwill and cooperation of all classes of people.

By 1950 international recognition of the Communist government had increased, but it was slowed by China's involvement in the Korean War(1950-53). China sent troops(People's Liberation Army) across the Yalu River in October, 1950 to attack United Nations forces in response to a North Korean request. In 1951 the U.N. declared China to be an aggressor in Korea and sanctioned a global embargo on the shipment of arms and war materiel to China. This step foreclosed for the time being any possibility that the People's Republic might replace Nationalist china(on Taiwan) as a member of the U.N. and as a veto-holding member of the U.N. Security Council.

After China entered the Korean War, the initial moderation in Chinese domestic policies gave way to a massive campaign against the "enemies of the state," actual and potential. These enemies consisted of "war criminals, traitors, bureaucratic capitalists, and counterrevolutionaries." The campaign was combined with party-sponsored trials attended by huge numbers of people. The major targets in this drive were foreigners and Christian missionaries who were branded as United States agents at these mass trials. The 1951-52 drive against political enemies was accompanied by land reform, which had actually begun under the Agrarian Reform Law of June 28, 1950. The redistribution of land was accelerated, and a class struggle landlords and wealthy peasants was launched. An ideological reform campaign requiring self-criticisms and public confessions by university faculty members, scientists, and other professional workers was given wide publicity. Artists and writers were soon the objects of similar treatment for failing to heed Mao's dictum that culture and literature must reflect the class interest of the working people, led by the Chinese Communist Party. There were continued campaigns against the evils of corruption, waste, and bureaucratism. The aim was to eliminate incompetent and politically unreliable public officials and to bring about an efficient, disciplined, and responsive bureaucratic system. The number of people affected by the various punitive or reform campaigns was estimated in the millions.

THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The period from 1953 to 1957 was characterized y government efforts to achieve industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and political centralization. The First Five-Year Plan stressed the development of heavy industry on the Soviet model. Soviet economic and technical assistance was expected to play a significant part in the implementation of the plan, and technical agreements were signed with the Soviets in 1953 and 1954. For the purpose of economic planning, the first modern census was taken in 1953; the population of mainland China was 583 million.

Among China's most pressing needs in the early 1950s were food for its burgeoning population, domestic capital for investment, and purchase of Soviet-supplied technology, capital equipment, and military hardware.To satisfy these needs, the government began to collectivize agriculture. Despite internal disagreement as to the speed of collectivization, which at least for the time being was resolved in Mao's favor, preliminary collectivization was 90 percent completed by the end of 1956. In addition, the government nationalized banking, industry, and trade. Private enterprise in mainland China was virtually abolished.

Major political developments included the centralization of party and government administration. Elections were held in 1953 for delegates to the First National People's Congress, China's national legislature, which met in 1954. The congress promulgated the state constitution of 1954 and formally elected Mao chairman(or president) of the People's Republic; it elected Liu Shaoqi(1898-1969)chairman of the Standing Committee of National People's Congress; and named Zhou Enlai premier of the new State Council. In the midst of these major governmental changes, and helping to precipitate them, was a power struggle within the Chinese Communist Party(CCP) leading to the purge of numerous high party officials.

The process of national integration also was characterized by improvements in party organization under the administrative direction of the secretary general of the party Deng Xiaoping(1904-1997). There was a marked emphasis on recruiting intellectuals, who by 1956 constituted nearly 12 percent of the part's 10.8 million members. Peasant membership had decreased to 69 percent, while there was an increasing number of "experts", who were needed for the party and governmental infrastructures, in the party ranks.

THE HUNDRED FLOWERS CAMPAIGN

As part of the effort to encourage the participation of intellectuals in the new government, in mid-1956 there began an official effort to liberalize the political climate. Cultural and intellectual figures were encouraged to speak their minds on the state of the Chinese Communist Party rule and programs. Mao personally took the lead in the movement, which was launched under the classical slogan "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let the hundred schools of thought contend." At first the party's repeated invitation to air constructive views freely and openly was met with caution. By mid-1957, however, the movement unexpectedly mounted, bringing denunciation and criticism against the party in general and the excesses of its cadres in particular. Startled and embarrassed, leaders turned on the critics as "bourgeois rightists" and launched the Anti-Rightist Campaign.

Mao's purpose in initiating the Hundred Flowers Campaign is not known. Perhaps the objective of his policy shift was to soften opposition to the Communist government's totalitarian controls by permitting carefully guided criticism. It was apparent to the Communist leadership and to Mao in particular that many Chinese had not been converted to the Communist' vision of a new society. The Hundred Flowers Campaign was abruptly discontinued and the policy of strict censorship was reestablished in 1957.

THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD(2nd FIVE-YEAR PLAN 1958-62)

The anti rightist drive was followed by a militant approach toward economic development. In 1958 the CCP launched the Great Leap Forward. The Great Leap Forward was aimed at accomplishing the economic and technical development of the country at a vastly faster pace and with greater results. Although the party leaders appeared generally satisfied with the accomplishments of the First five-Year Plan, Mao and his fellow radicals in particular believed that more could be achieved in the Second five Year Plan if the people could be ideological aroused and if domestic resources could be utilized more efficiently for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture.

These assumptions led the party to an intensified mobilization of the peasantry and mass organizations, stepped-up ideological guidance and indoctrination of technical experts, and efforts to build a more responsive political system. These organizations or groups, called cadres, would be sent to factories, communes, mines, and public works projects for manual labor and firsthand familiarization with grassroots conditions. (Such requirements for groups were used during The Cultural Revolution, but for different reasons.) Mao's decision to embark on the Great Leap Forward was based at least in part on his uncertainty about the Soviet policy of economic, financial, and technical assistance to China. That policy in Mao's view had fallen short of what aid was actually needed for his country. Also he did not want to be dependent upon the economic aid from the Soviet Union.

The Great Leap Forward centered on a new socioeconomic and political system created in the countryside and in a few urban areas--the People's Communes. By the fall of 1958, some 750,000 agricultural producer's cooperatives, now designated as production brigades, had been amalgamated into about 23,500 communes, each averaging 5,000 households, or 22,000 people. The individual commune was placed in control of all the means of production and was to operate as the sole accounting unit. It was subdivided into production brigades and production teams. Each commune was planned as self-supporting community for agriculture, small-scale local industry(for example, the famous backyard pig-iron furnaces), schooling, marketing, administration, and local security. Organized along paramilitary and laborsaving lines, the commune had communal kitchens, mess halls, and nurseries. In a way, the people's communes constituted a fundamental attack on the institution of the family, especially in a few model areas where radical experiments in communal living occurred such as large dormitories in place of the traditional nuclear family housing. These were quickly dropped. The system also was based on the assumption that it would release additional manpower or such major projects as irrigation works and hydroelectric dams, which were seen as integral parts of the plan for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture.

The Great Leap Forward was an economic failure. In early 1959, amid signs of rising popular restiveness, the CCP admitted that the favorable production report for 1958 had been exaggerated. Some economic consequences of the Great Leap Forward were a shortage of food, shortages of raw materials for industry, overproduction of poor-quality goods, deterioration of industrial plants through mismanagement, and exhaustion and demoralization of the peasantry and the intellectuals as well as government officials at all levels.

Political consequences were considerable. In April, 1959 Mao, who bore the chief responsibility for the Great Leap Forward fiasco, stepped down from his position as chairman of the People's Republic. Liu Shaoqi was elected to be Mao's successor. Mao, however, remained the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party(CCP). Mao's Great Leap Forward policy came under open criticism within the

Party. This attack was led by Minister of National Defense Peng Dehuai. Peng was eventually deposed and replaced by Lin Biao(1907-1971) a radical and opportunist Maoist. The new defense minister initiated a systematic purge of Peng's supporters from the military.

The Sino-Soviet dispute of the late 1950's was the most important development in Chinese foreign relations. The Soviet Union had been China's principal benefactor and ally, but relations between the two were cooling. The Soviet agreement in late 1957 to help China produce its own nuclear weapons and missiles was terminated by mid-1959. From that point until the mid-1960s, the Soviets recalled all of their technicians and advisers from China and reduced or canceled economic and technical aid to china. This came about because the two countries differed in their interpretation of the nature of "peaceful coexistence." The Chinese took a more militant position on the issue of anti-imperialist struggle, but the Soviets were unwilling, for example, to give their support on the Taiwan question. Also the two communist powers disagreed on doctrinal matters. the Chinese accused the Soviets of "revisionism." The Soviets countered with the charges of "dogmatism." Add to this historical suspicions over such issues as borders. The dispute was a blow to obtaining aid needed for Chinese development of industry.

During the early 1960's there was an effort to stabilize the economic front by more moderate leaders such as Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and others. They initiated a series of corrective measures. On the industrial front, much emphasis was now placed on realistic and efficient planning. Ideological fervor and mass movements were no longer the controlling themes of industrial management. Production authority was restored to factory managers. The CCP also began strengthening the defense and internal security establishment. By early 1965 the country was well on its way to recovery under the direction of that part of the CCP apparatus which was controlled by the Central Committee's Secretariat headed by Secretary General Deng Xiaoping.

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION 1966-76 MORE BACKGROUND

In the early 1960's, Mao was on the political sidelines and in semi seclusion. By 1962, however, he began an offensive to purify the party, having grown increasingly uneasy about what he believed were the creeping "capitalist" and anti socialist tendencies in the country. As a hardened veteran revolutionary who had overcome the severest adversities, Mao continued to believe that the material incentives that had been restored to the peasants and others were corrupting the masses and were counterrevolutionary.

To arrest the so-called capitalist trend, Mao launched the Socialist Education Movement(1962-65), in which the primary emphasis was on restoring ideological purity, reinfusing revolutionary fervor into the party and government bureaucracies, and intensifying class struggle. There were internal disagreements, however, not on the aim of the movement but on the methods of carrying it out. Opposition came mainly from the moderates represented by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping who were unsympathetic to Mao's policies. The Socialist Education Movement was soon paired with another Mao campaign, the theme of which was "to learn from the People's Liberation Army." Minister of National Defense Lin Biao's rise to the center of power was increasingly conspicuous. It was accompanied by his call on the People's Liberation Army and the Chinese Communist Party to accentuate Maoist thought as the guiding principle for the Socialist Education Movement and for all revolutionary undertakings in China.

In connection with the Socialist Education Movement, a thorough reform of the school system, which had been planned earlier to coincide with the Great Leap Forward, went into effect. The reform was intended as a work-study program in which schooling was slated to accommodate the work schedule of communes and factories. It had the dual purpose of providing mass education less expensively than previously and of reeducating intellectuals and scholars to accept the need for their own participation in manual labor. The drafting of intellectuals for manual labor was part of the party's rectification campaign, publicized through the mass media as an effort to remove "bourgeois" influences from professional workers, especially their tendency to have greater regard for their own specialized fields than for the goals of the party. Official propaganda accused them of being more concerned with having "expertise" than being "red"

CAUSES

Mao Zedong plunged China into a period of turmoil and virtual anarchy known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. The period ended ultimately with the death of Mao. His precise motives in beginning the Cultural Revolution are not entirely clear. He never explained his thinking publicly.

Mao probably began the Cultural Revolution as a way to maintain his political power. For many years, Mao and a small group of his comrades had controlled the Communist Party. These comrades never challenged his supremacy, nor did Mao find it necessary to root out anyone for disloyalty. By the late 1950's, some leaders disagreed with Mao's economic policies. Others challenged his aggressive foreign policies. They advocated policies of caution. During the next few years, the inner-Party split widened, and Mao lost some of his power. By mid-1966 dissent within the Party leadership plunged Mao into a struggle for his political life. His response was a nationwide call to purge China of capitalist influences.

A second reason for Mao starting the Cultural Revolution included his desire for a classless society. Mao argued that China's educational system actually reinforced the class divisions in Chinese society. He believed that a new elite was being created, an elite composed of skilled bureaucrats, professors, scientists, and engineers. Mao saw that these people lived far better than their less-educated comrades. Mao also disliked the special privileges that Party members received. He thought they had lost their dedication to communism's goal which would ultimately be a classless society.

FIRST PHASE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, 1966-69

By mid-1965 Mao had gradually but systematically regained control of the Party with the support of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing(Mao's fourth wife), and Chen Boda, a leading theoretician. In late 1965 a leading member of Mao's "Shanghai Mafia," Yao Wenyuan, wrote a thinly veiled attack on the deputy mayor of Beijing. In the next six months, under the guise of upholding ideological purity, Mao and his supporters purged or attacked a wide variety of public figures, including State Chairman Liu Shaoqi and other party and state leaders. By mid-1966 Mao's campaign had erupted into what came to be known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the first mass action to have emerged against the CCP apparatus itself.

There was considerable opposition within the party toward the Cultural Revolution. On the one side was the Mao-Lin Biao group, supported by the People's Liberation Army. On the other side was a faction led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping which had its strength in the regular party machine. Premier Zhou Enlai, while remaining personally loyal to Mao, tried to mediate or to reconcile the two factions.

Mao felt that he could no longer depend on the formal party organization, convinced that it had been permeated with the "capitalist" and bourgeois obstructionists. He turned to Lin Biao and the People's Liberation Army to counteract the influence of those who were allegedly "left" in form but "right" in essence. The People's Liberation Army was widely extolled as a "great school" for the training of a new generation of revolutionary fighters and leaders. Maoists also turned to middle-school students for political demonstrations on their behalf. These students, joined also by some university students, came to be known as the Red Guards. Millions of Red Guards were encouraged by the Cultural Revolution group to become a "shock force" and to "bombard" with criticism both the regular party headquarters in Beijing and those at the regional and provincial levels.

Red Guard activities were promoted as a reflection of Mao's policy of rekindling revolutionary enthusiasm and destroying "outdated" or "counterrevolutionary" symbols and values. Mao's ideas, popularized in the Quotations from Chairman Mao, became the standard by which all revolutionary efforts were to be judged. The "four big rights" were emphasized: speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters . These became an important factors in encouraging Mao's youthful followers to criticize his intraparty rivals. The "four big rights" became such a major feature during the period that they were later institutionalized in the state constitution of 1975. The result of the unfettered criticism of established organs of control by Chin's exuberant youth was massive civil disorder, punctuated also by clashes among rival Red Guard gangs and between the gangs and local security authorities. The Communist Party organization was shattered from top to bottom. The resources of the public security organs were severely strained. Faced with a possible breakdown of law and order, the People's Liberation Army stepped in to assume control.

The radical period of the Cultural Revolution receded a bit beginning in late 1967. It was not until after mid-1968 that Mao came to realize the uselessness of further revolutionary violence. Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and their fellow "revisionists" and capitalist roaders" had been purged from public life by early 1967(see the video THE MAO YEARS: 1949-76 for details on what happened to Liu Shaoqi) had been purged from public life by early 1967. The Maoist group had since been in full command of the political scene.

Viewed in larger perspective, the need for domestic calm and stability was occasioned perhaps even more by pressures emanating from outside China. The Chinese were alarmed in 1966-68 by steady Soviet military buildups along their common border. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 heightened Chinese apprehensions. In March, 1969 Chinese and Soviet troops clashed on Zhenbao Island(known to the Soviets as Damansky Island)in the disputed Wusuli Jiang border area. The tension on the border had a sobering effect on the Chinese political scene and provided the regime with a new and unifying rallying call.

SECOND PHASE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, 1969-76

The activist phase of the Cultural Revolution was essentially brought to an end in April, 1969. This end was formally signaled at the CCP's Ninth National Party Congress, which convened under the dominance of the Maoist group. Mao was confirmed as the supreme leader. Lin Biao was promoted to the most of CCP vice chairman and was named as Mao's successor. Others who had risen to power by means of Cultural Revolution machinations were rewarded with high political positions. The party congress also marked the rising influence of two opposing forces: Mao's wife, Jiang Qing and Premier Zhou Enlai. The general emphasis after 1969 was on reconstruction through rebuilding of the party, economic stabilization, and greater sensitivity to foreign affairs.

By 1970 Mao viewed his role as more of a supreme elder statesman than of an activist in the policy-making process. This was probably the result as much of his declining health as of his view that a stabilizing influence should be brought to bear on a divided nation. As Mao saw it, China needed both pragmatism and revolutionary enthusiasm, each acting as a check on the other. Factional infighting would continue unabated through the Midas, although an uneasy coexistence was maintained while Mao was alive.

Without question, the turning point in the decade of the Cultural Revolution was Lin Biao's abortive coup attempt and his subsequent death in a plan crash as he fled China in September, 1971. As Mao's designated heir apparent, Lin Biao worked closely with Mao during the course of the Cultural Revolution. But as the Cultural Revolution unfolded, Mao became concerned that Lin was becoming too powerful and decided to weaken his position. What happened next is not clear, but Lin probably died in September, 1971. According to official Chinese reports, Lin had plotted to kill Mao. When the plot failed, Lin fled and died when his plane crashed in Mongolia. The official report left important questions unanswered. No one knows how or why the plane crashed or really what happened. Lin Biao's closest supporters were purged systematically.

Among the most prominent of those rehabilitated was Deng Xiaoping, who was reinstated as a vice premier in April, 1973. Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai now came to exert strong influence. Their moderate line favoring modernization of all sectors of the economy was formally confirmed at the Tenth National Party Congress in August, 1973. The radical camp which included Jiang Qing fought back but its mass base of support was limited to Shanghai and parts of northeastern China

By this time Mao's health was failing as he approached 80. As he moved into semi-retirement, leadership duties fell to Zhou Enlai. Zhou believed that China desperately needed the services of trained administrators, technicians, scientists, and engineers. These professionals, however, were the very people who had been purged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. From the late 1960's onward, many of these people were gradually restored to their former positions of power in government, industry, and education. By the early 1970's the Chinese power structure had become an incompatible mix of those who had favored the Cultural Revolution and those who had been its victims.

The first group of this incompatible mix, the radicals, controlled the performing arts, the media, and policy-making at the highest levels. Jiang Qing was one of the key leaders of the radical group. The second group, the moderates, controlled the implementation of policy. Their leader was Deng Xiaoping. Deng had been badly treated during the Cultural Revolution. Although he had been a prominent Party leader for years with a reputation as a superb administrator, he had been placed under house arrest and forced to do manual labor in the outlying provinces. Zhou brought Deng back to power as vice premier in 1973.

The deaths of Zhou Enlai(January, 1976) and Mao Zedong(September, 1976) meant that at best the nation was in a state of serious political uncertainty. Deng Xiaoping was temporarily removed from power by the radicals. He would return to power later in the decade. However, the radical clique most closely associated with Mao and the Cultural Revolution became vulnerable after Mao died. In October, less than a month after Mao's death, Jiang Qing and her three principal associates, called the Gang of Four were arrested.

CONCLUSION

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a disaster for China. Untold numbers of lives were ruined and thousands of people had died. The Communist Party, the government, the professions, and industry had been stripped of much of their best talent. Millions of people had been shipped to the countryside to be reeducated in manual labor camps. The Cultural Revolution left China's education system in a shambles, and an entire generation of Chinese youths had been denied the benefits of a formal education. Also, industrial production had fallen, and the communist Party structure was in disarray. On an international level, China was diplomatically isolated.

ASSIGNMENTS

STUDENTS ARE TO BE ASSIGNED QUESTIONS EITHER FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES, ORAL REPORTS, AND/OR TESTING. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND TERMS-NAMES ARE SUGGESTED AS A BEGINNING AND THEY ARE LINKED DIRECTLY TO THE UNIT READING MATERIALS. TEACHERS CAN DUPLICATE THE READING MATERIAL IN TOTO OR IN SEGMENTS FOR STUDENTS. DEPENDING ON THE QUALITY OF TEXT USED IN CLASS, THIS UNIT READING MATERIAL CAN ALWAYS BE USED AS TEACHER BACKGROUND READING. THE ONE VIDEO SOURCE SHOWN AT THE END OF THE SOURCE PAGE IS EXCELLENT FOR SHOWING STUDENTS DETAILED EVENTS DURING THE YEARS 1949-76 AND IS RECOMMENDED FOR CLASSROOM USE.

1. Explain why China in the late 1950's saw great economic chaos. Did the Chinese Communist Party(CCP) help or hinder this situation?

2. Was Mao Zedong consistent in his use of power from 1949 to 1976? Explain and support your position.

3. Why did Mao Zedong begin the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

4. Who did Mao Zedong attack during the Cultural Revolution? With what results?

5. In what ways was the Red Guard important in furthering Mao's goals during the Cultural Revolution? What was their objective?

6. Explain the impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese society?

7. Why did the Cultural Revolution end?

TERMS AND NAMES TO KNOW

1. MAO ZEDONG
2. ZHOU ENLAI
3. DENG XIAOPING
4. LIN BIAO
5. JIANG QING
6. "GANG OF FOUR"
7. LIU SHAOQI
8. CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY(CCP)
9. PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA(PRC)
10. 1st FIVE YEAR PLAN, 1953-57
11. 2nd FIVE YEAR PLAN, 1958-62
12. KOREAN WAR, 1950-53
13. THE "HUNDRED FLOWERS CAMPAIGN", 1956-57
14. THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD, 1958-60
15. "MANDATE OF HEAVEN"
16. PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY(PLA)
17. RED GUARD
18. "COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY"
19. RADICALS
20. MODERATES
21. CADRE

USEFUL SOURCES ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

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CHINA: TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION

1997 FULBRIGHT-HAYS
SEMINARS ABROAD PROGRAM
PROJECT

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HATFIELD

CHINA: TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION
1997 Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program

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OVERVIEW:

China has one of the world's oldest civilizations and one of every five persons in the world is Chinese. China is the most populous country on earth even though it is about the size of the United States. The land area of the USA is 3,536,340 square miles; China's land area is 3,600,930 square miles.

China underwent transformation July 1, 1997 when Hong Kong reverted to China after 156 years of British rule. The Chinese viewed this as "righting 156 years of wrong". Arriving in Beijing on June 30, 1997 with reversion ceremonies a few hours away, the 1997 Fulbright-Hays educators were immersed in a milestone event. Our month-long study-tour was impacted by this momentous event. Throughout China celebration signs and posters were evident as we visited Xi"an, Guilin, Longsheng, Shanghai and Hong Kong. Indeed, the year to visit China was 1997 when our Fulbright group was graciously received with abundant opportunities for openness. The Fulbright-Hays group was the first delegation received in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) after July 1, 1997. Impressive social and economic changes are taking place in China, land of the "One Country Two Systems" approach.

CONNECTION TO THE CURRICULUM: Geography, social studies, world cultures

THEMES OF GEOGRAPHY AND NATIONAL GEOGRAPHY STANDARDS:

Themes: Location, Place, Human-Environment Interaction, Movement, Region

Standards:
2. Analyze distribution maps to discover phenomena (terrain and rivers) that are related to the distribution of people
3. How to analyze the spatial organization of people, places, and environments on the Earth's surface
4. The physical and human characteristics of places
5. That people create regions to interpret the Earth's complexity
15. Collect visual data to determine how patterns of living reflect the physical environment

SUGGESTED GRADE LEVEL: Middle School (grades 6-8)

TIME: Two-four class periods (can be extended)

MATERIALS:

- *World map, Asia map (blank)
- *Textbook, atlases, encyclopedias and library resource materials
- *Observation worksheet
- *Handout: Themes of Geography
- *Artifacts box
- *Artifacts worksheet
- *Cassette player and tape of Chinese music
- *Chinese map of China (optional)
- *Slides, pictures, and post cards (pictures can be photocopied)

OBJECTIVES: Students will

1. Appreciate and understand the diversity of the world's people, especially the Chinese.
2. Employ the five themes of geography as a framework for studying China.
3. Examine the contents of an artifacts box and write answers on a worksheet.
4. Observe slides, pictures and postcards and write answers on a worksheet.

PROCEDURE:

1. Introduction and motivation. Ask : How many people do you think live in China? What do you think people there do to make a living? Do you think they live in homes like ours? What do you think they eat?

2. Warm-up activity: Students will write their perceptions of China and Chinese people on notebook papers. Teacher will make a group list on chalkboard or overhead projector.

3. Review Themes of Geography handout.

4. Locate China on maps of the world and Asia. Locate cities the Fulbright group visited: Beijing (China's capital), Shanghai, Xian, Guilin, and Hong Kong.

5. Group or individual research. Students will use materials provided (atlases, books, pamphlets, information sheets, encyclopedias, Chinese children's books, etc.) to research China. Specific topics can be assigned: geography, history, culture, economy, population, education, politics, government, special economic zones, US businesses located in China, "Most Favored Nation Status", settlement patterns, population density, etc. Written reports will be presented orally to the class.

6. Students will listen to Chinese music and be able to describe it. (optional)

7. Student groups will investigate the artifacts box provided by the teacher. Divide class into groups of three or four. (If artifacts are not available, photocopies of items could be passed around.)

Pass around a variety of numbered artifacts from China: Mao hat, fan hat, Chinese deck of cards, paper cut-outs, sandlewood scented fan, wedding bell neck ornament, Great Wall of China souvenir (statue), monkey key chain, Claudette written in Chinese (rolled poster), ancient bound feet shoes, typical Chinese "flip-flops", McDonald's place mat, Coke can, plane ticket stubs, Chinese money, black and green tea packets, flags, bookmarks, ballpoint pens, Hong Kong weekly events paper and booklet, Hong Kong 1997 reversion button, Hong Kong post cards, Guilin post cards, China Daily newspapers in English and Chinese from July 1, 1997.

For each item, the group must discuss and note what it is, what it is used for, materials it is made of, where it came from, and what they can determine about the culture. The items are discussed and explained using information from the different groups and the teacher.

8. Current events activity: Students will bring printed news about issues and events in China found in newspapers or news magazines. They will summarize the news event before reporting to the class and finding the location on the Asia map.

9. Post card activity: Arrange students into small groups. Give each group several post cards from China. Emphasize observation skills or learning to use "geographic eyes". Using notebook paper, each group should record their answers to the questions on the observation worksheet.

10. Creative activity: Show students a Chinese "chop" or signature block by dipping it into ink and pressing it onto paper to see the individual design. Explain that artists and business people use a "chop" instead of signing their names. Students can make a "chop" and try block printing by cutting a potato in half. Carve a picture or design on the flat side of the potato. Brush ink or paint onto the potato and press it onto a blank sheet of paper.

EVALUATION: Group participation, oral and written reports, completed maps and Observation Worksheet and Artifacts Worksheet.

REFERENCES/MATERIALS:

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OBSERVATION
SEEING THE WORLD THROUGH "GEOGRAPHIC EYES" and the FIVE THEMES OF GEOGRAPHY

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NAME(S) --

DIRECTIONS: Look carefully at the post cards, pictures, and/or slides. Become a keen geographic observer as you answer the following questions.

1. Where is this? (**geographic theme of location**) How do you know? What is this place near (**relative location**--nearness to other places)? Consult an atlas or map to determine the **absolute location** (latitude and longitude).

2. **Geographic theme of place.** What is it like here? What is happening in the post card, picture or slide? Do you see **physical characteristics** such as mountains, lakes, or rivers? Name as many details as possible. Do you see evidence of **cultural characteristics**? (Culture is the way of life of a people. It includes music, dress, food, customs, religion, language and almost everything else that makes up a way of life.)

3. **Human-Environment Interaction** theme (ways in which people have adapted to and modified their environment). What do you see taking place? Are people doing something to the land, such as planting crops or constructing a building? Are they tearing something down? Are they growing rice? Do you see a young boy herding water buffalo? Are people outside their apartments trying to get cool in the park?

4. **Geographic theme of movement**. Movement deals with analyzing the transportation and communication systems that link people and places. It includes the movement of people, resources, and ideas.

Do you see any boats? Do you see people on bicycles? Is there a lot of traffic? Are people pedaling a three-wheeled vehicle to bring products (vegetables, coal, etc.) into the city to sell? Are people putting food such as noodles and buns out on the sidewalk to sell to people who walk by? Are people rushing to work? Is a traffic cop at work directing traffic? Do you see buses or cabs?

5. **Geographic theme of region.** Regions are areas on the Earth that are defined by certain unifying characteristics, physical, human, or political: the Corn Belt, the Rocky Mountains, the southeast.

In what region of the world does this picture take place? Tell as much as you can about this region using your textbook or an atlas.

ARTIFACTS BOX WORKSHEET

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NAME____________________________________CLASS__________________

DIRECTIONS: Answer the following questions about the artifacts you are given. Look carefully and trying to determine the answers to the questions. It is acceptable to guess or spectulate. Put additional comments on the back.

1. What is it?

2. What is it used for?

3. What is it made of?

4. Where do you think it came from?

5. Who would use this item?

6. When would it be used? Or under what circumstances would it be used?

7. What makes this item special? Describe its characteristics. What does it look like?

8. What can you determine about Chinese culture from this item?

GEOGRAPHY PROVIDES A FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING THE WORLD

FIVE THEMES OF GEOGRAPHY

I. LOCATION---WHERE IS IT?

To determine the country's absolute location: latitude and longitude

To determine the country's relative location: its relation to other places

II. PLACE---WHAT'S IT LIKE?

To determine the physical characteristics of the country

To determine the cultural characteristics of the country

III. HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTIONS---SHAPING THE LANDSCAPE

To explore ways in which people have adapted to and modified their environment

IV. MOVEMENT---STAYING IN TOUCH---MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, RESOURCES, AND IDEAS

To analyze the transportation and communication systems that link people and places in the country

V. REGIONS—'WORLDS' WITHIN A WORLD

To study the country as part of a larger region (example: the country as part of a continent)

To study ways in which the country can be divided into smaller regions

a. by language or religion
b. by political boundaries
c. by physical characteristics

China

Approaching the 21st Century

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I. Description:

This lesson is designed to give all students the most recent information about China during this period of rapid development and modernization as it is catching up with the developed world. By using the five themes of geography and several of the National Geography Standards, students will focus on various aspects of Chinese life and see how they are trying to develop as quickly as possible. Students will be asked to present their findings in various means including visuals, written documents videos, and computer slide shows.

II Grade Level :

Intermediate and High School

III. Time Needed:

One period to one week, depending on class length and activities chosen

IV. Goals/ Essential Questions/ Objectives/ Focus

1. Define and apply the five themes of geography in describing a country (location, place, region, movement, and human-environment)
2. Gather data and analyze information
3. Use recent data
4. Compare and contrast Chinese and other cultures regarding society, education, economy and the environment
5. Project what might be the China of the future, in 2010
6. National Standards of Geography
    a. How humans modify the physical environment
    b. How physical systems affect human systems
    c. The changes that occur in the meaning, use, distribution and importance of resources
    d. The physical and human characteristics of places
    e. How culture and experience influence people's perceptions of places and regions
    f. How to apply geography to interpret the present and plan for the future.

V. Activities #1-

#1 Earth Day Celebrations in China

1. Motivation-Find some current article about the environment in your area. Read it orally and have the class respond to what it means to them. Get them personally involved. Make up another story (ex, a new landfill is being built in their neighborhood, next to the school's playground)

2. Activities- Have the students research and list 5 things that they are doing to help the environment (neighborhood recycling, school recycling, cleaning up the park) their focus for their world.

3. Let the student read some articles about how the Chines are trying to keep their environment clean, including educating the children

4. Have the students in a group present a news report about how the Chinese would celebrate Earth Day in their neighborhood.

5. Create some new activities that the Chinese might do to celebrate the next Earth Day.. Are we doing those things in our neighborhoods?

#2 The Energy Usage in China

1. Motivation- Discuss gasoline prices, lighting bills, heating bills, using electricity, what happens when there is a power failure. Get the students responding to the concept that we love to use energy to make our life easier. Then bring in the pollution concept. What type of gasoline are we supposed to use? What do we want all of our factories to have? Do we want to be the most polluted place on earth?

2. Activities- Have the students research the most polluted countries and cities on earth.

3. Let them read some stories about possible power shortages and what will people need to do in the future to adapt. They will take notes by region. (see the List of Fundamental Places in China Province List)

4. Have the students continue their video program/news report about earth day for China in presenting information about how China is using alternate fuels, and adapting their lifestyles.

5. Take the issue back to the United States and see if we are using alternate sources of energy We too are supposed to be cutting back on our energy usage in the future.

Extension: Have information about the Kyoto Conference in the Fall of 1997 about Global Warming.

#3 Environmental Disaster.

1. Motivation- Usually every week there is some kind of a disaster in the United States that people are trying to survive. Tornado, hurricane, ice storm, hail storm, volcanic eruption, flood, earthquake, etc. Have the students brainstorm what happens in the aftermath of such a disaster.

2. China is such a densely populated country in the east that whenever they have a disaster in these areas it affects so many people. Recently they have had floods, earthquakes, and a drought in the north. You need to research one of the incidents from at least two sources and take notes about what occurred during the incident, plus get information about the region of China where it occurred. (You are answering the five themes for the area). The names of the provinces involved, population statistics, physical characteristics of the area, what made up the regions, and what types of movement did the area have.

3. Your objective for this lesson is to write three diary entries that will (1) tell what life was like there before the event (2) Next, describe the effects of the violent event (3) describe life in the aftermath. How was your life changed?

Do not have your character killed during the event so you do not have to do entries two and three. You will be a survivor. Entries need to be based on some fact., You are not making the situation up, you are just joining the people there.

You can also include what is might be like if the new Three Gorges Dam breaks and what might happen to you if you lived downstream on a rice farm. You are happy to have the new dam control the floods, but if it breaks!!!

This is one lesson where you can be creative (good for the gifted students)

4. The students can do this in a written format, or if they are doing a news program or a computer slide show, they could do interviews of survivors, a "Man in the Street" type of interview. Going to the rescue shelters to get a story, or make a model of the disaster to film

5. You might want to conclude this with what types of warnings were made available to you by your government, did you heed them, and could the government have done more to ensure your safety.

#4 Predicting Chinese Weather

1. Motivation- Discuss the days weather. Do you need a coat, raincoat, or is it beautiful? Check out the Weather Channel on TV, or web sites showing local as well as the world's weather.

2. Review reading a weather map. What do we show on ours? What are on the weather forecasts? Find out what is predicted for your area and China.

3. Look at a Chinese Weather Map. Does it cover the same information that we do? Same numbering system? Terminology? Cities?

4. Complete a similarities/ differences chart. If you are making a news program, do include a weather forecast complete with a map that focuses on Asia, and does not exactly mention the Americas.

5. Using the weather map, could you predict the upcoming weather for the next 3 days for Beijing?

#5 Leisure Time in China

1. Motivation- If statistics are correct, many hours are spent in front of a television by most students. Ask them to list their favorite TV programs. Would they miss them if there were preempted for a special news program? About how many hours of TV do they watch each day?

2. Xerox a copy of a daily TV guile. Have the student circle programs they would like to see. How many channels are available in your area? In what languages? What types of programs are shown?

3. Give the students a copy of a Chinese TV guide. Let them make a chart comparing characteristics of US TV to Chinese TV. After they gather the information have them complete some generalizations.

4. Answer these questions? Are the Chinese as involved with TV? (See the Article about the demand for larger TV's in China) Do you predict more channels in the future? Do they have cable, Satellite TV? (I did see satellite dishes even in small villages in 1997) Will the Chinese become couch potatoes?

5. In the future, what new types of programs would you think they would be broadcasting? What time of the day would they be broadcast more? Why don't they have TV longer hours? Are we better off, or worse off having so many channels in the United States?

#6 Current Education in China

1. Motivation- Hand survey. Would Chinese schools be easier or harder than here? Do they get to go to college? What do they get to learn? Do a quick brainstorm on the blackboard about their perception of school in China.

2. Define school, what is expected. Is it the same throughout the world? Do all students spend their summers doing the same activities?

3. Provide the students with readings about Chinese Schools, or let them do research . They need to create a time line of what would a week of Chinese school be like. During the day, what would they be expected to take, and would the school control much of their life away from the building?

4. Again, tie this in with your newscast of China. Have the news team visit a school and interview the students there. What are their current plans, and will they go off to college? Will the government help with tuition? Do they really need a college education to be successful? Let the students create several interview questions on their own.

5. If offered, would your student go on a one semester exchange program with a Chinese student? Why or why not?

#7 Joining Together to Make Money

1. Motivation: Have the students check the label on their jacket, and at least one student should have a made in ___ of US components label. In the United States currently, many companies do not like to pay US wages to make goods, because we the consumer want cheaper priced, but good quality goods. So the companies need to find someone else to make the good a little cheaper. In the south, along the Mexican border, just inside Mexico there are Maquiladoras that make items of US components. The US will invest in other companies if it is cheaper than making the goods in the United States.

2. China has adapted this policy by creating the JOINT VENTURE idea where a foreign country invests in China, building a plant and providing a lot of the capital resources, while China provides the labor force.

3. Let the students read about different countries that have invested money in China hoping to make a lot of profit.

4. Again, continue the newscast and have them interview a person from another country that finds China to be a great place to invest to make ____.

5. Try to get them to realize we have a global economy. Lots of things are made in China, and other countries in the world want to be involved in this money making activity.

#8 Chinese Life Style

1. Motivation: How long do you want to live? To what age? Do you want to own a car? House? Spend money? Live a safe life? Do Chinese live this way now? Do they drive cars or bicycles? What is going to happen when they turn in their bicycles for a car?

2. Put the kids in groups and hand out reading about the Chinese lifestyle. (or let them research it on their own) Are they using computers? ATM cards? eating fast food? If so, where in the country?

3. Let them continue their news program/ by having a map of the country and send people out in to areas to interview locals about how their life is changing. Are all Chinese developing at the same pace? Are all Chinese into cellular phones? Are all of them literate? And if not, are they trying to help each other. Try to get the student to get a picture of a day in the life of a city dweller, versus a rural dweller.

4. Make a Venn Diagram (two circles that touch and have some parts in common) to get a feel about some of the recent cultural changes of the Chinese.

5. Prediction, in the next few years, will they develop faster, slower, or the same as the rest of the developing world?

#8 Make A National Park

1.Motivation: Find some recent story about how humans are messing up a national, state or local park. Show where "development" is taking away something that nature provides and you must make a choice about having a new airport, or a wetlands for migrating birds. Then ask if they have ever been to a park. What makes up a park? What can people do and not do in that area?

2. Remind the students that there are many regions in China and not all are developing at the same pace.However, some are almost totally full of people and if they are to claim any natural place for nature, they need to do so before they come in strip mining for resources and other items.

3. Divide the class into groups, or somehow assign all the regions to the class. Do not let all work in the same area. They are going to create a new national park somewhere in one of the 6 regions of China listed on the Fundamental pages list. IF your class is large, further divide them into provinces. Let the student research the area about what is really there, animals and plants and general physical features. Remind them that in the United States, we do have parks in towns, and they can do that too, (Like Hot Spring's National Park).

All parks should answer the following.
a. location, where is it, province, closest city
b. Name for your park, why
c. What are some reasons for protecting this particular area?
d. What is the history of the land there?
e. How will visitors reach the park? Transportation system?
f. What threatens the park? Poaching, over population, pollution, overuse?
g. Are there any rules for your park?
h. Costs for your park?
i. Draw a map of your park, plus locate it in your region.
j. Plants and animals in your park

From touring China this past summer, we got to visit a new park, Crown Cave on the Li River near Guilin. The local people are glad to have something that tourists will come to see and spend money.

4. Make a presentation of your park, either on poster board, computer slide show, or a written document (travel brochure) with maps.

5. Do we have parks in the United States? Are we getting rid of any? Are we getting any more? Should we even have parks? or just go out and get the minerals from the land, and the animals off of the land? Finalize this with a panel, pro/con discussion

#10 Special of the Day

1. Motivation: If you are limited on time with China, you can do a quick brainstorm and then get each student to name something they relate to China. Try to group them on an overhead or blackboard. From their topics, see if there are some readings in this bundle, or ones you know of in your library and have them do a MINI -packet on a province.

2. Put them into groups by region. Let them decide who will do economy, education, environment, lifestyle, and general information.

3. They will do all research focusing on that region and the major cities there to come up with a group poster of information about the five themes of geography.(use magazines for visuals, cut & paste)

4. Allow them presentation time for the class.

5. Hang the posters for all to see.

Materials

1. Web sites listed on a following page.
2. Classroom Textbook, Atlas, Encyclopedia
3. Outline map of China.(Physical and Political)
4. Current Newspapers/ Magazines
5. Computers for Slide Shows (I have used Claris Slide Show, and the Digital Chisel)
6. Video camera, a tape for each class, and lots of butcher paper if you are taping a news program
7. Colored pencils, markers, rulers,
8. List of Fundamental Places in China, (to learn the provinces)
9. Copies of many China Daily articles from July 1997

References

Notes from Chinese lectures
China Daily Newspapers from the time of my visit in China
The Contemporary Atlas of China, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1988.
Web Sites from Dr. Richard Smith, Rice University, (Director of Asian Studies)

Must See Websites Relating to Asia, Compliments of Dr. Richard Smith, Rice University

Richard J. Smith
Professor of History (MS-42) and Director of Asian Studies (MS-47)
Rice University
6100 Main Street
Houston, TX 77005
Phone:(713) 527-4947 (History) or (713) 737-5843 (Asian Studies)
Fax:(713) 285-5207

Here are a few useful websites. Most are for China, but the major search engines for Asia, which I have also listed, should provide enough guidance for the rest of that part of the world. You might want to start your search with the first site listed. Good luck! Yours, Rich

I. BEST SINGLE SEARCH ENGINE FOR ASIAN STUDIES

Asian Studies WWW Virtual Library:
    http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html

II. RICE-RELATED WEBSITES

Asian Studies (Rice University):
    http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~asia/
Rice Chinese Student Association webpage:
    http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~csa/
Rice Taiwanese Association homepage:
    http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~rta
Transcultural Studies Network (Harvard/Rice):
    http://www.aquacomm.com/transcult/demo-1.htm
    sign-in: test
    password: comm6.6

III. SOME BASIC REFERENCES AND SEARCH ENGINES (CHINA)

Bibliography of Chinese history and culture (most references from 1983 onwards):
    http://zinnia.umfacad.maine.edu/~mshea/China/bibtxt2.html
China Bibliography:
    http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/FergAB/ChinaBib.htm
China (CIA Factbook):
    http://wwwodci.gov/96fact/country/51.html
China (Society and Culture; Yahoo):
    http://www.yahoo.com/Regional/Countries/China/
    http://www.yahoo.com/Regional/Countries/China/Society_and_Culture/
China news sites:
    http://www.yahoo.com/Regional/Countries/China/News/
Chinascape (web index):
    http://harmony.wit.com/chinascape/
ChinaVista's new Hyper-C database:
    http://www.chinavista.com/hyper-c/hyper-c.html
    or
    http://freenet.buffalo.edu/~cb863/china.html

Chinese Resources Web Page:
    http://grafton.dartmouth.edu:8001/chinese/
Chinese Studies Data Bank:
    http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/usc/usc.htm
Chinese Studies Virtual Library
    http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVLAsian/China.html
CIA World Factbook (China):
    http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/ch.htm
Contemporary China Center (Australian National University):
    http://online.anu.edu.au/RSPAS/ccc
Encyclopedia Britannica online: http://www.eb.com:180/eb.html
    China:
http://www.eb.com:180/cgibin/g?keywords=China&DBase=Articles&hits=10&context=all
Finding News about China [Chinese-language and Western-language sites; excellent]:
    http://202.96.135.66/NMA2/NMA2.HTM
Internet Guide for Chinese Studies [400 main links to sites relevant to people interested in China, Tibet, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, and Singapore; excellent]:
    http://www.univie.ac.at/Sinologie/netguide.htm

IV. CHINESE-LANGUAGE (REFERENCES AND RESOURCES)

Chinese cyberworld (Chinese-language materials):
    http://www.aan.net/library.html
Chinese/Japanese/ Korean dictionary:
    http://www2.gol.com/users/acmuller/cjkdict/CJKDictIntro.htm
Chinese language:
    http://www.unicode.org/unihan/>Unihan</A>
    http://www.blueneptune.com/~tseng>jenkins@apple.com</A>
Chinese language (Data base for Chinese characters):
    http://www.unicode.org/unihan/unihan.acgi$Grid/0x4E00
Chinese language:
    http://www.hkstar.com/~winters/pinyin_master/pym1.html
Chinese language (UCD):
    http://philo.ucdavis.edu/CHINESE
Chinese language (Harvard):
    http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~clp/China/harvard.htm
Chinese language (Patrick Moran):
    http://www.wfu.edu/~moran
Chinese language filename:
    ftp://ftp.netcom.com/pub/tw/twinbrg/Chinese/patch/display/twin.11
Chinese Mac On-line:
    http://www.jnw.com/mac/index.html
Harvard-Yenching Library:
    http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~dellal/hylhome.html
Mac Chinese language page:
    http://www.lsoft.com/SCRIPTS/WL.EXE?qL=chinese&F=L&F=T
    http://grafton.dartmouth.edu:8001/chinese/computing/mac.html
    MacViewHz:
ftp://ftp.dartmouth.edu/pub/LLTI-IALL/Chinese-Server/text-viewing software/mvhz2.sea.hqx
    MacHanzi:
ftp://ftp.dartmouth.edu/pub/LLTI-IALL/Chinese-Server/text-viewing-software/machanzi.sea.hqx

Olive Tree (Ganlan shu). Published on the first of every month, Olive Tree features poems, essays and literary criticism, all in Chinese, by dozens of contributors from around the world. For information on access and subscription, as well as how to read Chinese on your computer, visit the following homepages:
  http://www.rpi.edu/~cheny6/ot.html
  http://www.geopages.com/Hollywood/1236/index.html
  http://www.ifcss.org/www/pub/org/ot/index.html
  http://www.mordor.com/pei/cpml.html
Shareware (NJWIN 1.0):
  http://www.njstar.com.au/njstar/
Commercial Chinese-language conversion programs:
  Unionway: http://www.unionway.com/
  Twinbridge: http://www.twinbridge.com/

V. ASIAN STUDIES (SITES LOCATED IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S.)

Asia Information Network Center (University of Texas):
  http://asnic.utexas.edu/asnic.html
Asia Pacific Research Center (Stanford):
  http://www-iis.stanford.edu/aparc/aparc
Asia Research Centre (Murdoch University):
  Home Page: http://wwwhum.murdoch.edu.au/arc/wwwhp.htm
  Links: http://wwwhum.murdoch.edu.au/arc/links.htm
  Legal Resources: http://wwwhum.murdoch.edu.au/arc/legal.htm
  Publishers, E-Journals & Newspapers:
  http://wwwhum.murdoch.edu.au/arc/publish.htm
Asian Consumer Studies:
  http://hkusuc.hku.hk/japanese/reseproj/consumas/canhome.htm
Asian news stories (top ten each week):
  http://www.asianmall.com/top10news
Asian Studies (University of Wisconsin):
  http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/east/eas.html
Asian Studies virtual library:
  http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html
Australian National University (Asian Studies homepage):
  http://online.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/
CIA World Factbook (Asia):
  http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/asia.htm
Cornell East Asia Collections:
  http://www.library.cornell.edu/Asia/AsiaKroch/asia_homepage.html
East Asian Libraries Cooperative World-Wide Web:
  http://pears.lib.ohio-state.edu
H-ASIA web site (home page):
  http://h-net.msu.edu/~asia/
International Institute for Asian Studies home page:
  http://iias.leidenuniv.nl.
  Note: This Institute sells an IIAS Internet Guide to Asian Studies
Library of Congress (Asia Division):
  gopher://marvel.loc.gov:70/00/research/reading.rooms/asian/about.asian.division
National Library of Australia (Asia-related material):
  http://www.nla.gov.au/1/asian/
What's New in WWW Asian Studies Online Newsletter:

http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVLPages/WhatsNewWWW/asian-www-news.html
NIAS (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies):
http://nias.ku.dk
Vienna University Asian Studies website:
http://www.univie.ac.at/Sinologie/cn-wwwvl.htm

VI. SOME MAINLAND-ORIENTED WEBSITES

Beijing Scene (magazine):
http://www.beijingscene.com
China and the World (e-magazine):
http://www.chinabulletin.com
China Development Briefing:
http://www.hku.hk/cerc/china/cdb
China in Space and Time:
http://citas.csde.washington.edu/
Chinese cinema:
http://www-scf.usc.edu/~shaoyis/
Chinese music:
www.aweto.com/china#music
Chinese rock music:
http://www.ecf.toronto.edu/~jiangy/rock.html
http://zero.com.hk/rock/history.html#early
CIA World Factbook (China):
http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/ch.htm
Gate of Heavenly Peace home page:
http://www.nmis.org/Gate/
Mainland legal research:
http://www.siu.edu/offices/lawlib/chinalaw/mainland.htm
Shanghai radio:
http://www.beat.com.hk/main.html
PRC Constitution:
http://www.leftjustified.com/leftjust/lib/sc/ht/wtp/china.html

VI. SOME HONG KONG-ORIENTED WEBSITES

CIA Factbook (Hong Kong):
http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/hk.htm
Hong Kong news:
http://freenet.buffalo.edu/~cb863/china.html#HKnews
Hong Kong ("handover"):
http://freenet.buffalo.edu/~cb863/china.html
Hong Kong (1997):
http://www.hk97.com
Hong Kong (1997):
http://www.scmp.com/1997
Hong Kong Basic Law (and related documents):
http://www.cityu.edu.hk/BasicLaw/
http://www.info.gov.hk/info/bas-law0.htm
Hong Kong legal research
http://www.siu.edu/offices/lawlib/chinalaw/hongkong.htm

VII. SOME TIBET-ORIENTED WEBSITES

Tibet (contemporary events):
    http://www.phillynews.com/packages/tibet/index.htm
Tibetan-English Dictionary:
    http://www.nitartha.org/dictionary.html
Tibetan Studies:
    http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-TibetanStudies.html

VIII. SOME TAIWAN-ORIENTED WEBSITES

CIA Factbook (Taiwan):
    http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/tw.htm
Misc.:
    http://www.chinatime/com/
    http://www.taiwanese.com/
National Central Library (Taiwan; Chinese and Western-language periodicals):
    http://read.ncl.edu.tw/
ROC Constitution:
    http://peacock.tnjc.edu.tw/ADD/constitution/main.htm
Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, Houston:
    http://www.houstoncul.org/
Taiwan legal research:
    http://www.siu.edu/offices/lawlib/chinalaw/taiwan.htm
Taiwan news:
    http://www.sinaweb.com/news/
Taiwan politics:
    KMT: http://www.kmt.org.tw
    DPP: http://www.no.org
    NP: http://www.np.org.tw
    Taip:http://www.taip.org.tw

IX. SOME OVERSEAS CHINESE-ORIENTED WEBSITES

Asian-American Center:
    http://www.qc.edu/Asian_American_Center/
Chinese Historical Society of New England:
    http://yerkes.mit.edu//Chinatown/welcome.html

X. SOME NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER NEWS SITES (various languages)

China Daily (English)
    http://www.chinadaily.net
China News Digest (English):
    http://www.cnd.org/
Chinese news (Chinese):
    http://www.cnd.org
Hong Kong Standard (English):
    http://www.hkstandard.com
Mingpao (Chinese):
    http://www.cuhk.hk/mingpao/
New York Times:
    http://www.nytimes.com/

Washington Post:
http://www.washingtonpost.com/

XI. SOME MISC. CHINA-RELATED HOMEPAGES:

http://www.geocities.com/SiliconValley/1250/index2.html [Kevin Tu's site]
http://pears.lib.ohio-state.edu/China/homepage1.html [Hu Wenze's site]
http://philo.ucdavis.edu/CHINESE/chinanet.htm [Tianwei Xie's UCD site]
http://solar.rtd.utk.edu/~china/china.html
http://zinnia.umfacad.maine.edu/~mshea/China/china.html
http://www.jaring.my/at-asia/china_at_asia/html/foc_cult.html
http://www.chinapages.com/
http://www.chinapages.com/
http://beloit.edu/~milleres
http://www.ima-art.org/collections/asianart.html
http://www.ceas.rochester.edu:8080/ee/users/yeung/chinese.html
http://www.mordor.com/pei/china-rm.html

XII. OTHER MISCELLANEOUS SITES

Chinese history:
http://www.yahoo.com/Regional/Countries/China/Society_and_Culture/History/
Chinese human rights:
gopher://gopher.humanrights.org:5000/11/nat/hric
Chinese Legal Resources:
http://www.siu.edu/offices/lawlib/chinalaw
Chinese medicine:
http://www.soas.ac.uk/Needham/Chimed/
Chinese Librarians (Chinese and English materials):
http://www.lib.siu.edu/swen/iclc/chinnews.htm
Chinese Science (journal):
http://www.isop.ucla.edu/pacrim/pubs/chisci/chisci1.htm
Chinese science (Huang Yilong's home page):
http://140.114.119.1/~NHCS/huang.htm
Chinese science and technology:
http://coco.ihi.ku.dk/~dbwagner/
Center for Chinese Studies (UCLA):
http://www.isop.ucla.edu/ccs

Materials

Most of the news articles came from the CHINA DAILY that was provided free at all of our hotels. Besides having local news, it did have national and world. For use in this lesson, only Chinese local articles are included.

I. Society / Culture /Lifestyle
  A. On TV
    1. July 16, July 9
    2. July 15, July 21
    3. July 10 (Has Music Listing too)
  B. Weather Reports
    4. July 9
    5. July 10
    6. July 11
  C. Standard of Living Indicators
    7. Tubes for 25,29-inch Colour TV's in Demand
      Mobile Phones
    8. Heat Wave Inflames Seasonal Goods Sales
    9. Spending Habits Change for City Dwellers: Survey
    10. Temporary Regulations Issued to Prevent Domestic Violence
    11. Asian Youth Modernized, not Westernized
    12. Cyberspace Lures Young Professionals
    13. Life Expectancy Almost Doubles to 76 in Shanghai

II. Education
  A. China
    14. Poor Students to Receive Aid
    15. Students Aim to Reduce Poverty
    16. Project Eradicating Illiteracy
    17. Systematic Education Strengthens Army Quality
    18. Millions Compete for College Slots
  B. Hong Kong
    19. HK Policy to Require Students to Know China

III. Economy
  A. Joint Ventures
    20. Joint Venture Set up in Tianjin
    21. Master Card Deal and JV Has Firm Focus on Freon-Free Freezers
    22. Israels Snack Food JV Opens in Beijing, and China, Laos to Increase Economic Co-operation
  B. Shanghai
    23. Shanghai Realtors See Bright Future
    24. Development Zone Under High Demand, and Skyscraper going up in Shanghai
  C. Business Weekly Articles from July 6-12, 1997
    25. Xiamen Turns Bus Base
    26. Mobile Bank Brings Online Services
    27. Pearl River Improves Trade, Shipping with Hong Kong, and Experiment Preserves Kiwi up to 6 Months
    28. Beijing Battles Congestion
    29. Chongqing Accelerates Highway Projects
    30. Coal Mine to Begin 1st Phase Operation
    31. Firework Factories Glowing

Materials -2-

IV. Environment
  A. Environmental Disasters
    32. Floods Hit South, East
    33. Guangdong Flood Tool Rises to 41
    34. 48 Die in Quake Near Great Wall *(not a China Daily Article)
    35. Eight Die in Pearl River Flooding
  B. Environment Awareness Programs
    36. Policy to Foster Children's Environmental Awareness
    37. Volunteers Help Cities Clean Up
    38. State to Plant Trees for Fuel
    39. County Makes use of Farm Land
    40. Environment Concern Focused
    41. Reservoir's Completion Should End Dry Spell, & Progress Linked to Economy, Environment
    42. Xinjiang Gets Tough to Protect Greenland
    43. Erosion Control Working
    44. City Pushes Clean Water Campaign
    45. Reserve to Help Save Giant Panda
    46. Foundation Assists Western Farmers, & Study Finds Wildlife Thriving, & Province Promises to Double Output
  C. Environment and Power Sources / Transportation
    47. Power Shortage Expected in Next Decade
    48. Autos in Shanghai to Use Unleaded Gas
    49. Natural Gas to Fuel Metropolitan Stoves
    50. Huge Xinjiang Rail Artery in Sight
    51. Fast Track: Bus Travelling Speeds Up & Waterways to Become Hydroplane Airport

V. Miscellaneous
    52. Emergency Line Becomes Popular
    53. Events Mark War Against Japan
    54. Six Drug Dealers Sentenced to Death
    55. Word-of-Mouth Brings Villagers Success
    56. Basic Law Gets Wide Publicity & Immigration Bill
    57. Briefs- Mountain Festival, Family Planning, Park in Tibet, Illegal Entry, Rubber Dam, Exhibition Opens, Flood Control, Auxiliary Facility
    58. PICC Invests in Pudong Tower & Big Shopping Venue to Open

Fundamental Places in China

Label the following provinces on a political map of China. Color each province a different color. If a name is too small to fit in the province, use the numbering system (put the number in the appropriate space and then the number with the correct name in your legend)

REGION	**PROVINCES**			
Northeast China	Liaoning	Heilongjiang	Jilin	
North China	Henan Shanxi	Shandong	Hebei	Shaanxi
North-Northwest China	Gansu	Inner Moingolia	Xinjiang	Ningxia
Central China	Jiangsu Zhejiang	Anhui Jiangxi	Hubei	Hunan
South China	Guangdong	Guangxi	Fujian	
Southwest China	Sichuan Qinghai	Yunnan	Guizhou	Tibet

General information about China. It is divided into 21 provinces, 5 Autonomous Regions (Xinjiang Uygur, Tibet, Guangxi Zhuang, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia Hui) 3 municipalities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin) and one SAR, Special Administrative Region, Hong Kong.

After you have labeled and colored your map, use markers to outline the various regions listed above.

You will need this information to complete other lessons in this packet

Reference: The Contemporary Atlas of CHINA, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1988.

ON TV

Wednesday, July 16

CCTV-1 Channel 2

08:35 Programmes for the Elderly
09:05 Six-part serial: Stone, Scissors and Cloth (3)
10:10 Man and Nature
16:10 Four-part serial: The Blue Guard (1)
17:20 Programmes for Children
19:00 News and Weather Forecast
20:05 29-part serial: The Story of Hong Kong (25)

CCTV-2 Channel 8

08:30 China Business News
12:40 Agricultural Education and Science
15:25 16-part serial: The Successful Young Boy (9)
22:30 Oriental Horizon
23:30 News in English

CCTV-3 Channel 15

08:30 Song of the Week
08:38 Local opera arias
10:20 Opera Fans Garden
11:30 Peking opera: The Meilong Town
17:08 China Music TV 60 Minutes
19:00 Music Knowledge: Violin concertos

CCTV-4 Channel 32

09:00 News in English
09:20 China Today (English)
10:50 Chinese Martial Art
11:30 Investment guide
18:55 Hong Kong 100 years
19:00 News and Weather Forecast

CCTV-6 Channel 18

09:19 Chinese movie: Zhao Yiman
13:12 Chinese movie: One Family, Two Systems
15:00 Romanian movie: Explosion
19:40 Chinese movie: Soul of the State

CCTV-8 Channel 29

12:20 30-part serial: The Generals of the Yang Family (27-29)
17:00 Animation World
18:55 Music Bridge
19:35 Forty-Five Years of Beijing People's Arts Theatre

BTV-1 Channel 6

10:00 28-part serial: The Family (27, 28)
12:40 BTV stereo music
14:20 50-part serial: Four Generations under One Roof (10, 11)
18:30 Beijing News and Weather Forecast
22:55 24-part serial: The Scene of a Crime (1)

BTV-2 Channel 21

08:30 19-part serial: Waiting for A Thousand Years (1, 2)
13:00 22-part serial: Pansy (7, 8)
16:21 44-part US serial: Tropical Heat (31)
20:26 Women today

BTV-3 Channel 27

12:00 Hello, the World
16:35 Learning to sing Peking Opera
19:00 Foreign Language Programme

BCTV-1 Channel 17

09:00 TV serial: The Unfamiliar Seashore (4-6)
12:16 The Little Dragon Club
13:16 26-part serial: The Opium War (16, 17)
14:56 30-part HK serial: Conscience (27, 28)
18:45 US TV serial: Alfred Hitchcock presentation (35)
19:30 60-part TV series: Hong Kong Today (43)
20:40 26-part serial: The Opium War (18, 19)

CHINA DAILY

ON TV

Wednesday, July 9

CCTV-1 Channel 2

10:10	Man and Nature
16:10	18-part serial: Going Around (16)
17:20	Programmes for Children
19:00	News and Weather Forecast
20:05	29-part serial: The Story of Hong Kong (19)

CCTV-2 Channel 8

12:40	Agricultural Education and Science
15:25	16-part serial: The Successful Young Boy (5)
22:30	Oriental Horizon
23:30	News in English

CCTV-3 Channel 15

10:20	Opera Fans Garden
11:30	Peking opera: Meeting at Gucheng
17:08	China Music TV 60 Minutes
19:00	Music Knowledge: Violin concertos (10)

CCTV-4 Channel 32

11:30	Investment guide
18:55	Hong Kong 100 years
19:00	News and Weather Forecast

CCTV-6 Channel 18

13:16	Chinese movie: The Rich Family
14:55	US movie: Casablanca Express
19:40	Chinese movie: No. 5 Garden Street

CCTV-8 Channel 29

17:00	Animation World
18:55	Music Bridge
19:35	Chuanju Opera: The Lotus Fairy

BTV-1 Channel 6

14:20	14:10 50-part serial: Four Generations under One Roof (3, 4)
18:30	Beijing News and Weather Forecast
20:20	19-part serial: Waiting for A Thousand Years (18)
22:55	Chinese movie: The Wheeled Cradle

BTV-2 Channel 21

13:00	22-part serial: Pansy (5, 6)
16:21	44-part US serial: Tropical Heat (26)
20:26	Women today

BTV-3 Channel 27

12:00	Hello, the World
16:35	Learning to sing Peking opera
19:00	Foreign Language Programme

BCTV-1 Channel 17

10:35	TV serial: The Unfamiliar Seashore (1)
12:16	The Little Dragon Club
13:16	26-part serial: The Opium War (7, 8)
14:50	30-part HK serial: Conscience (25, 26)
18:42	US TV serial: Alfred Hitchcock presentation (32)
19:30	60-part TV series: Hong Kong Today (39)
20:40	26-part serial: The Opium War (7, 8)

ON TV

Tuesday, July 15

CCTV-1 Channel 2

08:35	Programmes for the Elderly
09:05	Six-part serial: Stone, Sessors and Cloth (2)
10:40	China's minority nationalities
17:20	Programmes for Children
19:00	News and Weather Forecast
20:05	29-part serial: The Story of Hong Kong (24)

CCTV-2 Channel 8

08:30	China Business News
12:40	Agricultural Education and Science
14:50	Programme for the Elderly
15:25	16-part serial: The Successful Young Boy (8)
22:30	Oriental Horizon
23:30	News in English

CCTV-3 Channel 15

08:30	Song of the Week
08:38	China Music TV 60 Minutes
10:20	Music Knowledge: Violin concertos
10:52	Music Bridge
19:00	Peking Opera Stars
20:00	Peking Opera: Qiu Jin

CCTV-6 Channel 18

09:08	Chinese movie: Break Through the Fog
10:41	Chinese movie: The Guerrillas on the Plain
19:51	Chinese movie: Qiu Jin
23:53	Chinese movie: Strong Wind Last Night

CCTV-8 Channel 29

10:00	Song of the Week
11:30	Around the World
12:20	30-part serial: The Generals of the Yang Family (24-26)
17:00	Animation World
18:55	Music Bridge
19:35	Evening party celebra the return of Hong Ko its motherland

BTV-1 Channel 6

08:35	For Children
10:00	28-part serial: The Fa (25, 26)
12:30	Golden Times
14:25	Evening party celebra the 76th Birthday of t CPC
18:30	Beijing News and We
23:50	BTV News in English

BTV-2 Channel 21

18:14	Cartoon for children
20:28	Bell and Drum Tower

BTV-3 Channel 27

12:00	Hello, the World
18:50	Foreign Language Programme
19:55	Programmes for Chil

BCTV-1 Channel 17

09:00	Chinese movie: The Decisive Battle
12:16	The Little Dragon Clu
13:16	26-part serial: The Op War (14, 15)
14:56	30-part HK serial: Co science (25, 26)
18:43	US TV serial: Alfred Hitchcock presentatio
19:30	60-part TV series: Ho Kong Today (42)
20:00	26-part serial: The Op War (16, 17)
22:12	30-part HK serial: Co science (27, 28)
23:44	28-part serial: Brothe (22)

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ON TV

Monday, July 21

CCTV-1 Channel 2

19:00 News and Weather Forecast
20:05 29-part serial: The Story of Hong Kong (29)
21:25 Man and Nature

CCTV-2 Channel 8

16:10 Song of the Week
20:00 Life

CCTV-3 Channel 15

14:30 Peking opera: Su Wu Tends Sheep
21:08 China Music TV 60 Minutes

CCTV-4 Channel 32

19:00 News and Weather Forecast

CCTV-6 Channel 18

19:37 TV film: Unforgettable 1996
20:00 Chinese movie

CCTV-8 Channel 29

21:48 1997 Guangzhou 10 Thousand People Concert
23:04 19-part serial: The Romance of Three Kingdoms (1)

BTV-1 Channel 6

18:30 Beijing News and Weather

BTV-2 Channel 21

20:57 Golden Times
21:30 US movie: A Reason to Love

3

MUSIC

Thursday, July 10

AM 640 kHz

14:15	Pakistani music
15:10	Chinese ancient instrumental works

AM 720 kHz

09:00	Music World
13:30	Oriental Melody
15:00	Foreign classical music
17:00	Chinese songs by famous singers

FM 90.0 MHz (all stereo)

15:00	World music hits: Rachmaninov's Symphony No 2
16:00	New Records
17:00	Global music
18:00	Top Chinese songs
23:00	New Records

FM 97.4 MHz (all stereo)

01:00	Nightly music
07:35	Daily music hit
09:00	Hello, Taxi
10:00	Window on Chinese Music
13:00	World famous songs
14:00	Music Corridor
19:30	DHL Express
22:30	Let's meet at 97.4

C

Thursday, July 10

CCTV-1 Channel 2

17:20	Programmes for Childr
19:00	News and Weather Forecast
20:05	29-part serial: The Sto of Hong Kong (20)

CCTV-2 Channel 8

15:25	16-part serial: The Successful Young Boy (
23:30	News in English

CCTV-3 Channel 15

19:00	Peking Opera Stars
23:00	Local opera arias

CCTV-4 Channel 32

19:00	News and Weather Forecast
21:00	Chinese news
22:30	China Today

CCTV-6 Channel 18

19:51	Chinese movie: It Shouldn't Happen
21:28	Romanian movie: The Mysterious Yellow Ros

CCTV-8 Channel 29

12:20	30-part serial: The Generals of the Yang Family (10-12)

ON TV

16:10	Chinese and foreign songs and dances
18:55	Music Bridge
20:25	Animal World: Tanganyika Lake

BTV-1 Channel 6

18:30	Beijing News and Weather Forecast
22:20	19-part serial: Waiting for A Thousand Years (19)

BTV-2 Channel 21

16:16	53-part US serial: Tropical Heat (27)
00:26	20-part serial: Surpass Love (17, 18)

BTV-3 Channel 27

16:30	Toshiba Animal Land
18:50	Foreign Language Programme

BCTV-1 Channel 17

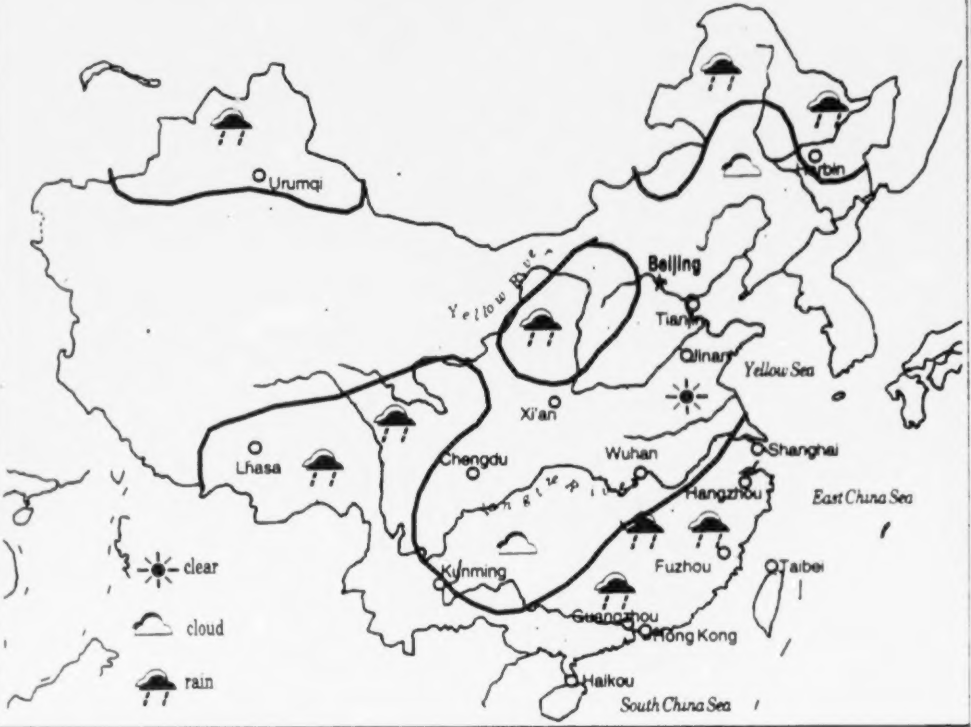
18:45	US TV serial: Alfred Hitchcock Presentation (33)
19:30	60-part TV series: Hong Kong Today (40)
20:00	26-part serial: The Opium War (11, 12)
22:07	HK TV serial: Conscience (27, 28)
23:45	28-part serial: Brothers (21)

China Daily

Thursday July 10, 1997

WEATHER REPORT

Weather forecast (8 am July 9 - 8 am July 10)


Urumqi
Harbin
Beijing
Tianjin
Yellow River
Jinan
Yellow Sea
Xi'an
Lhasa
Chengdu
Wuhan
Shanghai
Yangtze River
Hangzhou
East China Sea
Kunming
Fuzhou
Taibei
Guangzhou
Hong Kong
Haikou
South China Sea
clear
cloud
rain

Weather analysis

LIGHT to moderate rain is expected to linger today and tonight in the central southern lower reaches of the Yangtze River and most of South China, with heavy rain to downpours in some areas. Light to moderate rain is also predicted in Yunnan, eastern Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and northern Xinjiang, with showers or thundershowers in northeastern Inner Mongolia, northern Heilongjiang, western North China and northern Shaanxi.

Weather forecast for major Chinese cities

City	Max(c)	Min(c)	Weather
Beijing	35	21	sunny to thundershower
Tianjin	35	23	sunny
Shanghai	27	23	drizzle to overcast
Xi'an	26	23	overcast
Urumqi	30	23	drizzle
Lhasa	23	10	drizzle to cloudy
Kunming	24	16	drizzle
Harbin	27	17	cloudy to sunny
Wuhan	32	25	cloudy
Jinan	36	27	sunny
Nanjing	30	22	cloudy
Hangzhou	26	22	drizzle
Fuzhou	30	25	thundershowers
Guangzhou	31	26	showers to rain
Haikou	34	26	thundershowers
Guilin	27	22	drizzle
Shenzhen	30	27	rain
Hong Kong	30	27	rain
Taibei	30	26	thundershowers

Weather forecast for major foreign cities

(8 pm July 8 - 8 pm July 9)

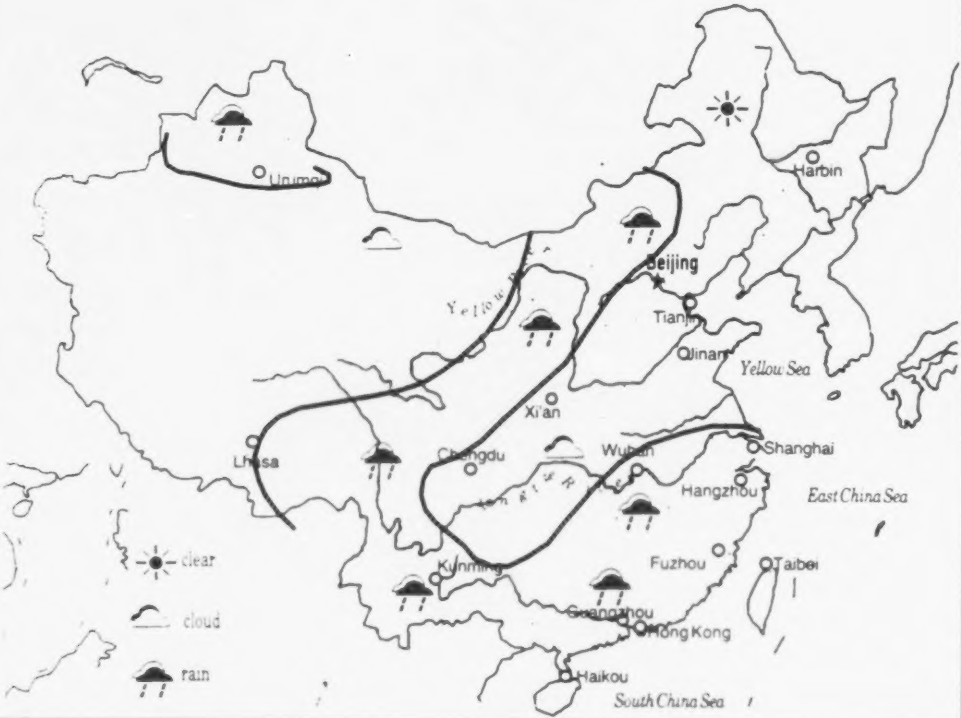
City	Min(C)	Max(C)	Weather
Tokyo	25	32	thundershowers
Bangkok	27	35	cloudy
Sydney	09	19	cloudy
Karachi	28	35	cloudy
Cairo	24	36	clear
Moscow	13	21	cloudy
Frankfurt	15	23	clear
Paris	13	23	clear to cloudy
London	14	25	cloudy
New York	21	29	thundershowers

(Domestic weather map, forecasts and data are provided by the Central Meteorological Observatory)

Wednesday July 9, 1997 China Daily

WEATHER REPORT

Weather forecast (8 am July 10 - 8 am July 11)


Urumqi
Yellow River
Beijing
Tianjin
Jinan
Yellow Sea
Harbin
Xi'an
Lhasa
Chengdu
Wuhan
Yangtze River
Shanghai
Hangzhou
East China Sea
Fuzhou
Taibei
Kunming
Guangzhou
Hong Kong
Haikou
South China Sea
clear
cloud
rain

Weather analysis

A RATHER strong rainfall belt is lingering around eastern South China and the southern lower reaches of the Yangtze River. A sub-tropical high pressure was expected to strengthen yesterday and today, with a warm, damp airflow from the southwest extending to the north, which will bring the movement of a huge rainfall zone to the north. Moderate to heavy rain is expected today and tonight in the southern lower reaches of the Yangtze River and eastern South China, with rainstorms to downpours in some areas. Drizzle is predicted in northern Xinjiang and light to moderate rain in eastern Southwest China, with heavy rain in parts of the regions. Hot weather with 33-37 degrees centigrade will remain in the North China Plains.

Weather forecast for major Chinese cities

City	Max(c)	Min(c)	Weather
Beijing	34	21	sunny
Tianjin	35	21	sunny to cloudy
Shanghai	26	22	drizzle
Xi'an	35	24	drizzle
Urumqi	25	19	overcast
Lhasa	24	9	cloudy to showers
Kunming	24	16	drizzle
Harbin	31	18	sunny
Jinan	36	26	sunny
Nanjing	29	23	drizzle
Hangzhou	25	21	rain to drizzle
Fuzhou	31	26	drizzle
Haikou	31	27	drizzle
Shenzhen	30	27	rain
Hong Kong	30	27	rain
Taibei	30	26	drizzle

Weather forecast for major foreign cities

(8 pm July 9 - 8 pm July 10)

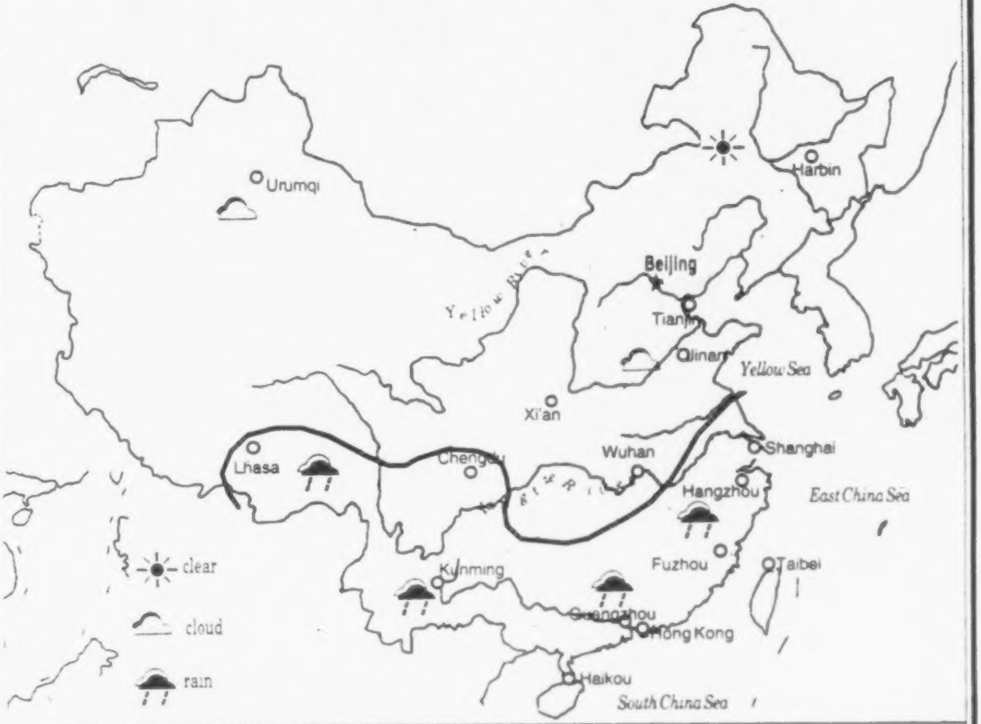
City	Min(C)	Max(C)	Weather
Tokyo	26	32	overcast to drizzle
Bangkok	27	33	drizzle
Sydney	09	18	cloudy to clear
Karachi	29	35	cloudy
Cairo	23	35	clear
Moscow	12	18	overcast to drizzle
Frankfurt	13	22	clear
Paris	14	23	cloudy
London	16	26	cloudy to clear
New York	19	31	drizzle

(Domestic weather map, forecasts and data are provided by the Central Meteorological Observatory)

Thursday July 10, 1997 — China Daily

WEATHER REPORT

Weather forecast (8 am July 11 - 8 am July 12)


Urumqi
Harbin
Beijing
Tianjin
Jinan
Yellow River
Yellow Sea
Xi'an
Lhasa
Chengdu
Wuhan
Shanghai
Hangzhou
East China Sea
Fuzhou
Taibei
Kunming
Guangzhou
Hong Kong
Haikou
South China Sea
clear
cloud
rain

Weather analysis

A SUB-TROPICAL high pressure is expected to extend toward the west with a strengthening force in the next few days. As a result, rainfall will gradually abate in South China, while the main rainfall belt will linger in the northern southern lower reaches of the Yangtze River and the region between the Yangtze and Huaihe rivers. Moderate to heavy rain is predicted today and tonight in northern Jiangxi, Zhejiang, southern and central Anhui and central Jiangsu, with rainstorms in some areas. Light to moderate rain is also expected in South China and eastern Southwest China, with heavy rain in some areas. There will no apparent rainfall in the northern China in the near future.

Weather forecast for major Chinese citles

City	Max(c)	Min(c)	Weather
Beijing	35	23	sunny to cloudy
Tianjin	35	24	sunny
Shanghai	25	22	showers to drizzle
Xi'an	36	24	sunny
Urumqi	28	16	cloudy
Lhasa	25	11	cloudy to drizzle
Kunming	21	13	drizzle
Harbin	33	21	sunny
Jinan	35	26	cloudy to sunny
Nanjing	26	22	rain to drizzle
Hangzhou	26	21	rain to drizzle
Fuzhou	31	26	thundershowers
Haikou	32	26	thundershowers
Guilin	28	24	overcast to drizzle
Shenzhen	30	25	thundershowers
Hong Kong	30	25	thundershowers
Taibei	32	26	thundershowers

Weather forecast for major foreign citles

(8 pm July 10 - 8 pm July 11)

City	Min(C)	Max(C)	Weather
Tokyo	20	26	drizzle
Bangkok	28	33	overcast
Sydney	06	15	clear
Karachi	28	36	cloudy
Cairo	22	33	clear
Moscow	15	22	cloudy
Frankfurt	14	24	clear
Paris	14	23	clear
London	13	24	clear
New York	21	32	thundershowers

(Domestic weather map, forecasts and data are provided by the Central Meteorological Observatory)

Friday July 11, 1998 China Daily

China Daily

Tubes for 25, 29-inch colour TVs in demand

THE increasing popularity of large-screen colour television sets has led to big demand for tubes for these larger sets, according to a report from the Ministry of Electronics Industry.

However, the majority of domestic TV tube makers remain unable to make some key components of large TV's. To meet the country's demand for large tubes, a large number must be imported, the report said.

This translates into bright business prospects for Beijing Matsushita Colour CRT Co Ltd (BMCC), which is the only 29-inch TV tube producer in China, the report said.

During this year's first quarter, sales of 25-inch or larger colour TV sets at big department stores across the country jumped by 132.2 per cent over the same period of last year, and sales of colour TVs of all types grew by 45.2 per cent, the report said.

Sales of tubes for 25-inch sets rocketed by 222 per cent and that of 29-inch sets rose by 48 per cent during the first five months. Production of the smaller tubes grew by 209 per cent and of the larger by 48 per cent.

The figures represent a sharp contrast to those of tubes for 21-inch sets or smaller, whose sales all suffered declines between January and May.

Altogether, 8 million tubes of all sizes were produced in China in the five months, up 3.6 per cent over the same period last year and 7.7 million were sold, up 7.4 per cent, the MEI report said.

(CD News)

Mobile phones

NANJING — China now ranks third in the world in the number of people using mobile phones, after the United States and Japan, according to the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications. China's mobile phone industry didn't take shape until 1987. It now has networks connecting all cities and some villages, and the number of customers has been growing 100 per cent annually on average, ministry sources say.

SAT July 19, 1997

8

Heat wave inflames seasonal goods sales

By Gao Wei

Beijing's hottest summer in 50 years is frustrating residents, straining utilities but igniting seasonal businesses.

Air conditioner producers and sellers possibly profited most as air conditioner sales swept the city.

In many Beijing shops, air conditioners, even samples, are sold out.

Hitachi and Meidi After-Sales Centre said it had to stop providing air conditioners to small and medium shops to guarantee supplies for department stores and shopping centres.

With so many people jostling to buy air conditioners, most after-sales centres were surprised because they had far from enough professionals to install them, an industry insider said.

Most air conditioner producers have revoked their guarantees to deliver and install air conditioners within 24 hours and offered a five- or seven-day guarantee instead, the industry insider said.

She said some after-sales centres had a daily limit of 30 air conditioners.

Consequently, the recently-developed Gree removable air conditioners are constantly in short supply.

People queued last Saturday to pick up removable air conditioners they'd already paid for, said Xue Yao, a salesman at Beijing's Parkson Shopping Centre.

The removable units, which cost 3,780 yuan ($455) are inexpensive and can alleviate the suffocating heat instantly, Xu said.

Sales of electric fans also jumped. They are the best choice for people who cannot afford air conditioners or who use electric fans instead of air conditioners when the weather is not unbearably hot.

Electric fans at Beijing's Shuang'an Market are sold out, and Guiyou Shopping Centre

RED HOT AND COOL: Beijing
to cool off from the heat wave
air conditioners in two days.

Chen Xiong

esidents buy air conditioners at Landao Department Store
that hit northern China early this month. Landao sold 600

reported daily sales volume of 200 electric fans.

Straw and bamboo sleeping nats are selling better than last year when it rained more frequently and the temperature was lower, street vendors said.

Shops managers also report urging sales of waterbeds and sand-stuffed mattresses.

While the heat fuels sales in he city, it is withering profits for farmers. In the mountainous areas outside Beijing, farmers are hurriedly trying to save 20,000 hectares of corn.

Another 1,333 hectares are beyond hope, said Bi Xiaogang, an official with Beijing Anti-drought and Flood Office.

The sweltering heat has put power and water companies under great stress.

Daily electricity use was 4.71 million kilowatt-hours, a July record, said Ji Hong of the Beijing Power Corp. The company is in charge of the city's electricity supply.

The figure is 800,000 kilowatt-hours more than last year's July record, Ji said.

Beijing Tap Water Co said it might have to cut the water pressure if demand continues to rise. The company is providing water at full capacity: 2.4 million cubic metres, company spokesperson Yao Lei said.

China
Daily

Business
weekly

July 20-26,
1997

China Daily
Wednesday July 9, 1997

Spending habits change for city dwellers: survey

JINAN (Xinhua) — Urban people will spend less on food but more on housing, transportation, telecommunications and education in the coming years, a recent survey report indicates.

The provincial survey was carried out in East China's Shandong Province earlier this year.

Despite the shrinking expenditures on food, the survey noted that more healthful food, with higher nutritional value and lower fat, will become popular.

Meanwhile, "instant" food will be accepted by more and more households as urbanization makes people busier with less time for cooking.

Eating more healthful food will be accepted, and more people will change their meat-eating habits from the usual pork to other choices.

High-priced consumer goods, such as cars and personal computers, will be popular with families with high salaries. But ordinary families still won't have the purchasing power.

The survey showed that housing will account for 15 per cent of total expenditures.

Taxis will be used by more people in urban areas as the pace of work and life becomes faster, and their spending on telecommunications will grow markedly. By 2000, phones will be common in more urban homes.

Urban spending on education will increase, but it will be geared toward practical skills instead of more literary pursuits. By 2000, city dwellers will spend 6 per cent of their money in this area, the survey shows.

Shandong is one of the country's grain producers as well as an industrial giant. It leads the country in its overall economic performance. The province also has the second largest population following Central China's Henan Province.

Urban residents account for one-sixth of the 87 million people in Shandong.

Temporary reg
to prevent dom

By Ma Lie

XI'AN – When Gou Yajuan, 32, a resident of Xi'an, capital of China's Northwest Shaanxi Province, was badly beaten by her husband one afternoon, she was in despair. Now she is feeling more hopeful that she will not be mistreated again.

One afternoon in 1995, Gou was seriously beaten by her husband.

After the beating, Gou lay in a hospital for months.

Gou and her relatives went to the authorities and brought charges against Gou's husband. Her husband was sued several times but was not put into prison because the case was considered a family dispute.

However, Gou will be pleased with the Temporary Regulations for Preventing Family Violence issued early this month by the Xi'an Municipal People's Procuratorate, the Xi'an Munici-
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Wed. July · 16, 1997

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their wives, and most of these cases are caused by illegal love affairs," Xue said.

However, Xue added, the increasing number of family violence complaints not only shows an increase in such crimes, but also that people have a better understanding of their legal rights. Previously, people did not think wife-beating was unlawful and few wives brought charges against their husbands.

The regulations asked local governments at all levels to take the protection of family members and the prevention of family violence as one of their major tasks. Local police departments are also expected make greater efforts to deal with cases of family violence.

"The issuing of the regulation will help Gou to get a quick and satisfactory answer to her charges against her husband," Xue said.

China Daily

OPINION

Asian youth moderni

By Chen Yall

IS the new generation of East Asians becoming more Western-oriented as affluence increases?

Will they grow into an Asian version of the "Lost Generation," those born in 1964-72 in the West and who are generally politically and socially apathetic?

Or will they "get lost" in the process of modernization?

"No," according to a survey by Ogilvy & Mather among more than 7,000 individual interviewees and 66 group discussions across East Asia to study the attitudes and values of well-educated, urban East Asians aged 20-30.

Mark Blair, director of O&M research, uses the term "Genies," the "Generation who Independently Engage in Society" to define East Asia's young generation and differentiate them from the "Lost Generation."

Ogilvy & Mather is a worldwide marketing communication company that has been operating in the Asia-Pacific for more than 20 years.

One of the study's most important conclusions is that Genies show more respect for social order and rules than their Western counterparts.

For example, 52 per cent of young Asians agreed that young people should not challenge their parents' authority, and a mere 29 per cent disagreed, according to the study.

In sharp contrast to the "Lost Generation," Genies seek "controlled freedom."

"The East Asian economy is still on the road to modernization. Its young generation enjoy more opportunities in education, self-expression and self-development," said Shen Jie, a researcher at the Sociology Institute attached to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

The young generation understand that society will reward them for their hard work, Shen said.

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Wednesday July 16, 1997

CHINA DAILY

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raditional values and morals enables young people to adjust their behaviour rationally instead of copying Western values blindly and prevents them from getting lost on the road to modernization.

However, the East Asian young generation's loyalty to traditional values is less solid than their parents' generation. They are much more willing to expand their knowledge.

In an era of information explosion, better education and increased international exchanges mean that young Asians have widely differing views from their parents' generation in many respects.

The young generation are more independent, more willing to voice their desires and views, and keener to realize their own ambitions than their parents' generation.

The study revealed that the young generation of East Asians are not materialist. But unlike their parents, young people are not ashamed to be money-oriented nor to use the money they gain to raise their standard of living and seek the opportunity to rise to the top of society, according to the survey.

They take from the West such things as music and fashion but dislike chaos in family and social relations.

The young generation of East Asians are exposed to building a new world where both social and individual roles and rights are being redefined.

The O&M study also revealed that modernization is not synonymous with Westernization for the young generation of East Asians.

Maybe the influence of the West was fundamental in the past; with the ascent of the Asian economy, globalization is a process in which the East and West learn from each other.

With the Western economy wandering and the Asian economy growing, the young generation of East Asians are taking the best from the West and the best from their local cultures. This is the essence of economic success in East Asia.

12

Cyberspace lures young professionals

By Li Yan

Two years ago, the term "computer network" sounded strange to most Chinese, but the phrase is more commonplace today.

Young white-collar workers believe their use of the Internet shows their social status and good taste.

According to a recent survey by the Horizon Marketing Group, 8.4 per cent of Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou residents are linked to the Internet, while only 4.8 per cent were linked last September, according to a previous survey of high income earners — more than 1,200 yuan ($144) per month. That shows the influence of computer networks is growing rapidly.

The recent survey was conducted randomly among 1,500 people 18 and older, with 500 in each city.

The survey showed most of those who use the Internet use the electronic mail function, but about 40 per cent surf the Net for news and information.

About half the respondents age 18-25 and 26-35 can use computers. But those under 25 are more likely to have computers in both their homes and offices. Most of those aged 26-35 use computers at work.

About 32 per cent of those 36-45 years old can use computers, and the ratio decreases as age increases. About 11.5 per cent of people older than 60 can use computers.

The older the person, the less likely he or she is to buy a computer.

Income also affects the number of people who use the Internet.

According to the survey, 32 per cent of those who earn more than 3,000 yuan ($360) a month use the Internet; 10 per cent of those who earn 800 yuan to 1,500 yuan ($96-180) use the Internet; and 0.6 per cent of those earning 400 yuan ($48) per month use it.

Intermediate and senior managers of foreign-funded enterprises are the largest group using the Internet, followed by lawyers, accountants and journalists, while laid-off and blue-collar workers and the retired are the least likely to use the Internet.

Internet fans, generally are under 35, university graduates who earn at least 1,500 yuan ($180), and are senior or intermediate managers of foreign-funded enterprises.

Shanghai residents, unlike their fashion sense, lag behind Beijing and Guangzhou residents in using the Internet.

Experts suggest the Internet is not only a sign of career achievement and higher education, but also will sharpen users' competitive edge by supplying information. However, the Internet is still far from satisfactory. Most information is foreign and in English, which dampens the interest of the general public.

Business Weekly
China Daily July 13-19, 1997

Life expectancy a

LIFE expectancy in Shanghai has reached 76.11, almost double the 42 years its residents were expected to live in early 1950, a local newspaper reported recently.

In the report by the city's health officials, infant mortality in 1950 was 120 per 1,000, while in 1996 it was 9.5 per 1,000. The mortality of mothers at childbirth has dropped from 320 to 22 out of 100,000, Xinmin Evening News reported this weekend.

According to the World Health Organization, developed countries had an average life expectancy of 75 in 1995, while developing countries stayed at 64.

The Shanghai municipal government has made great efforts to improve health conditions over the past decades.

Almost all districts and suburbs of the city have been equipped with health care services.

76 in Shan

end, the first held by the city's government since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, the city government pledged that it will make more efforts to improve health care, disease prevention and medical care for residents in the next few years, sources from the Xinmin Evening News said.

Also, Shanghai municipal government will increase investment in health care supervision

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The city has reported more than
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uch areas as burn surgery, gall
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The city, with a population of
3.09 million and a migrant
vorker population estimated at
3 million, also made great
rogress in primary health care
ver the past few years. Rural
areas have been supplied with tap water, and 95 per cent of the city's counties and suburbs have medical care services.

The city has basically eradicated smallpox, snail fever, filariasis and leprosy. No cases of diphtheria have been reported in the past 17 years, and osteomyelitis has not been reported in seven years.

At the conclusion of a health care conference over the week-

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(CD News)

China Daily
Monday July 7, 1997

7

Poor students

By Cui Ning

YESTERDAY was the last day of the fierce competition for the national college entrance examinations, also an encouraging day for poor students who would succeed in entering universities, as the state has pledged to take substantial steps to help them finish their college careers.

According to the State Education Commission, the central government has allocated 100 million yuan ($12 million) this year to aid financially burdened students in ministry-managed colleges and universities.

The money will be mainly used to subsidize work-for-study programmes in these colleges and universities, Zhao Jianjun, an official of the Financial Affairs Department, which is under the commission, said yesterday.

In a circular issued on Tuesday, the General Office of the State Council called on all provinces and cities to arrange sufficient funds to help ensure that no students drop out because of financial difficulty.

Loans and work-for-study programmes are likely to be used in the next few years by colleges and universities to help support more financially burdened students and train their self-support awareness, Zhao said.

But currently, students from poorer backgrounds are not applying for loans, because they can get only an average of 300
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now has 2.8 million college students. About 20 per cent have financial difficulties, and 7 per cent live in remote and poor areas, with annual family incomes below 1,000 yuan ($120).

The state began to introduce scholarships and loans in 1987.

The commission established the tuition-collection system in 40 colleges and universities in 1994. Its aim was to phase out tuition-free education, raise academic efficiency and set a tuition-collection standard to stop money-dominated recruitments by some colleges and universities.

It also encouraged colleges and universities to introduce scholarships, loans, subsidies, work-for-study programmes and tuition-reduction or exemption means to help poor students pay tuition.

Zhao said that the poor students can basically pay for their college educations through these assistance programmes.

In the University of International Business and Economics, for example, the school allocates more than 2 million yuan ($240,000) each year to support poor students through scholarships, loans, subsidies, work-for-study and tuition exemption, said Tian Xiaoyang, a teacher in charge of student affairs.

With all colleges and universities adopting the tuition-collection system this year, the commission will supervise schools administering methods, Zhao said.

ina Daily July 10, 1997

Students aim to reduce poverty

By Liang Chao

AFTER a brief ceremony yesterday in Beijing's West Railway Station, 17 college students headed to the countryside for 15 days of research on China's rural political and economic development issues in hundreds of impoverished villages.

The students, mostly doctoral candidates from China's prestigious Qinghua University with seven others from Hong Kong Polytechnic University, will work together in Baise Prefecture in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. They were the first group of about 200 students from five other universities who are scheduled to spend their summer vacations in Baise and other poor villages, offering poverty alleviation and technical help.

Last summer, more than 200 students from Beijing University did similar research, which was appreciated highly by Vice-Premier Jiang Chunyun, who met with some of the students and encouraged them to contribute more to the government's anti-poverty efforts by putting their academic skills into practice.

Benefiting from the past five years of research, this year's students will walk along the poverty-stricken area's country roads, trying to find ways to lift the villagers out of poverty. They will lecture on the development of rural economy for village leaders and ordinary farmers, said Mi Youlu, editor-in-chief of Villages and Towns Tribune, one of China's leading magazines run by the Ministry of Civil Affairs for rural officials, whose foundation initiated the activity.

In the next two weeks, they are expected to hold symposia on the improvement of township governments, helping them find the best ways to develop rural enterprises and improve management under China's growing market economy today.

The students also planned to issue questionnaires concerning some of the most urgent issues farmers face, such as their heavy financial burdens, and provide research papers or reports on those issues as references for decision making by local and central government officials.

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Liu Kaixuan / China Daily

Instead of going home to avoid heat stroke, doctoral students from Qinghua University have a new motivation this summer — utilizing their knowledge for poor farmers.

China Daily Monday July 14, 1997

16

Project eradicating illiteracy

ZHENGZHOU, (Xinhua) – Liu Fujin, a farmer in Xinxian County in China's Henan Province, who used to be illiterate, has become a major dispenser of advice for his fellow villagers.

Liu is one of a million illiterate farmers to benefit from an illiteracy-eradication project which began in the early 1980s, helping the poor people of the Dabie Mountains, in the southern part of the province.

The percentage of illiterate or semi-literate young- and middle-aged farmers there dropped from 37 to 4.9. An literate farmer is expected to learn 1,500 Chinese characters, be able to keep an account book, write simple articles and read simple technical materials.

More importantly, educated farmers have become more conversant with the market economy and learnt how to escape poverty. The mountainous Xinyang prefecture has seen the number of poor people drop from 2.57 million in 1983 to 473,000 last year.

Every village in the prefecture has training classes for those who have completed the illiteracy-eradication programme. About two million farmers have learned one or two practical skills.

Farmers, relying mostly on the weather's mood in the past, now turn to science and technology for assistance. In 1990, the prefecture introduced the use of hybrid rice on 200,000 hectares to increase production. As a result, it ended grain importation.

Science and technology have contributed greatly to the prefecture's eight-fold increase in GDP, seven-fold rise in revenues and tripled incomes for farmers.

Monday July 14, 1997

China
Daily

Systematic education strengthens army quality

THE quality of Chinese army officers and soldiers has been greatly enhanced, the China News Service said on Tuesday.

Since 1990, a large number of young officers with high-level academic degrees have been appointed as high-ranking cadres in the army, the news service said.

The average age for cadres in military regions and group armies has decreased by two to three years.

More than 90 per cent of the cadres at or above the group army level have college education backgrounds, and 76 per cent of the cadres have received professional training, the news service said.

These figures are 17.8 per cent and 28 per cent higher than five years ago.

A training system of elementary, intermediate and advanced levels for commanding officers, and an education system for professional technical officers have been established, the news service said.

Over the past 10 years, about 600,000 officers have received training.

By the end of last year, the Chinese army had set up 173 doctorate degree-conferring units and 644 master's degree-conferring units, which produced more than 20,000 doctorate and master's degrees.

To date, there are 300,000 professional technical cadres, accounting for half of the army's total cadres.

Since 1979, institutions of higher learning affiliated to the army have trained more than 840,000 officers, 15,000 of whom have gained master's degrees.

To enhance the quality of army officers and soldiers, the government and the Central Military Commission have promulgated regulations for officers on active duty, regulations on military ranks for officers, temporary regulations on nonmilitary personnel and the law on reserve duty officers. (CD News)

Millions compete for college slots

By Hou Liyue

UNDER a scorching sun, thousands of college applicants in Beijing stepped into examination rooms yesterday, many with their parents waiting outside.

Across the country, 2.84 million senior high school graduates — 180,000 more than last year — are taking the examinations to vie for more than 1 million seats in 1,035 colleges and universities.

The annual national entrance examinations began yesterday and will end tomorrow. They are still regarded as the most important way to get a job in government, institutions and businesses, though more ways have been opened to graduates since the examination system was restored in 1977.

The lucky ones will spend the next four or five years in college, while those who fail the fierce competition will decide whether they will stand the ordeal again next year or look for jobs.

As usual, millions of anxious parents across China took part in another exam. They accompanied their children for the fateful three days.

Students answer ques
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After sending their childr
Beijing's 1,372 examin
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began their anxious waiti
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Pang Dan and her mothe
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China Daily Tuesday July 8.1997

Xie Jiahua / Xinhua

Zhang Wei / China Daily

tions in a classroom at Beijing's No 166 Middle School. Almost 3 chool graduates in the country started the three-day college yesterday. (Right) Parents wait outside classrooms.

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The woman, who had asked for three days off to accompany her daughter, said, "To see her enter the examination room safe and sound, I will feel at ease."

To ensure a quiet environment for the examination, the Beijing municipal government has ordered all construction work to stop at night.

Students in North China met scorching days, while those in the south brought umbrellas with them.

Those who pass the exam will be eligible for college admission in August.

Starting from the 1997 academic year, all Chinese college students will be required to pay part of their college tuition fees, which range from 2,000 yuan to 4,000 yuan ($241-$482) a year.

HK policy to require students to know China

HONG KONG (Xinhua) — Local students should study more Chinese history and culture to become better acquainted with their motherland, said Joseph W P Wong, secretary for education and manpower of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR).

He made the remark at a press briefing titled "The Future Direction of Education in Hong Kong" at the HK Convention and Exhibition Centre earlier on Saturday.

This is the first press briefing on the development of education given by the HKSAR government since its founding on Tuesday.

At a grand celebration for the founding, Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa said the HKSAR government would draw up an all-round plan to improve the quality of education and would provide the resources to achieve the goal.

Wong told reporters that his department has mapped out eight major policies for the improvement of Hong Kong's basic education. One of these policies is to increase students' knowledge of Chinese culture and history through civic education.

"China is a country with a history of 5,000 years, and we would like our students to know their motherland in a very comprehensive manner; that is to say, they should know not only China's recent political and economic development, but its 5,000-year-old history and culture," he said.

When asked whether the HKSAR government will introduce any major changes to the existing textbooks, Wong said that the HKSAR government neither produces nor censors any textbooks, and that all textbooks in Hong Kong are produced by private publishers.

"However, the government keeps to only one principle; namely, all textbooks, especially history textbooks, must provide objective and comprehensive facts for the students and shall reflect the recent political and economic changes," he said, citing some minor changes to the former textbooks as "normal" and "necessary."

China Daily
Monday July 7, 1997

Remember -
I got 2 more
articles from
the Net
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Asia Weekly,

Joint venture set up in Tianjin

By Shen Bin

TIANJIN – Danfoss Group, an international automatic control product maker, broke ground on a new manufacturing plant at the Wuqing Economic Development Area in Tianjin on Saturday, committing $22.5 million in total investment.

It is one of four Danish firms that have established production facilities in Tianjin.

The wholly owned facility, slated for completion in 1999, will be used to manufacture radiator thermostats, thermostatic expansion valves, water control valves and related products, key parts for making refrigerators and producing temperature control devices.

The investment marks Danfoss' largest in Asia although it has more than 30 factories around the world. It reported $100 million in sales for the Asian region last year.

As for the site selection, president and chief executive officer of Danfoss Group Joergen Clausen said proximity to Beijing, a seaport, an industrial centre, an international school and easy outlet for exports were the primary reasons.

The company also signed agreements with the Ministry of Construction yesterday, calling for a series of seminars and technical symposia, and for joint product development, promotion and popularization activities.

Danfoss also signed a co-operation agreement with the Heating Supply Office of Tianjin government.

"It marks another remarkable page in the history of Danfoss," Clausen said. "From this company's roots in a small farmhouse off the southern coast of Denmark to the Wuqing Development Area, the suburb of Tianjin, Danfoss has truly become a global enterprise which is dedicated to its customers everywhere they do business," he said.

At least 150 Chinese employees will work in the factory, and the products will be sold principally in China. "China has huge construction, industrial and cooling markets," Clausen said. Danfoss expects to export thermostatic expansion valves and water control valves to Asia and other markets worldwide.

By 2000, the company expects to earn $50 million in sales within China.

Monday July 7, 1997
China Daily

MasterCard deal

Shanghai – MasterCard has recently logged on to the city's Golden Card Project to promote the cashless payment system. Under an agreement with the Shanghai Golden Card Project, owners of Cirrus cards can withdraw money from any of the city's 1,000 ATMs. Cirrus, which is owned by MasterCard, can be used at more than 300,000 ATMs worldwide. MasterCard also opened an office in Shanghai this month, the third in China behind Hong Kong and Beijing. (Xinhua)

China Daily
Business Weekly
July 20-26, 1997

JV has firm focus on freon-free freezers

By Xiao Tong

BSY Cooling Appliances Co Ltd, a Sino-German joint venture in Chuzhou, East China's Anhui Province, is going to expand its operations.

The company wants a greater share of the home appliance sector.

"We plan to invest 100 million yuan ($12 million) in equipment and 50 million yuan ($6 million) to overhaul existing facilities in the next three years," Deputy General Manager Jan-Grigor Schubert said at a press conference last week.

Founded in March 1996, BSY has the ability to produce more than 400,000 refrigerators and freezers.

The company is expected to produce 1.5 million refrigerators and freezers annually after more investment, said the deputy general manager.

BSY is funded by Bosch-Siemens Hausgeraete GmbH (BSHG) and the China Yangzi Group.

It will absorb BSHG's latest technology in exploring new products and use the Yangzi brand to market its products in China.

Through Yangzi's more than 500 after-sales service centres, BSY offers special training programs in repairing and maintaining its new freon-free cooling products.

BSY produces 13 varieties of refrigerators and freezers. All of them are freon-free.

Schubert said BSY would introduce six new refrigerators and freezers to satisfy the needs of various Chinese customers.

BSY will set its sights beyond cooling appliances by preparing to launch its cylinder washing machines in October, Schubert said.

Israeli snack food JV opens in Beijing

By Gao Wei

THE biggest joint venture between China and Israel, the Eisem Food Co Ltd, opened its doors yesterday in Beijing.

The joint venture, if successful, could pave the way for more Israeli companies to invest in China: many are looking for Chinese business partners, said Israeli Ambassador Ora Namir at the ribbon-cutting ceremony.

The two parties to the joint venture are the Beijing Nanjiao Milk Co and the Osem Co, the largest grocery food manufacturer in Israel.

Investment in the project is $5.6 million, 60 per cent of which came from the Israeli firm.

Osem is associated with Nestle, which bought 40 per cent of Osem in 1996. Nestle is providing marketing, materials and quality control support, Osem sources said.

The joint venture produces Bamibaba, a corn-based snack which is successful in Israel. The company has adjusted the product to appeal to Chinese tastes.

Fri July 11, 1997 China Daily

China, Laos to increase economic co-operation

By Gao Wei

TRADE and economic co-operation between China and Laos should be boosted to a higher level, said Chinese Vice-Premier Li Lanqing to visiting Laotian Vice-Premier Bougnhang Vorachith.

Although bilateral economic ties have improved since the 1989 normalization, bilateral trade is still limited, Li said.

He suggested the two sides expand trade volume by exporting more new products which are needed by each other. He said China intends to provide more machinery and electronic products and complete plants to Laos.

He also advised the two nations to make full use of geographical advantages and further develop border and over-the-border trade. The Chinese Government will continue to grant preferential policies in support of economic and technological co-operation between China's Yunnan Province and the northern parts of Laos, Li said.

Various forms of mutual beneficial economic co-operation should be employed to combine Laos' natural resource advantages and China's cutting edge technology, equipment and personnel, the vice-premier urged.

He also noted China is willing to provide preferential government-subsidized loans, which will be mainly used in mid- and small-sized projects to encourage more joint ventures between the two countries.

Trade and economic co-operation between the two countries have been progressing steadily during the past nine years.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation statistics, bilateral trade volume stood at $34.84 million, compared with $7.13 million in 1989.

A total of $39.9 million investment has been made by more than 60 Chinese companies in Laos. About 60 engineering and labour contracts worth $139 million have been inked between the two nations.

Tuesday July 15, 1997

Shanghai realtors see bright future

By Jing JI

DESPITE falling prices and lacklustre sales, the over-supplied Shanghai realty market will remain a business with enormous potential for long-term investors, according to industrial insiders.

Samuel Kuk, director and group general manager of The Well & Well Group of Companies, said short-term speculation is doomed here, but prospects for long-term investment are brisk.

"It will take some five years for developers to sell out Shanghai's surplus real estate products which are allowed to be sold to overseas investors," he said.

But after that period, the market will revive as this coastal city will become a real international metropolitis.

And there is still room for Shanghai's real estate prices to climb up since prices in China's real estate market remain relatively low compared to other international cities, he said.

For example, the price for a top grade office building is $28,000 per square metre in Tokyo, $20,000 in Hong Kong, $18,000 in Singapore and $8,500 to $9,000 in Taiwan. But the highest price for that in Beijing and Shanghai is only $4,000.

"There is no reason for Shanghai, China's financial centre and a growing international city, not to catch these international cities," he said.

"I believe Shanghai can run neck and neck with Hong Kong in the coming five years," said Bin Hsu, general manager of Wonderland Property Consultant (Shanghai) Co Ltd.

But an oversupply has pressed prices to slip to a bottom and some developers, eager to cash in, are selling houses at low-than-expected prices.

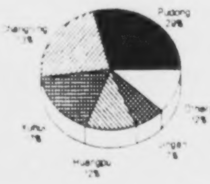
In the recent two years, prices and rent in Shanghai has dropped by at least 30 per cent, while another 15 to 20 per cent fall is expected.

And during the first quarter of 1997, although demand for office space continued to grow rapidly, it nevertheless grew at a slower pace than supply, according to Richard Ellis Research & Development Consultancy.

The continuing wave of completions has also had an impact on office vacancy rates.

The company said rentals for newer, less competitive office buildings are especially vulnerable under present market conditions.

Office facility distribution



Source: Richard Ellis R & D Consultancy

"While Shanghai office rentals have been quite volatile, the office sales market has remained generally illiquid," it said in a report.

The twin circumstances of a slow office sales market, marked by relatively few transactions, and the rapid decline in rentals have given rise to the unusual phenomenon of declining notional yields in a softening rental market.

Kuk attributed the oversupply to the fact that too many batches of land had been allowed to develop in previous years.

Between 1992 and 1997, newly constructed buildings in Shanghai have surpassed the total in Europe, Bin Hsu of Wonderland said.

Within the first quarter of 1997, an additional six quality office developments providing 166,450 square metres became available in Shanghai, raising cumulative stock in Puxi to 950,000 square metres and Pudong to 662,450 square metres.

Office buildings with 11 million square metres of floor space are under construction.

"However, lured by dynamic economic growth in China and especially Shanghai, foreign investors will still swarm here to consume the properties," Kuk said.

Hsu said location, quality and price will decide the sales of properties.

Pudong will be the magnet, luring more investors.

There are 181 buildings, with at least 30,000 square metre floor space each, under construction there.

Some international companies are considering moving their Asia Pacific headquarters from Hong Kong to Shanghai Pudong.

Pudong international airport, expected to open on October 1, 1999, will link this area with many foreign cities, adding lustre to this area.

In addition, the People's Bank of China has required foreign banks to move branches to Pudong before opening renminbi business. Nine banks have got permission.

Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Corp, one of the nine overseas banks which have been granted a renminbi banking licence, committed to lease 1,900 square metres of Marine Tower in Pudong. Four other overseas banks, including Citibank, have also chosen Marine Tower as their new office location.

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Development zone under high demand

SHANGHAI – Congregation of foreign investors and early development has made the 0.65-square-kilometre mini-city, Hongqiao Economic and Technical Development Zone (HETDZ), a real estate market of high demand in Shanghai.

The zone, close to the airport, was inaugurated in 1985 as a State development zone. So far, more than $1.53 billion worth of foreign investment has been pledged in the zone for property development, hotel, trade and finance services.

More than 500 foreign-funded enterprises and multi-national companies have arrived in Hongqiao, creating demand for offices and homes.

Li Ruikang, a manager of Shanghai Hongqiao HETDZ United Development Ço Ltd, said 17 high-rise buildings have been completed, providing more than 100,000 square metres of office space, 3,000 hotel rooms, 1,500 apartments and 23,000 square metres of floor space for exhibitions.

He said property prices in Hongqiao are higher than average in Shanghai. Daily office rent is about $1 per square metre, compared with 60 cents to 70 cents in Pudong New Area, a rising trade and finance zone east of the city's Huangpu River. Offices usually sell at $3,000 per square metre, also higher than Pudong and the average in downtown areas.

Some buildings are fully occupied, but the average occupancy rate is 50 per cent, Li said.

Li's company is in charge of developing the zone. New Town Property Management Co manages several projects in Hongqiao. (CD News)

Skyscraper going up in Shanghai

SHANGHAI (Xinhua) – Cosmopolitan Shanghai will erect a 460-metre building, 8 metres taller than the world's tallest building in Malaysia.

Construction of the 94-storey Shanghai World Financial Centre will start this September and be completed by 2001, according to a senior employee of the Japan-based Mori Building Co Ltd, one of the major developers of the building.

The project will cost $960 million and be jointly funded by Mori Building Co Ltd, the Overseas Economic Co-operation Fund of Japan, and 36 Japanese and US financial companies, said Youxikawa Kiyouxi with Mori's Forest Overseas Co Ltd.

The office-and-hotel building, located at Lujiazui Financial and Trade Zone in Shanghai's Pudong New Area, was designed by KPF, a US architectural firm.

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CHINA DAILY BUSINESS WEEKLY

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Scenic coastal city beco

Xiamen tur

By Shen Bin

XIAMEN — Despite a lack of technology, engineers and industry, this coastal city renowned for its proximity to Taiwan and scenery has spawned an auto making giant.

Xiamen Golden Dragon United Automotive Industry Co, once a bankrupt cement pipe producer, has become a profitable commercial coach and bus manufacturer.

Launched by a four-party consortium in 1988, the joint-stock company had an initial 20 million yuan ($2.4 million) investment. It started making minibuses and passenger vans from scratch.

In the early stage, it hired seven technicians from a Mercedes-Benz Co subsidiary in Thailand to teach about 400 workers how to assemble a complete vehicle with thousands of parts.

When the first group of vehicles rolled off the assembly line in 1990, the plant began to lose money because of poor quality and hefty costs. A year later, it reported 5 million yuan ($602,400) losses.

At the time, Tuo Xinyong was appointed by the board of directors to accept the daunting task of turning around the enterprise. He now is general manager.

His priority was to remove the positions of deputies to the chief of the offices and workshops.

"It eventually proved to be the best way to get rid of red tape and improve efficiency," Tuo said.

Later, he introduced a contracted employment system and simplified salary distribution measure, offering

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rns bus base

great incentives to workers.

Faced with severe problems in engines, he led a handful of engineers and workers to repair, modify and renovate around the clock.

At last, quality and delivery time were guaranteed, and all the vehicles sold were recalled for replacement engines.

"We gained a reputation among our customers through the move," Tuo said.

After turning the corner, the company developed commercial coaches and buses by using advanced technology and designs from German MAN Commercial Vehicle Co and Japan's Hino Motors.

In turn, its sales escalated to 180 million yuan ($21.6 million) in 1996 from 60 million yuan ($7.2 million) in 1993. This year, its earnings are expected to top 300 million yuan ($36.1 million).

The company adopted more flexible production links to meet different demands from customers. Many improvements and upgraded have been conducted on different vehicles, ranging from chassis platforms, interior trims, air conditioners, seats and door.

"I believe salesmen sell the first bus, but after-sales people sell the rest," Tuo said.

He stressed the importance of individual treatment for customers.

"So in line with our own conditions, we emphasize the upper and lower ends of the market, which prefer more changes," Tuo said.

The company's products have been exported to the United States, Korea and Zimbabwe.

AVAILABLE

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Yang Bo

中国银行
BANK OF CHINA
电子流动银行

CONVENIENCE: A mobile bank provides service to people of Yantai.

Mobile bank brings online services

YANTAI – Don't bother looking for a permanent street address for the new Bank of China branch in Yantai.

The branch is the country's first online mobile bank. Its wireless communication system, computers, automated teller machines and electricity suppliers are housed in a van that travels to various locations.

Bank of China Yantai branch and Yuntong (Guangzhou) Technology Co Ltd designed the traveling bank.

The bank cost about 2 million yuan ($240,000).

It can deal with BOC business functions, including foreign currency savings accounts, foreign currency exchange, credit cards and ATM banking.

It is designed to revamp banks' traditional operations and services through technology.

It has three M-size ES/9000 computers and 21 RS/6000 S-size computers, a big change from outdated technology in other banks.

Thanks to itsmodern equipment, the bank is increasing its business.

By the end of the first quarter, renminbi savings had reached 3.6 billion yuan ($433 million).

(BW News)

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Business Weekly July 6-12-1997

Pearl River improves trade, shipping with Hong Kong

GUANGZHOU(Xinhua) — The Zhujiang, or Pearl River, has become China's busiest waterway for expanding trade between Hong Kong and inland areas.

The river flows through Yunnan Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Guangdong Province in Southwest and South China and empties into the South China Sea.

A dozen cargo ships carry fresh vegetables, fruit, fish and fowl to Hong Kong each morning from Guangzhou, capital of Guangdong. Sources say about 50,000 tons of food goes to Hong Kong each month.

More than 200 river ports are scattered in the Zhujiang River Delta.

So far, more than 20 large and medium ports have been or are being built along the river in Guangzhou, Zhuhai and Shenzhen, where the density of river ports is highest in southern China.

Ten thousand-ton vessels can sail from Hong Kong to Guangzhou, and 1,000-ton ships sail to Zhaoqing in Guangdong and Wuzhou, Guiping and Guigang in Guangxi. Three hundred-ton to 500-ton boats can reach the upper reaches of the Zhujiang River system.

Statistics from the Zhujiang Shipping Administration of the Ministry of Communications show more than 2,300 large vessels travel between Hong Kong and the inland areas each day.

Authorities say the tremendous amount of cargo moving along the Zhujiang has led to its boom. Statistics show 490,000 Hong Kong-funded enterprises have moved their factories to the interior.

Large quantities of goods from Hunan, Guizhou and Guangxi, have been shipped along the Zhujiang to Hong Kong.

About 112,000 ships went to Hong Kong by the Zhujiang in 1996. They handled more than 38 million tons of cargo and accounted for one-eighth of Hong Kong's handling capacity, according to statistics from Hong Kong's Port Development Bureau.

Container transport has been increasing 35 per cent annually on the Zhujiang. Six of every 10 containers handled by Hong Kong are shipped by the Zhujiang either way.

According to Guangdong's Ninth Five-Year Plan (1996-2000), about 1 billion yuan ($120.4 million) will be invested in expanding and upgrading inland river ports to further tap the Zhujiang's potential.

Economists say development of the river's transport will enable Hong Kong to push its economic growth north into South China's inland.

Experiment preserves kiwi up to 6 months

By Ding Xuemei

Scientists in China's Henan Province have succeeded in preserving 200,000 kilograms of kiwi for six months.

The experiment ultimately may be used preserving large amounts of the fruit.

Kiwi sells well in China and overseas because of its taste and nutrition.

China produces 50 million kilograms a year.

However, it is difficult to preserve the fruit. Farmers in Central China's Henan Province lose 30 million yuan ($ 3.7 million) annually because of preservation problems.

The new technique was developed after a 12-year effort.

The project was one of the country's key scientific research plans listed by the State Science and Technology Commission.

Compared to traditional cold storage or low oxygen preserving methods, the new technique uses a low-pressure ethylene air conditioning process and achieves better results.

With increasing use of the new technique, the kiwi supply will be ensured.

China also imports kiwi.

Zespri International Ltd, the sole exporter of kiwi in New Zealand, sold more than 10,000 boxes to China in 1993. One box is about 3.6 kilograms.

The volume increased to 200,000 boxes last year. This year, sales are expected to reach 500,000 boxes, said Chan Yujan, director of the company's East Asian department.

Chan said the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture had signed a memo with the Agriculture Ministry of New Zealand to allow development of Zespri kiwi in China.

The company has negotiated with farms in Shaanxi Province and is going to contact farms in Jiangxi Province, Chan said.

Zespri plans to launch promotion activities in more than 60 supermarkets in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Guangzhou.

Beijing battle

Technology reduces traffic, accidents

By Shen Bin

China is using high-tech communications equipment to relieve traffic congestion and reduce accidents.

As the number of motor vehicles rises at an unprecedented rate within the bicycle capital of the world, the need for traffic management facilities is becoming urgent.

Statistics show more than 280,000 traffic accidents occurred last year, killing 73,655 people and injuring 174,447. The death rate rose 3 per cent from the previous year; the accident rate rose 9.5 per cent.

China will establish about 100 urban traffic computer command centres over the next decade. Large and medium cities will receive the electronic video-monitoring system, said Zhang Dianping, chief of Science and Technology Division of Traffic Management Bureau under the Ministry of Public Security.

The plan would raise speed limits 10 per cent to 15 per cent in densely populated urban areas, he said.

Although China has been importing traffic management hardware and software for the past two decades, it is poised to be self-sufficient in developing this kind of high-tech system.

The plan will help traffic management within China, he said.

Two research institutes in Wuxi in Jiangsu Province and the southern coastal city Shenzhen have the ability to design and produce the traffic management system. Nanjing, Xiamen, Kunming and Weihai are among the first cities to operate a domestically made system.

Nanjing municipal government invested 17 million yuan ($2.04 million) in traffic control equipment, and Xiamen spent 30 million yuan ($3.6 million) on it.

The system consists of seven pieces of equipment: programmed signal light control system, cable TV supervision system, transport information exchange system, traffic broadcasting system, satellite global positioning systems and wired and wireless communication systems.

However, fewer traffic police were needed as traffic problems decreased. As a result, many were laid off.

Some policemen previously on duty downtown were forced to move to the suburbs or small towns for jobs.

Nevertheless, the Traffic Management Bureau will continue its quest to reduce traffic through technology.

Although it will pursue local materials and designs, it will encourage competition and foreign investm

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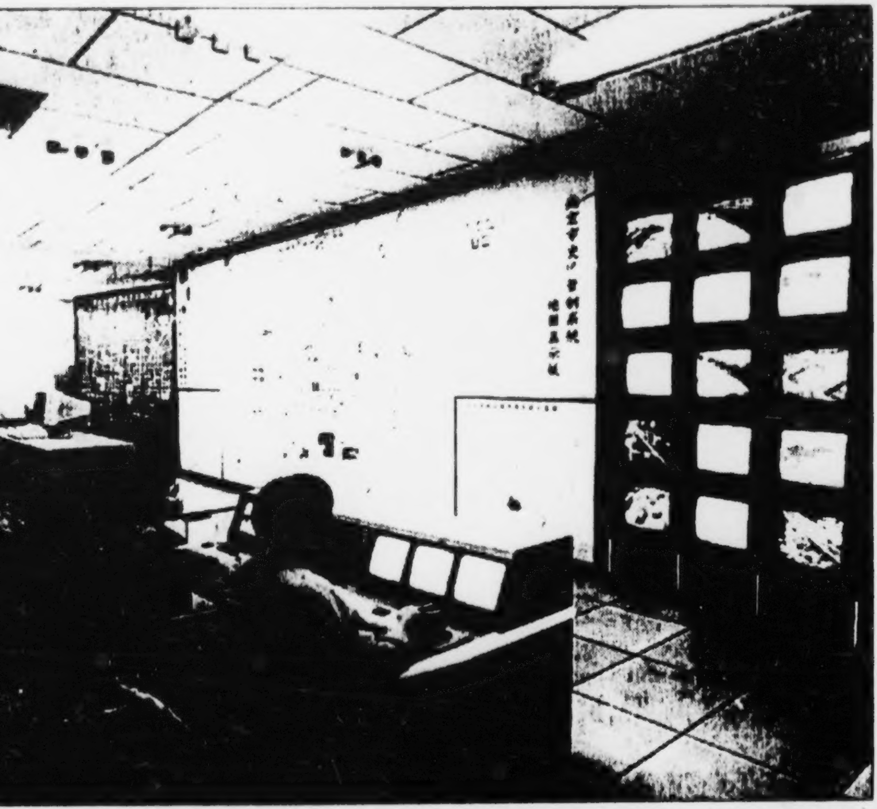
Liu Yingyi



RACKERS: Police with Beijing Public Security and Traffic Administration he city's traffic flow with modern traffic control systems.

ent, Zhang said.

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nagement systems , Australia, Spain ner Yugoslavia in s and the 1980s are jing, Tianjin and

"They lag behind the times," Zhang said.

Vast replacements are needed, although they will be expensive.

Beijing installed new traffic signals major intersections along Changan Avenue to prepare for Hong Kong handover celebrations. The lamp poles were made in China, but the lights came from the United States.

According to the State Science and Technology Commission, Beijing will pilot an "intelligent transport systems" project on the Second and Third Ring roads this year.

With the help of European investment, the project is expected to help traffic flow in the capital.

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Chongqing accelera

CHONGQING (Xinhua) — This new municipality directly under the central government will give priority to transportation facilities.

By 2020, the city government is projected to invest 42 billion yuan ($5 billion) to build 4,680 kilometres of highways, including more than 950 kilometres of superhighways.

Calling 1997 the "Year of Road Construction," the government has spent 2.5 billion yuan ($301 million) — half its annual fiscal income — on road projects.

Local transportation authorities said the government planned to complete a highway network centering on Chongqing and covering a batch of national trunk highways and peripheral roads, as well as a beltway around the city.

The Chongqing area once was described as "more difficult than anything" in a poem by Li Bai, a famous poet in the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907).

Local transportation conditions have improved since 1949. More than 27,000 kilometres of highway are open in the city.

Hampered by too many rivers, mountains and hills, the city's transportation cannot cater to economic expansion, authorities say.

"Chongqing's economic growth should start from transportation," Mayor

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A 470-kilometre Fuling-Xiushan section of the No 319 national highway will be upgraded in October.

Five Yangtze River bridges are expected to begin operating in Jiangjin, Fuling, Fengdu, Wanxian and Chongqing.

Teng Xiquan, deputy director of the municipal Communications Bureau, said Chongqing would have 527 kilometres of expressways and 1,900 kilometres of first- and second-grade highways by 2005.

"Our aim is to open a fast passage to the east and to the sea, a fundamental change in Chongqing's road conditions," Teng said.

While building high-grade highways, the city will set aside 30 million yuan ($3.6 million) annually to make all towns and townships accessible to highways by 2000.

The city plans to build new rail lines from Chongqing to Huaihua and Suining, and from Wanxian to Daxian by 2010. It also plans to build nine ports along the Yangtze River. Jiangbei Airport in Chongqing will be expanded, and preparations will be done for Wuqian Airport in Wanxian and Zhoubei Airport in Qinjiang.

Coal mine to begin 1st phase operations

By Zhao Shaoqin

The first phase of Jungar Coal Mine is expected to begin operating in October.

Jungar Coal Mine in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region's Ih Ju League boasts the country's largest opencut coal mine.

Jungar Coal Mine covers 1,365 square kilometres, and its reserves are estimated at 26.8 billion tons.

The project has cost about 10 billion yuan ($1.2 billion) since it began in 1990.

Song Hanfeng, general manager of Jungar Coal Industry Corp, said the project fit the national energy policy's focus on the western part of the country.

Song said the first phase included an opencut coal mine and a coal-washing plant, which are capable of digging and washing 12 million tons of coal annually.

More than 100 large pieces of equipment were imported from more than 60 foreign companies. The equipment guarantees high efficiency, Song said.

A pithead power plant, with the installed capacity of 200,000 kilowatts, officially opened four years ago.

A 264-kilometre railway from Jungar to Shanxi's Datong is expected to open this year. The railway, connected with Datong-Qinhuangdao Railway, is expected to carry 40 million tons of coal to Qinhuangdao, the largest coal terminal in the country, every year.

Song said his company paid more attention to environmental protection.

Trees and grass are planted near the coal mine. Dirt-cleaning equipments in the power plant cut down on air pollution. Two waste water treatment plants help purify 12,500 tons of waste water every day.

Song said the company expected to produce 2.5 million tons of coal this year. By 2000, output should reach the 15 million-ton designed capacity.

The company is sparing no efforts to tap domestic and international markets.

"We hope to export more high-quality coal by mixing our coal with coal from Shanxi's Pingshuo and Inner Mongolia's Dongsheng," Song said.

He said the company was eager to get more railcars to carry more coal.

To use its coal better, the company is ready to build a new pithead power plant with an installed capacity of 600,000 kilowatts.

The company is determined to co-operate with foreign companies to construct the second phase of the project, including an opencut coal mine with a designed annual output of 15 million tons of coal and a pithead power plant with an installed capacity of 2.4 million kilowatts.

Second phase investment is expected to hit 33 billion yuan ($4 billion), Song said.

According to the future plan, the project's output is expected to be 60 million tons of coal after the third phase is completed.

Tang Zaoming

IGHTING UP LIFE: Workers at Beijing Fireworks Factory produced 2.6 million yuan ($313,000) of fireworks for celebrations to mark Hong Kong's return to the motherland last week.

Firework factories glowing

By Li Yan

July 1 festivities are over, but the memory of fireworks lingers.

No other event has drawn so many people to the streets to share in the country's joy.

In Beijing, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen and other major Chinese cities, people celebrated Hong Kong's return by watching fireworks.

In the capital, people swarmed to ring road flyovers to see the fireworks. Normally, fireworks are shot off once every five years for National Day ceremonies.

According to a Beijing municipal government official, the city spent more than 7 million yuan ($840,000) on fireworks and celebrations.

Beijing designated six places in urban areas to express its joy at this grand event for Chinese people. Fireworks normally are prohibited within the municipality.

Beijing Fireworks Factory, the largest in China, supplied more 1.3 million yuan ($156,000) of pyrotechnics, about half the fireworks used in Beijing for the two-day celebration, according to general manager Qian Zhiqiang.

The factory also supplied 1.3 million yuan of fireworks to other cities.

Although the price of fireworks is rather low — 110 yuan ($13) for a 7-inch rocket, Qian said the factory was willing to supply fireworks for the grand ceremony.

Liuyang Fireworks Factory in Hunan Province was one of the six factories supplying fireworks to Beijing. The factory struggled to save fireworks from floods and send them to Beijing in time, said Zhou Xia, director of Beijing Zhong Fa Fireworks Art (Group) Company.

The Hunan company is one of the group's seven fireworks manufacturers. It exports and displays fireworks mainly in other countries.

China is the largest manufacturer and exporter of fireworks in the world. It has thousands of fireworks companies — including many small township ones — and covers more than 80 per cent of the world's fireworks trade volume, Zhou said.

It exported about 130,000 tons of fireworks, with a 200 million yuan ($24 million) volume in 1996.

However, China lags behind the world in the art of fireworks shows, Zhou said.

Abroad, fireworks are accompanied by music. Height, design, colour and variety are considered before the show.

As more Chinese cities forbid fireworks in urban areas, Zhou expects local governments to organize firework performances during festivals and grand celebrations.

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China Daily July

Floods hit s

By Liang Chao

WHILE people in North and Northeast China have been suffering from the season's baking sunshine and scorching weather, summer's rainstorms have caused mounting damages in East and South China.

Floods, caused by torrential rainstorms with precipitations more than 400 millimetres, have affected millions of people in East and South China, cutting off two railways and forcing thousands of factories to suspend production.

The number of casualties from the two floodwater-ridden areas are not available yet, officials for Beijing-based State Flood-Control Headquarters said yesterday, adding, fortunately, China's other large rivers remain peaceful.

However, they confirmed yesterday serious flooding situations on the Qiantangjiang in the East and Xijiang and Beijiang, two main tributaries of the Pearl River in South China.

By last Saturday, main levels of the Qiantangjiang and Xijiang rivers remained safe, thanks to the hard work of local authorities, officials said.

But the once-receding water level of the Beijiang River still kept rising with downpours there, they said.

Residents of in Xiaoshan, Zhejia
has been besieged by floods si

Tens of thousands of people and soldiers in Zhejiang, headed by the province's leading officials, are fighting against the flash-flood water of Qiantangjiang to prevent the swollen river from bursting its banks.

In Zhejiang, it is estimated 6 million people are in the flood-stricken area, comprising more than 30 small cities and counties. Production was halted in more than 7,000 local factories,

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Fu Yufei

ang Province, fortify a levee to hold back floods. The city ince rainstorms started on July 7.

ccording to the latest reports eaching Beijing yesterday.

More than 140,000 locals were vacuated from areas threatned by the swollen river during n emergency operation as hunreds of houses collapsed.

Over the past six days, the flood overed stretches of railway lines onnecting Shanghai with East hina's Fujian Province at 7:30 m last Friday and forced susension of other railways between Zhejiang and Jiangxi provinces.

As a result, all trains from Shanghai to Xiamen and Fuzhou, two major cities in Fujian, were cancelled over the weekend, sources at Shanghai Railway Bureau said.

Two of the three sections of the Shanghai-Xiamen line had been repaired by 6:00 pm Saturday.

All lines will resume operation within the next three to five days, the sources added.

CHINA DAILY

Saturday
July 12, 1997

Guangdong flood toll rises to 41

By Wang Rong

GUANGZHOU – The death toll from this week's floods increased to 41, and the homes of more than 3.2 million people are threatened in South China's Guangdong Province.

The whole province was on alert to prevent more casualties and damage yesterday as the highest floodwaters from the two main rivers were scheduled to arrive last night.

Information from Guangdong Hydrometric Station showed that flooding from the Xijiang River would reach its highest point of around 13 metres last night, 3.7 metres above the warning level.

The flooding is so big that it may happen only once in 50 years.

Also at midnight yesterday, the second big flood was expected on the Beijiang River, about 13 metres at the highest point and 2 metres above the warning level.

"The flood could pass by safely if there are no more big storms on the upper reaches of both rivers," said Li Gaizeng, an official of the provincial government.

But he said emergency measures were also being taken to prepare for the worst.

Located in both Guangdong and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, the Xijiang River was challenged by flood since Tuesday because of the continual storms in Wuzhou area, Guangxi.

Within three days, the speed of the rising water increased from 3 centimetres to more than 6 centimetres per hour.

The Beijiang River in northern Guangdong has been threatened by floods since June 30 and had its first big tide on Monday.

Latest statistics indicated that the flood affected 12 cities, 37 counties and 380 villages in the province.

Direct economic losses exceeded 1.83 billion yuan ($223 million), collapsing 11,170 houses and damaging 43,250.

Qingyuan and Heyuan suffered the most from the flood.

48 die in quake ne

At least 2,000 injured; thousands

BEIJING (AP) – An earthquake flattened farming villages near the Great Wall on Saturday, killing 48 people and leaving at least 20,000 homeless in the bitter cold of the northern mountains.

The magnitude-6.2 quake injured about 2,000 people, more than 250 of them seriously, the official Xinhua news agency reported.

Mud and brick houses toppled across two counties in the Yan Mountains. Buildings shook in Beijing, 150 miles south of the epicenter.

Residents huddled under makeshift shelters of twigs and canvas, and a goat stood amid a 6-foot-high pile of rubble in the first television footage of the scene.

Officials dispatched tents and winter clothing to the stricken area as nighttime temperatures plunged to minus 4 degrees.

Zhangbei county authorities rushed 30,000 blankets, 100 mattresses and padded overcoats to the scene, state-run television reported.

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Rescue teams found the county seat of Zhangbei devastated, with most buildings destroyed and 20,000 families without homes. Another 800 houses had collapsed or cracked in the neighboring county seat of Shangyi, on Hebei province's border with Inner Mongolia.

Eighty percent of homes were flattened in four towns along the two counties' border, said Huangfu Qing, a seismologist coordinating rescue work.

Xinhua reported more than 70,000 houses either collapsed or were severely damaged across a 400-square-mile area.

Both counties border one of a patchwork of fortifications running along mountain ridges that form the Great Wall.

It was unclear whether any of the 1,860-mile wall, begun in the third century B.C., was damaged.

The quake struck at 11:50 a.m., when many people were indoors preparing lunch.

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China Daily

Vol. 17 No. 5222 Tuesday, July 8, 1997

Zou Zhongping / China Daily

A father and his son wade through a street yesterday in Guangzhou, capital of Guangdong Province. Heavy rainfall over the weekend caused the biggest flooding in 20 years along the Pearl River.

Eight die in Pearl River flooding

By Liang Chao

ALTHOUGH China entered the main flood season this week, most of its large rivers and lakes, including the Yangtze, Yellow and Huaihe rivers, have remained peaceful.

However, there was bad news from the Pearl River, one of the seven largest rivers in China, as flooding caused by downpour battered Guangdong Province over the weekend, the government said.

At least eight people were killed and many others injured over the weekend in Guangdong when floods caused by rainstorms emerged on the Xijiang and Beijiang, two major tributaries of the Pearl.

Qingyuan Prefecture in the centre of the province along the Beijiang River was the worst hit as thousands of people in more than 2,800 villages were affected by the floods, according to the latest report reaching Beijing yesterday.

Heavy rains with precipitation up to 587 millimetres between last Wednesday and Saturday pounded the upper reaches of the Beijiang River, a report released yesterday by the Beijing-based State Flood-Control Headquarters (SFCH) said.

As a result, a 20-year flood was triggered, damaging hundreds of houses and destroying 30,000 rooms.

At midnight last Saturday, a flood peak with the water level reaching 13.9 metres, the second highest in 48 years, was emerging on the Xijiang River, SFCH officials said.

In Longchuan County in Guangdong Province, a section of the Beijing-Kowloon Railway was cut off by a landslide caused by the torrential rains.

More than 1,000 passengers stranded by the landslide were evacuated by local governments, China News Service reported.

To prevent the river from overflowing its banks, thousands of local people, headed by Ou Guangyuan, vice-governor of Guangdong, are working around the clock to reinforce dykes weakened by the unusually high waterline, SFCH officials said, adding several senior flood-control experts also rushed to Guangdong to help.

Policy to foster children's environmental awareness

By Cui Ning

CHINA'S top educational department will develop an environmental education model linked closely with curricula in primary and middle schools across the country.

To fuel this programme, an agreement was signed yesterday in Beijing among the State Education Commission of China (SEC), the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the British Petroleum.

'According to the agreement, BP will provide more than $480,000 to help implement the programme, the WWF will provide educational and management experience, and the SEC will be responsible for providing environmental education among piloted schools in China, Li Lianning, director of the Basic Education Department under the SEC, said at a press conference yesterday.

Expanding environmental education among primary and middle school students is an important part of China's environmental policies. And the SEC has incorporated environmental education into the curricula of primary and middle schools, Li said.

Zhu Muju, an official responsible for compulsory education of the Basic Education Department under the SEC, said at the press conference that the programme aims to enhance Chinese schoolchildren's awareness of environmental protection and train them to analyze and solve related problems.

It will focus on training teachers and developing attractive subjects and materials for students.

Training for the teachers will be undertaken by educational experts from Beijing Normal University, East China Normal University in Shanghai and Southwest China Normal University in Chongqing.

The programme will start in 24 primary schools near the above three universities, said Zhu.

Since last October, educational experts from China and educators from the WWF have been working on the plans for teacher training and programme implementation.

The programme, which started after the signing of the agreement, will be completed in September 1999.

Three training centres will be set up by then, aiming to mobilize long-term environmental education programmes nationwide, Zhu said.

China now has more than 640,000 primary schools.

The SEC is determined to intensify environmental education among primary and middle schools in the next few years as environmental problems are becoming serious because of the country's rapid economic growth, Zhu said.

Tuesday July 15, 1997
China Daily

Chen Kaixing / Xinhua

Young volunteers in Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, help clean up rubbish and bags near the airport road on Saturday. They were among tens of thousands of students and other young people in major Chinese cities to help make the cities beautiful.

Volunteers help cities clean up

TENS of thousands of students and other young people in major Chinese cities helped clean up the environment over the weekend and urged their fellow citizens to keep cities beautiful.

The young volunteers were in the vanguard of a national drive to promote more civilized behaviour by urban residents.

In Beijing, more than 10,000 volunteers cleaned up streets and other areas, removed illegal posters, helped maintain order and distributed pamphlets on civilized behaviour.

Students from Beijing University went to six construction sites to help young workers from outside Beijing understand the code of proper behaviour and the city's laws and regulations.

In Shanghai, in East China, schoolchildren and university students helped clean up residential areas and the area set aside for the Eighth National Games.

More than 2,000 young volunteers in the city of Tianjin gave water and other items to travellers at the railway station and on public buses, and helped clean up the bus and train stations.

In Harbin, in Northeast China, young volunteers helped traffic police maintain order at 48 intersections and picked up waste along the airport road.

Besides helping make the cities cleaner, the move will also help young children and students to love labour and come to see the importance of beautifying the environment.(CD News)

China Daily

Monday July 21, 1997

State to plant trees for fuel

By Chen Chunmei

AFFORESTATION is being accelerated in China in a bid to ease the acute fuel shortage in most rural areas, according to the Ministry of Forestry.

The extensive planting of fast-growing firewood trees will also help conserve China's dwindling forest resources, Guo Huaiang, a ministry official, said yesterday.

After several years' decline, there was a 3.3 per cent increase in the acreage of fuel-oriented forestry in the country last year, Guo said, adding that faster growth is expected this year.

According to him, rural people are beginning to allocate more and more land to plant fuel timber mainly energy-rich and fast-growing deciduous trees that can grow under harsh conditions.

Thirty-seven counties across the country have been chosen as pilot areas to launch the ministry's Forestry Energy Project since last year.

The project, as part of the country's rural energy development drive, aims to plant 12 million hectares of new fuel-oriented forestry from 1996 to 2015.

Ten more counties will soon join the programme.

The ministry will invest 1.5 million yuan ($180,000) this year to promote the project, which will depend mainly on funding by local governments and farmers.

Farmers will receive a subsidy of 150 yuan ($18) per hectare from the government for planting fuel-oriented forests, Guo pointed out, and the amount will be increased later.

Experts said firewood has been, and will still be, the major fuel source in China's rural areas for a long time, especially in less-developed areas.

Each year, 250 million tons of firewood is used for cooking, heating and other family uses — one quarter of the total energy used by rural families.

But only 160 million tons of natural firewood timber can be supplied in China each year. Firewood accounts for one-third of the country's annual consumption of forest resources.

According to the Forest Energy Project, 600,000 hectares of forest will be planted each year from 1996 to 2000 — a total of 3 million hectares. And 100 counties that face a shortage of wood will become the major target areas during the State Ninth Five-Year Plan period (1996-2000).

Experts predict that 16 million to 20 million hectares of forest are needed to meet the basic energy demand in rural areas.

From 1981 to 1995, 5 million hectares of forest were planted, and pilot projects to produce firewood were established in 100 rural counties.

Forests planted in the past 10 years can produce up to 25 million tons of firewood, the equivalent of about 14 million tons of "standard coal."

China Daily Monday July 7, 1997

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County makes us

By Wang Yonghong

FACING the pressing challenge of farm land encroachment by speedy industrial development, Wuqing County has strived to ensure its role as a major supplier of food and non-staple food to Tianjin City.

Considered a natural granary in Tianjin thanks to its favourable climate and geographical conditions, Wuqing has turned itself into an important grain, vegetable and fruit production base to support social and economic development and people's daily life in Tianjin, the biggest port city in northern China.

Each year, the county yields more than 500 million kilograms of grain, in addition to 880 million kilograms of vegetables and 92 million kilograms of fruits.

But rapid industrial development in the county in the past years has led to a shrinkage of precious farm land. China has only 0.112 hectares of farm land for each of its 1.2 billion population, among the world's lowest.

So far, there are more than 2,000 enterprises of various kinds, with a capability of producing some 3,000 products in 40 categories.

Furthermore, approved by the State, the county has set up a development area, the only one of its kind in the country established by a county.

The mushrooming of modern buildings and industrial compounds following the establishment of the "Tianjin Wuqing Development Area" has turned the former barren land and farm fields into a prosperous industrial town.

"We have plentiful land for development, but we try to make

July

e of farm land

the best and full use of farm land so as to gain industrial growth at the minimal price of agricultural production," said Wang Shupei, vice-magistrate of the county.

Since the development area was set up five years ago, 223 enterprises from 15 countries and regions have entered the area involving manufacturing and production of electronics, machinery, bio-engineering, new building materials, food processing and clothing.

But all of them are concentrated in the 6.4 square kilometres for its initial development. Although there are plans for the area to fill 24.8 square kilometres.

"We concentrate the enterprises in a small plot of land as best we can if the normal construction and production of the enterprises are not affected," said Yu Dongwen, director of the Administration of Tianjin Wuqing Development Area and also general manager of Tianjin Wuqing Development Area General Co.

Since the development area was set up in June 1992, farmers have gathered harvests in five successive years on the planned area of land, said Yu.

And they are expecting another harvest soon on farm land bought for industrial development, added Yu, while pointing at the nearby farm land with rice, wheat, bean, cucumber, watermelon and other farm plants and vegetables growing well.

Yu noted his administration has not permitted and will not allow any pollution-producing enterprise to enter the area so as to free farm produce of pollution.

7, 1997 China Daily

CHINA DAILY

Environment

REGIONAL governments in China now pay more attention to environmental protection while striving for rapid economic development.

That was reflected in substantial steps taken by governments in some provinces, including Gansu, Jiangsu, Henan and Hebei.

In the relatively underdeveloped Gansu Province in Northwest China, the provincial government has worked out a plan to reduce pollution caused by township enterprises.

The plan mainly targets paper-making, tanning and cement-making enterprises, which are the biggest polluters, China Business Times reported yesterday.

Under the plan, updated technology will be introduced to help treat waste water and solid waste in 50 cement plants; 30 paper mills, each with an annual production capacity of more than 5,000 tons; and 40 leather enterprises, each with an annual manufacturing capacity of 30,000 hides.

These enterprises are expected to reduce 7 million tons of

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Tuesday July 7, 1997

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Hebei Province is determined to improve the 263 enterprises that were listed as the country's key polluters, according to Economic Information Daily.

Pollutants discharged by the 263 enterprises comprised 65 per cent of the whole in the province.

The provincial environment protection department has set up a special office to supervise these enterprises for technological improvement, and economic and trade sectors are trying to help these enterprises upgrade technology.

The provincial government also said that before their pollutant discharges reach State-set standards, no enterprises would be allowed to buy cars or approve new projects and office buildings. Those who fail to meet State standards by the end of next year will be shut down.

Zhengzhou, capital of Henan Province, has closed 160 small and serious pollution-emitting enterprises since last year, reducing pollution by more than 1,100 tons of waste water and more than 20,000 tons of solid waste. (CD News)

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Reservoir's completion should end dry spell

ZHENGZHOU (Xinhua) – A Chinese hydraulics expert says the annual dry spell occurring in the Yellow River in April to June, a crucial season for crop growth, will become a rarity once the Xiaolangdi Water-Control project goes into operation in 2001.

Xiaolangdi, located at the last gorge of the river's middle reaches, has a designed water storage capacity of 12.65 billion cubic metres.

Once operational, it will collect 4 billion cubic metres of water in the winter and spring and discharge it systematically to areas in the lower reaches during the dry season.

By then the irrigated areas along the river are expected to spread from 739,000 hectares to 1.52 million.

Moreover, some large cities such as Qingdao, Tianjin, Beijing and water-deficient areas in North China may benefit from the project.

The Yellow River, the second longest in China, has an annual flow of 58 billion cubic metres of water, half of which is used to sustain industrial and agricultural production and people's everyday lives.

However, over 60 per cent of the river's water flows in the July-to-September period each year, causing heavy flooding in some areas. But the April-to-June period, the high season for water supply, receives only 20 per cent of the annual total.

In recent years, drought along the upper reaches has caused dry stretches at different sections of the waterway.

Statistics show that in 25 years up to 1996, the river's lower reaches have dried up on 19 occasions.

The Xiaolangdi multi-purpose dam project will effectively solve this long-standing problem.

Progress linked to economy, environment

ONLY when economic expansion is conducted in harmony with environmental conservation can real development be achieved, an article in People's Daily said. Excerpts follow:

Since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, the gross national product (GNP) has increased by more than 10 times. Consumption of mineral resources has rocketed to more than 40 times the volume in 1949.

In the past, when we evaluated the overall condition of a country, we focused on GNP figures.

From the point of view of sustainable development, however, you cannot really tell whether a country is rich or poor, nor judge its potential for development, without taking into account the costs of dealing with environmental pollution and the regeneration of natural resources.

Only through the implementation of sustainable development strategies can intensification of these crises be avoided.

The only way to solve these crises is through further economic development, conducted in conjunction with environmental protection.

Economic gains achieved without giving due consideration to environmental damage are short-sighted and destructive.

China's per capita possession of natural resources is relatively low. We should learn to cherish the natural resources we have and use them in a rational way.

Monday July 21, 1997
China Daily

Xinjiang gets tough to protect greenland

URUMQI (Xinhua) – In yet another move to try to save the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region from turning into a desert, the region's government decided to take tough measures.

Cutting trees in the region has been declared illegal, and some desert plants, such as diversiform-leaf poplar and other trees are put under strict protection.

The small mills will gradually be closed as well, according to a local official.

The region is the largest Chinese provincial area and also the driest, with one-fourth of its area covered by sand. Its 3.8 million hectares of forest are shrinking rapidly as farmers cut trees for firewood.

As a result, sand is encroaching on 350 square kilometres of land each year, a fact that has caused concern among local environmental protection authorities.

The official said they will try to popularize the use of marsh gas, sunlight, and wind as energy sources to replace the use of firewood in most farm houses, and the local government will set up eight check stations in forest areas to prevent trees from being cut.

The region's growing petroleum and natural gas industry will also provide a new energy source so that wood will eventually not be used for fuel by 2000.

Water resources are another priority item. The local government will set limits on the amount of water used by industries to ensure that desert plants and forests get sufficient amounts of water.

SAt July 13, 1997

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Erosion control working

By Liang Chao

CHINA has achieved substantial results in a battle against Nature to try to control the erosion of soil by water and wind.

For millennia, soil-erosion has threatened more than one-third of China's territory.

Thanks to the implementation of its first Water And Soil Erosion-Control Law, the soil defenders have so far succeeded in controlling hundreds of thousands of square kilometres of eroded land.

China still faces a difficult erosion-control situation. Victory is coming neither cheaply nor quickly. The control process is slow, particularly when compared to the country's recent rapid economic development and urbanization. While the government heals decades-old erosions, man-made activities create new causes of erosion.

In the last six years, local regulations under the erosion-control law have been issued in more than two-third of China's provinces and autonomous regions, Zhang Chunyuan, the vice-minister of Water Resources, reported on Saturday.

The national law has helped local governments check and approve more than 182,600 water and soil conservation programmes and projects, including a number of key State developments. Some 36,000 serious erosion cases have been dealt with by local governments, which charged 320 million yuan ($38.5 million) in fees to control erosion or compensate for it, Zhang told a commemorative meeting over the weekend in Beijing to mark the erosion-control law's sixth anniversary.

To prevent new, man-made erosion caused by construction, the law prescribes that no project will be approved by the pertinent government authorities without a well-drafted, practical erosion-control plan.

Under such an enforcement and supervisory system, a record 1.8 billion yuan ($225 million) has been collected from builders to pay to prevent or control erosion caused during construction.

"A tentative conservation law-enforcement system composed of more than 62,000 professionals and part-time inspectors in more than 1,100 counties is shaping up," Zhang said.

However, he warned that erosion, particularly erosion caused by human activities, has worsened despite the unremitting efforts made to combat it.

Although China has basically controlled about 700,000 square kilometres of eroded land in the last four decades, water-eroded land has increased from 150,000 square kilometres in the 1950s to 180,000 square kilometres today.

Taking into account another 180,000 square kilometres of wind-eroded land, 3.6 million square kilometres — 38 per cent of China's land mass — has been under the threat of serious erosion.

One of the most serious issues that remained unchanged was the tendency of some localities to ignore soil- and water-conservation while pursuing economic development, Zhang said. He pledged that his ministry will strictly enforce the law to halt such thoughtless damage.

Zhang and other experts attending the commemoration urged that public awareness of China's erosion-controls be heightened. It is one of the four fundamental State policies along with family planning, environmental protection and conservation of arable land.

China Daily
Monday Jul
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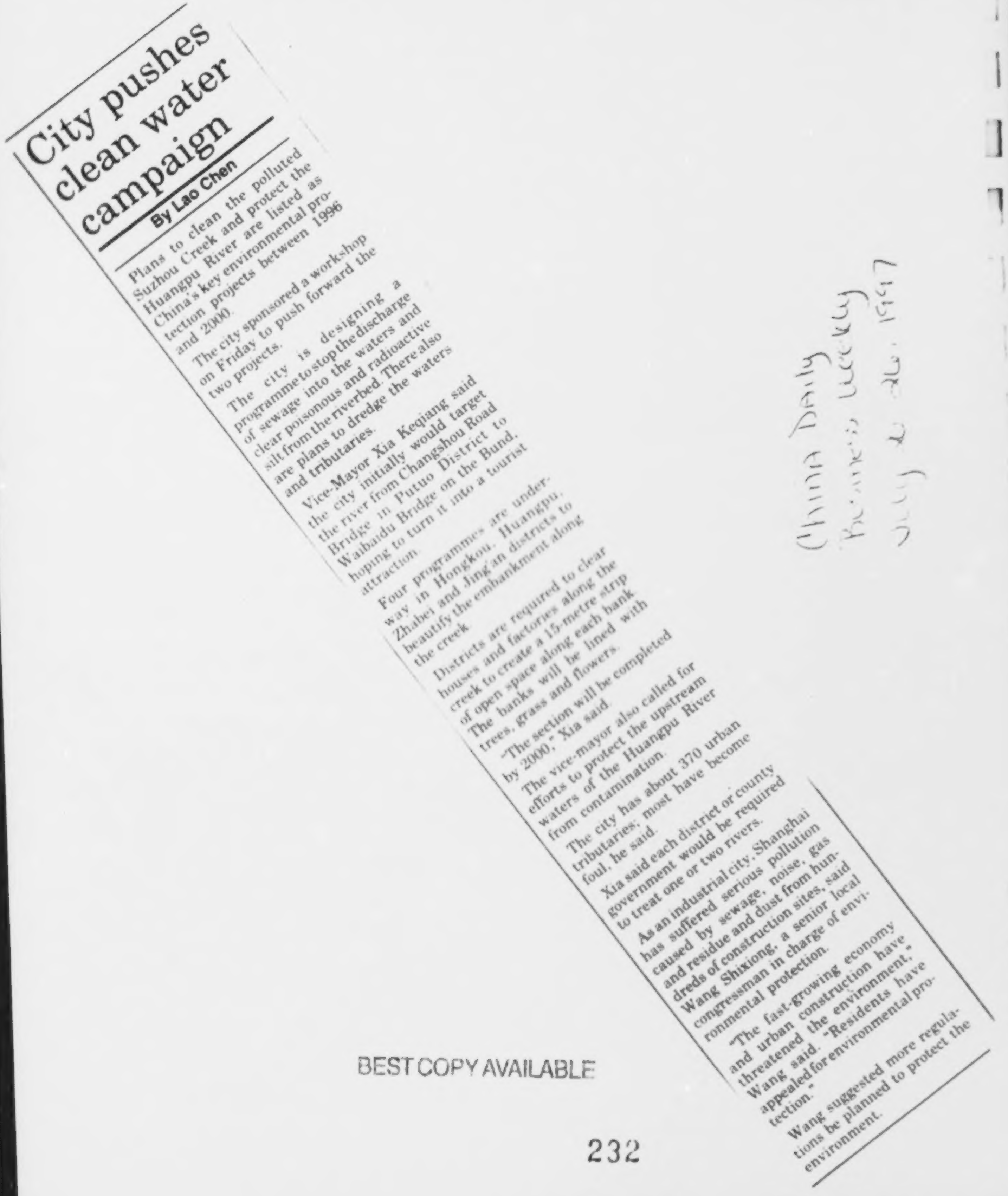

City pushes clean water campaign

By Lao Chen

Plans to clean the polluted Suzhou Creek and protect the Huangpu River are listed as China's key environmental protection projects between 1996 and 2000.

The city sponsored a workshop on Friday to push forward the two projects.

The city is designing a programme to stop the discharge of sewage into the waters and clear poisonous and radioactive silt from the riverbed. There also are plans to dredge the waters and tributaries.

Vice-Mayor Xia Keqiang said the city initially would target the river from Changshou Road Bridge in Putuo District to Waibaidu Bridge on the Bund, hoping to turn it into a tourist attraction.

Four programmes are underway in Hongkou, Huangpu, Zhabei and Jing'an districts to beautify the embankment along the creek.

Districts are required to clear houses and factories along the creek to create a 15-metre strip of open space along each bank. The banks will be lined with trees, grass and flowers.

"The section will be completed by 2000," Xia said.

The vice-mayor also called for efforts to protect the upstream waters of the Huangpu River from contamination.

The city has about 370 urban tributaries; most have become foul, he said.

Xia said each district or county government would be required to treat one or two rivers.

As an industrial city, Shanghai has suffered serious pollution caused by sewage, noise, gas and residue and dust from hundreds of construction sites, said Wang Shixiong, a senior local congressman in charge of environmental protection.

"The fast-growing economy and urban construction have threatened the environment," Wang said. "Residents have appealed for environmental protection."

Wang suggested more regulations be planned to protect the environment.

China Daily
Business Weekly
July 20-26, 1997

Reserve to help save giant panda

By Kang Bing and Huang Zhiling

CONSTRUCTION of the 31,000-hectare Longxi-Hongkou Nature Reserve will begin this year in Dujiangyan, Sichuan Province, officials said yesterday at a press conference held in Beijing by the Organizing Committee for the 1997 Chengdu International Giant Panda Festival.

The giant panda is a rare animal indigenous to China. Because of the deteriorating environment and degeneration in the giant panda's reproductive capacity, the world has only about 1,000 giant pandas in the wild, living in more than 30 counties in China. More than 80 per cent of them live in mountains and forests around Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan.

Treating environmental protection as a basic policy, China has made great efforts to protect wildlife, said Wang Zhibao, vice-minister of forestry.

China has more than 800 nature reserves for wildlife totalling 700,000 square kilometres. Twenty-five of the reserves are for the giant panda.

China has also tried hard to protect the giant panda in the man-made environment, Wang said. It has built the 36-hectare Chengdu Giant Panda Breeding and Research Base, devoted to research, protection and propagation.

In the base, 39 giant pandas have been born, of which 23 have survived.

In 1990, the world's first twin giant pandas were born in the base through artificial insemination.

Because of these achievements, the base has been twice awarded the title of "The Global 500" by the United Nations Environment Programme, said Wang Rongxuan, mayor of Chengdu.

China's protection of the giant panda has drawn the widespread support of wildlife protection organizations and experts in many countries.

To promote international cooperation in wildlife protection, several ministries and bureaux of the central government and the Sichuan Provincial government have decided to hold a festival in Chengdu on September 24-28.

Thursday July 24 1997 China Daily

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China Daily
Monday July 7, 1997

Foundation assis
western farmers

By Guo Nel

FARMERS of West China are getting help from a non-governmental institution with the purpose of helping the poor population eliminate poverty and accumulate wealth.

The project, established by the Foundation For Underdeveloped Regions In China, includes developing arable land by removing stones, building houses in Southwest China and setting up rainwater-storage cellars in Northwest China.

It aims at improving production and life conditions for poor farmers, said Sun Wenfang, vice-president of the Foundation.

In Southwest China's karst area, naked rocks, steep slopes and rare soil cause loss of water, and the erosion of fertilizer and soil. In Southwes
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Xishuangbanna is the home of 109 rare animal species under State protection, including the wild ox, Indian tiger, green peafowl and white-cheeked gibbon.

Some 260,000 hectares of forests are now a natural conservation zone and the local government plans to expand the zone by another 200,000 hectares over the next few years.

Local wildlife protection officials are working on legislation that bans hunting in the region. They also set up a fund this year to compensate local people for losses of crops and livestock destroyed by wild animals. The area is inhabited mostly by the Dai (Thai) ethnic minority people.

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Province promises to double output

XI'AN (Xinhua) — Shaanxi Province in Northwest China plans to double its 10 billion kilograms of grain output in the next 15 years in a move to become self-sufficient in grain supply and contribute to a balanced grain supply in the central and western parts of China.

Forty-five counties and cities in northern Shaanxi will be responsible for realizing the target, as they have abundant land resources and favorable climatic conditions, said Shi Zhicheng, director of the provincial agricultural department.

The area has reported an average grain increase of 8 per cent since 1990, two percentage points higher than the province's average, and its total grain averages 51.3 kilograms per person.

Large-scale farmland improvement, wide-spread application of agro-techniques, improved water conservancy facilities, and multichannel input into agriculture, as well as vast stretches of arable wasteland will work to Shaanxi's advantage.

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Power shortage expec

By Wang Rong

GUANGZHOU — Does South China's Guangdong Province, the largest electricity generator in the country, need to invest more to develop its power industry?

Heated disputes over this question were settled last week at a seminar organized by Guangdong Planning Commission and Guangdong Bureau of Electricity Industry.

Participants agreed the province's power supply surplus is temporary.

"A serious power shortage will occur in the next decade," the seminar's final report said.

Guangdong needs to install another 10.47 million kilowatts of units before 2000, and 13 million kilowatts during the 10th Five Year Plan period (2001-2005).

Opponents had said the province could supply enough power even if it doesn't build new power stations during the next few years.

After the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, Guangdong started boosting its

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come from large and medium generating units with at least 300,000 kilowatts each. The figure accounts for 37 per cent of the province's installed capacity.

Small units with capacities under 50,000 kilowatts provide 48 per cent of the total.

Among them, diesel-electric sets, oil-fueled thermal sets and combustion gas turbines amount to 9 million kilowatts, which must retire during the next 15 years.

"At that time, new large units need to be installed and the source structure must be improved," said the report.

The second backup for further development in the power industry is the unbalanced power usage level in the province.

In addition, the seminar's report also pinpointed bottlenecks such as the unfinished 500-kilovolt transmission backbone and the high cost of electricity, about 1 yuan ($0.12) per kilowatt-hour.

"Therefore, we are not allowed to ignore the coming problems or be blindly optimistic about the tentative ease of power supply," the final report said.

eekly July 20-26, 1997

Autos in Shanghai t

SHANGHAI will require all automobiles to use unleaded gasoline by the end of the year, according to the Shanghai-based Wenhui Daily.

The programme, initiated by a research team led by Qian Hua, an engineer with the Shanghai Municipal Research Institute of Environmental Protection Science, has been deemed as feasible by experts and will play an important role in improving urban air quality and protecting people's health, the paper said in its Saturday edition.

The production capacity of unleaded gas in Shanghai can fully meet the demand, the paper said, but production costs will be slightly higher.

One litre of unleaded gas will be 0.08-0.1 yuan (about $0.01) higher than leaded gas, the paper said.

To date, Beijing is the only Chinese city where motor vehicles use unleaded gas, according to Li Pei, a project officer with the Air Pollution Division under the National Environmental Protection Agency.

Beijing on June 1 began to sub-

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(China Daily

use unleaded gas

titute leaded gas with unleaded
gas in eight urban districts.

Li said that unleaded gas will
e used in North China's Tianjin
nd in Guangzhou, the capital of
South China's Guangdong Prov-
nce, within this year.

Shenyang, Shenzhen, Xi'an and
huhai will stop using leaded
gas next year, Li said.

China plans to eliminate the
se of leaded gas by 2000, Li
aid.

The Wenhui Daily quoted Qian
s saying that replacing leaded
gas with unleaded gas in Shanghai is a major challenge in controlling air pollution.

However, Qian said, lead pollution related to automobile emissions is just one of the city's environmental problems.

Qian said 85 per cent of the lead pollution in the air, which is a serious harm to people's health, comes from motor vehicle emissions.

Each year, motor vehicles discharge more than 100 tons of lead into Shanghai's air, according to Qian. (CD News)

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Monday July 14, 1997

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BUSINESS WEEKLY

Natural gas to fuel metropolitan stove

By Shao Qin

On October 1, a special natural gas torch will be ignited at Tian'anmen Square.

The torch marks the change which will affect many Beijing residents' lives. After October 1, they will cook with natural gas from Changqing Oil and Natural Gas Field about 900 kilometres northwest of Beijing.

The change is expected to alleviate Beijing's pollution significantly since natural gas is much cleaner than coal.

Changqing Field is in the Ordos Basin, which includes north Shaanxi and parts of Gansu, Ningxia, Shanxi and Inner Mongolia. It covers 370,000 square kilometres.

Following a series of crucial discoveries in recent years, Changqing boasts the largest natural gas field in the country, which is on 4,320 square kilometres, including Shaanxi's Jingbian and Hengshan counties and Inner Mongolia's Uxin Banner.

By 1996, the field had 241 billion cubic metres of proven reserves, and 52 billion cubic metres of controlled reserves, said Hu Wenrui, deputy general manager of Changqing Petroleum Exploration Bureau.

"Only 6 per cent of total estimated gas reserves have been proven," he said.

About 10 billion cubic metres of proven reserves and 40 billion cubic metres of controlled reserves are expected this year.

By 2000, Changqing is expected to prove 300 billion cubic metres of gas, and 500 billion early in the next century.

Hu said the bureau was building a large natural gas development project with a 3-billion-cubic-metre production capacity.

The first phase of the project is expected to provide 1.5 billion cubic metres of gas annually.

A large gas collecting, purifying and distributing centre in Jingbian County can handle 10 million cubic metres of gas a day.

A 860-kilometre gas pipeline from Jingbian to Beijing was completed in early July. It is expected to transport 1.1 l cubic metres of gas to the c annually.

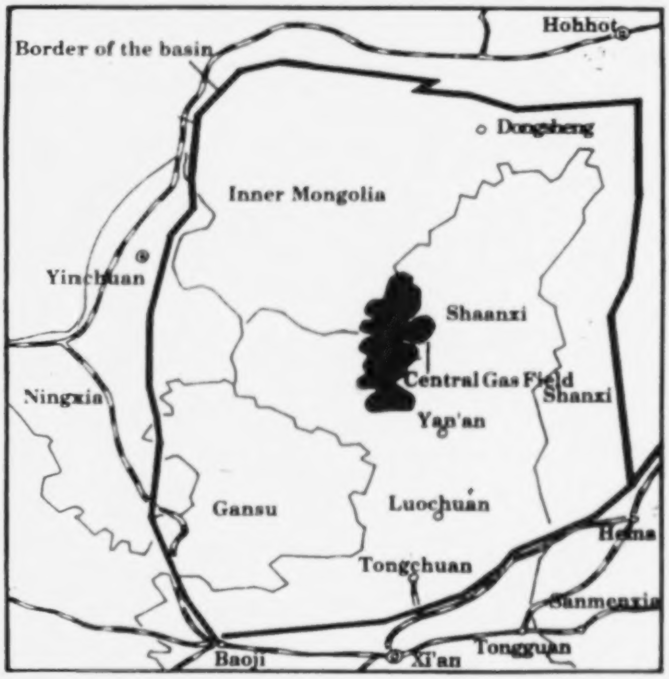
Another pipeline linkin field and Shaanxi's Xi'a been transporting natur to Xi'an since July 1. It is ble of carrying 800 million metres of gas every year.

Moreover, the third pi will be completed next ye will channel gas to Yinc the capital of Ningxia Hu tonomous Region.

To make full use of natur resources, it is crucial to de downstream products, Hu

The bureau and local au ties plan to build met plants and power plants b ing gas as raw materials.

July 20 - 26, 1997



CHINA DAILY

Huge Xinjiang

URUMQI (Xinhua) — Two hundred kilometres of rail beds and more than 90 bridges have been completed so far for the westward extension of the Southern Xinjiang Railway, one of the key projects of the country's Ninth Five-Year Plan (1996-2000).

Construction is scheduled for completion by 1999, one year ahead of schedule.

Linking the city of Korla, an important petroleum base in southern Xinjiang, with Kashgar, an old town located on the ancient Silk Road, the extension is 976 kilometres long and connects with the Lanzhou-Xinjiang Railway, an artery of the Chinese rail system.

The section of the railway now under construction lies near the snow-covered Tianshan Mountains and around the Taklamakan Desert, the second-largest shifting sand desert in the world.

Abul'ahat Abdurixit, chairman of the regional government of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, says the central government has allocated 5.9 billion yuan ($710 million) for the extension, designed to benefit the ethnic minority people that live in the region.

Southern Xinjiang covers about 1.1 million square kilometres and has a popula-
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ing materials and jade. The reserves of petroleum-gas amount to 19.1 billion tons, with the petroieum reserve accounting for about a quarter of the country's total and its gas reserve one seventh of the total.

Nine oil-gas fields have been verified, with 440 million tons of reserves and a yearly production capacity of 4 million tons. It is estimated that the proven oil gas reserves will be 1.5 billion tons by 2000, while the output will increase to 8 million tons per year. The 1.5 million tons of oil produced in the Tarim Basin will be transported mainly by train.

South Xinjiang has a thousand-plus kilometre border with India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizstan. Border trade has become more active since four land-ports were opened, with the trade volume increasing rapidly.

The Southern Xinjiang Railway, which connects the Kirghizstan Railway, runs parallel to the Northern Xinjiang Railway. It will be an important section of the Second Eurasian Continental Bridge, and will help to turn southern Xinjiang into a distribution centre of imports and exports in Northwest China.

Based on the resource advantages of southern Xinjiang, the

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China Daily

Monday July 7, 1997

Fast track: bus travelling speeds up

By Guo Nei

TRAVELLING along Chang'an Avenue takes 14.5 per cent less time today — if you are on the bus.

A special bus lane along the avenue is increasing the speed of public transportation vehicles, by 14.5 per cent. The lane was opened last month, according to yesterday's Beijing Daily.

Previously, public-transportation passengers used to spend 55 minutes stuck in traffic jams while travelling between Xinxing Bridge and Dawang Bridge.

Now, they have eight more minutes for themselves — spending just 47 minutes on the buses, thanks to the special lane, the report indicates.

The lane was established on June 25. Since then, public transportation vehicles — including trolleys and mini-buses — can use far-right lanes in both directions between the two bridges, but only between 6 am and 8 pm. Other vehicles, such as taxis, cannot use the lane.

Observations from different sites along Chang'an Avenue reveal vehicles travel more freely on the special lane while other vehicles end up in traffic, the report said.

Although the buses travel at increased speeds, most still are not arriving at their destination on time, the report said.

To increase efficiency, the report suggests concerned departments improve the starting time for other forms of public transportation.

Tue July 15
1997

China Daily

Waterways to become hydroplane airports

Light hydroplane transportation has a potentially brisk market in southeastern China, an area rich in water resources.

The area south of the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River doesn't have enough airports because they take up too much arable land, said Pan Jichun, an engineer with Changzhou Aircraft Manufacturer.

The company is in East China's Jiangsu Province.

A 20-hectare airport would cause the loss of more than 80 tons of grain annually, he said.

Each airport is at least 90,000 square kilometres, 18 times the world average, he said.

China's major freshwater lakes are near the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze, including Taihu, Hongze and Poyang lakes. In addition, the area has several large reservoirs.

"The conditions are beneficial for developing hydroplane transportation," Pan said.

A hydroplane port needs a special water surface of 1,000 metres long and 65 metres wide, he said.

He said Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces could introduce 60 to 70 hydroplanes to cater to the growing numbers of business travelers and tourists.

While speeding up research and development on Chinese hydroplanes, foreign hydroplanes can be introduced to the Yangtze area first, Pan said. (Xinhua)

China Daily Business Weekly
July 13-19, 1997

China D

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JINAN (Xinhua) —
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Xue Zhenjie, an of
Ministry of Public Se

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curity, says,

"We are supposed to take care of emergencies or difficult and dangerous situations. But because of the lack of social services in China we sometimes also take care of trifles, such as helping people fix plumbing and open their doors when they were locked out."

To make the assistance more efficient, police have been added to street patrols. "Some 100,000 police have been assigned to patrol 200 cities across the country," said Xue.

"The city patrols go on round-the-clock," he noted. When a call comes in to 110, the dispatcher will inform patrols in the vicinity to respond.

That was why police in Jinan were able to respond within five minutes when the woman took the overdose. She was deep in a coma when the police arrived, and a suicide note explained that she was despondent over a business failure.

The police got her to the hospital quickly enough to save her life and looked after her there until two days later when her brother arrived.

Events mark war against Japan

BEIJING began a week of seminars, exhibitions and other activities over the weekend to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the July 7th Incident, which marked the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression (1937-45).

On July 7, 1937, Japanese troops approaching Beijing encountered stiff resistance from Chinese forces at the Marco Polo Bridge in the southwestern suburbs of the city.

Thirty-five million Chinese died in the eight-year-old war.

Scholars from a dozen countries and regions, including China, Japan and the United States, attended a meeting in Beijing on Friday. Some said that the war had not only changed the direction of Chinese history, but also exerted a great influence on the situation in Asia as well as in the rest of the world.

"Victory over Japan, as well as Hong Kong's return to the motherland, are two great events for the Chinese nation this century — they are milestones of the struggle of the Chinese people to wipe out century-old humiliation," said Bai Jefu, a Chinese scholar.

Hu Sheng, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), said that the meeting provided an opportunity for the Chinese people to recount history, look into the future and invigorate the country.

The meeting was sponsored by the CASS in collaboration with several Beijing-based history-study societies. It heralds the start of a week-long commemoration of the war, which is expected to push the nation's patriotic fervor to a new height after the handover of Hong Kong. (Xinhua)

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of Resist
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BEST COPY A

China Daily Monday July 7, 1997

Yang Shizhong/China Daily

s start a race at the Marco Polo Bridge in southwest Beijing, where China's War tance against Japan began on July 7, 1937. Nearly 1,000 people from the and Hong Kong took part in the race on Saturday morning.

AILABLE

SAt July 19, 1997

CHINA DAILY

Six drug dealers sentenced to death

By Cai Cai

SHENZHEN — Six people accused of trafficking narcotics were sentenced to death yesterday in this special economic zone, according to the Shenzhen Intermediate People's Court.

Another four people were also convicted — two receiving the death penalty (each with two-year suspensions), one sentenced to life in prison and the fourth receiving 15 years in prison.

Sentenced to death were Ji Xiaowei, principal offender, and accessories Yu Jianqing, Chen Wenjin, Li Hanqi, Shi Zhengtian and Lin Wenzong.

Lin Wenzong is from the Chinese mainland, while the others are from Hong Kong.

Meanwhile, Zhang Xiaozhou and Yan Qiulong were sentenced to death, each suspended, Lai Huanquan received life in prison and Yan Muhai was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Lai Huanquan also comes from Hong Kong.

All were accused of trafficking more than 150 kilograms of narcotics since June 1996. A number of crime tools — including mobile phones, pagers, watches and gold jewellery — were also confiscated.

Over the past few years, drug trafficking and drug-related crimes have been rampant in some parts of the country. The nation, meanwhile, has stepped up its fight against these crimes.

According to Chinese laws, transporting and sheltering narcotics are serious crimes and those convicted are severely punished.

"China always takes firm measures to crack down on drug-related crimes and prevent them from spreading throughout the nation," said an official from the Shenzhen Intermediate People's Court.

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Tuesday July 15, 1997

Word-of-mouth bri

URUMQI – For the past two decades, villagers in Yichegashan have relied on word-of-mouth to spread the talk of the town among the 11 ethnic groups living there.

And Sun Zhongjian, the village Party secretary of the 3,000-inhabitant village in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, said the most-talked-about topics are considered "front page news."

"Though such information could not be broadcast or televised," Sun said, "it was passed on orally, and every piece of news has been closely connected with the country's major policies. Villagers learned the tricks of working for a better life by passing on the news."

Minorities living in the village include the Xibo, Uygur, Kazak, the Han, the Hui, Mongolian, Daur and several others.

Yichegashan, which means "new village" in the Xibo language, was covered with reed marshes 40 years ago. Now it is thick with lush greenery.

Song and other villagers believe their tradition of oral history provides a rich chronicle of events for the village's y
generations to learn fro

In 1978, the big news w
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old man said.

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In 1980, the local government spent nearly a million yuan to provide clean water and improve the roads. But the most important news came in 1984 when China adopted the household contract responsibility system which brought farmers' enthusiasm into full play. This is news that never gets old: People still benefit from the system. At that time, however, the village's per capita income was 500 yuan ($60.2). Last year it topped 2,100 yuan ($253).

A third of the families earn more than 30,000 yuan ($3,614) annually; many operate their own businesses.

Two other newsworthy events happened in 1984: The village built a mosque for its Muslims, and the village primary school began offering Xibo language courses. At the same time, the National People's Congress approved a law of regional national autonomy, which guaranteed various rights and interests to ethnic minorities.

Other "headliners" were villagers who made good money using advanced technology. A villager surnamed Liang bought a farm-use truck and took in four ethnic minority apprentices, who later trained their own assistants. As a result, the village's farm work is now mostly done by machines.

"Without the help of other ethnic groups in growing crops, my family couldn't earn as much as 20,000 yuan ($2,410) a year," said Jumatai, a Kazak herdsman.

And setting milestones dominated the news of the '90s.

A Uygur villager earned 2 million yuan ($240,960) in 1992 making frontier trades at Horgas Port, 20 kilometres from the village. Others followed in his footsteps.

In 1994, more than 30 young villagers went to college, paying their own tuition. In 1995, cable TV was available in the village and, last year, most of the families had home telephones.

The Party secretary and his villagers attributed the changing landscape of news topics to State policies and national unity.

ILABLE

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Basic Law gets wide p

WU Jianfan became famous overnight earlier this year when he was asked to talk to President Jiang Zemin and other Chinese leaders about the ABCs of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region at Zhongnanhai, headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council.

He became busier than ever. "After that, I had to deal with calls from different people and units every day, all inviting me to give the same lecture to them," said Wu, a researcher of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Wu was a member of a panel that drafted the law that supports the "one country, two systems" concept and encourages Hong Kong people to rule Hong Kong. "Jiang Zemin and other Chinese leaders listened carefully, took notes seriously and raised a number of profound questions," he noted.

Wu's lecture was broadcast by China Central Television to millions of viewers nationwide.

The law took effect on July 1, when Hong Kong returned to the motherland.

"It is wrong to think the Basic Law is implemented in Hong Kong and has nothing to do with the inland areas. It is the concern of the whole nation and relates to every citizen," Wu said.

The law was approved by the National People's Congress, China's top legislature, in April 1990. Since then, Chinese lawmakers and government workers have been publicizing it.

Anything related to the Basic Law over the past seven years was covered by the media in detail.

First, it is an historical event rather than an abstract text and

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Thursday
July 10, 1997

CHINA DAILY

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nd commentaries on the importance of the law. The barrage was supported by other media. The telecommunications department had a web site on the Internet.

Officers and enlisted men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) to be stationed in Hong Kong also became students of the law. "Studying it enabled us to better understand the defence system in Hong Kong as well as our responsibilities," noted Xiong Ziren, political commissar of the troops.

The PLA's General Political Department ordered the whole army to study the law.

The law has caught the attention of business people. "Executives from Chinese enterprises in Hong Kong say they will firmly observe the law," said Gu Yongjiang, who is in charge of a Chinese business association in Hong Kong. (Xinhua)

BRIEFS

Immigration bill

HONG KONG — Legislators of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) yesterday pushed through an immigration bill in all three readings. The Immigration (Amendment) No 5 Bill was sent to the Provisional Legislative Council for passage into law at the interim body's first sitting at the Legislative Council Building in Central, Hong Kong Island. Under the bill, a certificate of entitlement scheme is introduced for children born in Chinese Inland areas to permanent Hong Kong residents. These children are entitled to the right of abode in Hong Kong, according to the Basic Law, but they must come in a legal, orderly way. When entering Hong Kong, they are required to have one-way permits — valid documents to migrate to Hong Kong issued by departments in the inland areas, plus a "certificate of entitlement" issued by the HKSAR's Immigration Department.

China Daily

BRIEFS

Mountain festival

TAIYUAN — Mount Wutai International Tourist Month will begin on July 25 at the sacred Buddhist mountain in North China's Shanxi Province. Mount Wutai is one of 35 places of interest being specially promoted by the Visit China '97 campaign, which aims to boost China's tourism industry. The mountain has received 5.45 million tourists, 70,000 of them foreign, since opening to tourism in the early 1980s.

Family planning

ZHENGZHOU — The birth rate of Central China's Henan Province fell to 14.28 per 1,000 last year from 24.28 per 1,000 at the end of the 1986-1990 period, according to recent family planning statistics. It was no small achievement for the province to reduce its population growth so rapidly, experts here say. The officials in charge of family planning said they have made special efforts to educate rather than simply criticize.

Park in Tibet

LHASA — Construction started here on Sunday on the Tibet Autonomous Region's largest park. Located in the western part of this capital city, the Riyuehu Park (sun-moon lake park) will occupy 26.4 hectares and cost 70 million yuan ($3.2 million) to complete. The funds will be provided by a businessman from Thailand. The park will be a complex of hotels, lakes, gardens, cultural facilities and a special centre for the elderly.

Illegal entry

SHANGHAI Railway Public Security Department captured 16 people who tried to illegally slip into the Republic of Korea (ROK) over the weekend. The 16 people, all from Fujian Province, had planned to sneak into the ROK on a boat via Shanghai Saturday evening. Two suspects, who have been arrested, confessed they had planned to help more than 30 people to steal into the ROK.

Rubber dam

TWO dams made of rubber have been used for water conservancy in Jinzhou, a city in Northeast China's Liaoning Province, the Shanghai-based Wenhui Daily reported. Use of the rubber dams will help relieve drought by creating a reservoir. The dams also enable environmental workers to treat water pollution more effectively. The two dams, both made of rubber bags, are 423 and 500 metres long, respectively, and 2 metres high. They are believed to be the largest rubber dams in the country.

Exhibition opens

THE Industrial and Technological Exhibition of India opened yesterday in Beijing. The exhibition, jointly held by the State Science and Technology Commission of China and the Industrial and Commercial Federation of India, displayed chemical products, aviation technology and materials, medical products, and technologies of leather production, computer software, multimedia and network designing, communications and satellite transmission.

Flood control

ZHENGZHOU — China has invested 58 million yuan ($7 million) in a new telecommunications system to ensure efficient information flow for flood control efforts in the lower reaches of the Yellow River. Work on the microwave telecommunications system, which includes 44 programme-controlled telephone exchanges and six one-point multiple-address microwave central stations, started in March this year.

Auxiliary facility

SHENZHEN — Chinese railway construction workers have finished the last auxiliary facility for the Beijing-Kowloon Railway Line — the marshalling station at southern Pinghu in the city of Shenzhen. The station opened on June 30 after a trial period. (CD-Xinhua)

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China Daily Monday July 7, 1997

PICC invests in Pudong tower

CHINA'S principal insurer is investing in a 154-metre tower on the east bank of the Huangpu River in Shanghai's Pudong New Area.

Xiong Qian, general manager of Zhong Bao Mansion Co Ltd, said the $70-million building is the largest investment the People's Insurance Co of China (PICC) has ever made for a real estate development.

It symbolizes a brand new image for the company in Shanghai, arising as an international financial centre.

Zhong Bao Mansion, on the prime location of Lujiazui Financial Area and in the middle of a cluster of bank and securities buildings, is jointly invested by PICC Group and its Shanghai and Hong Kong branch companies.

Xiong said structure construction of the building is expected to be finished soon and the project will be operational next year.

Zhong Bao Mansion, designed to provide 15,000 square metres underground and 55,000 square metres above, is expected to be a major location for banks, financial and securities companies exploring opportunities in China.

China has allowed foreign banks to handle renminbi business in Pudong New Area. Nine have been licensed and more are under approval by the central bank. These banks are hunting for offices to start business.

PICC insists that it will not sell the building. Instead, only rentals will be undertaken at a daily rent of $1 to $1.2 per square metre. (CD News)

Big shopping venue to open

A 280,000-SQUARE-METRE shopping venue will open in Shanghai's Hongqiao Development Zone in October, providing one-stop shopping for international buyers and a springboard for foreign manufacturers into the Chinese market.

Shanghai Mart, a $300-million investment by Singapore, Indonesian and Taiwan companies and Hongqiao Development United Co, has been one of the priority projects of the municipal government.

It aims to boost Hongqiao's position of a foreign trade centre in Shanghai as well as the city's role in promoting world trade.

Zhu Qi, marketing manager of Shanghai Mart, believes the project is an important hardware for the entry of the World Trade Organization.

With 2,500 showrooms opening year-round, the venue is designed to present the latest Chinese products and technology for international shoppers. It is also open to foreign companies and suppliers for the development of Chinese market.

Zhu said top Chinese enterprises from different industries will be advised to represent in Shanghai Mart. About 400 enterprises will move in October when three floors of the market are scheduled to open on a trial basis.

A Multisensory Introduction

To

Modern China

Submitted to
National Committee on U.S./China Relations
By
Anne Jellison
January, 1998

Overview

With the hand over of Hong Kong on July 1, I997, China took center stage in world politics. Americans replaced the I989 visions of Tiananmen with one of Chinese celebrations and optimism. What became apparent through news coverage and responses from the American people, however, was that few Americans have an understanding of the Chinese people and China today. Many misconceptions, partially created by the American press, have been accepted as truths by many Americans.

In order to develop an understanding of modern China, a series of activities have been designed to introduce students to the many facets of life in China today. These activities can be used with students in grades K-12, with modifications for each grade level. The use of artifacts, print artifacts, slides, and food provides a multisensory experience in the teaching about China today. Students will gain knowledge about Chinese culture by analyzing the clues the artifacts provide about the religious, social, political, economic, and historical patterns of the culture.

Goals

Students will develop an understanding of modern Chinese culture through an analysis of artifacts and visuals.

Students will identify significant themes in China's religious, political, economic, and social systems.

Lesson – Day 1 (I hour)

1. Anticipatory Set
   Students in grades K-8 will complete a K-W-L chart identifying what they know about China and what they would like to learn. The chart will be posted in the classroom. Students in grades 9-12 will complete the *Conceptions About China* worksheet.

2. Objectives
   Students will analyze artifacts in order to hypothesize what they are and what use they have in China.

3. Input
   The teacher will divide students into cooperative groups. The use of artifacts will be explained.

4. Guided Practice
   The teacher will model how to use the artifact sheet.

5. Independent Practice
   In groups of four, students will move from table to table examining artifacts and record their hypotheses.

6. Checking for Understanding
   The teacher will move from group to group answering questions and check to see if students are focusing on the task. Students will share their hypotheses and categorize the artifacts on charts which have the headings: social, political, religious, economic, and historical (traditional).

7. Closure
   Students will add to their K-W-L chart and summarize what they have learned through the analysis of artifacts.

Lesson – Day 2 (I hour)

1. Anticipatory Set
   Students will review the K-W-L chart or conception worksheet. The teacher will introduce print artifacts and how to analyze them.

2. Objectives
   Students will read and analyze printed artifacts identifying the purpose of each artifact.

3. Input
   The teacher will review the use of printed materials to gain information about the Chinese culture. The teacher will create new cooperative groups.

4. Guided Practice
   Directions on how to use the artifact sheet will be given. The teacher will model one example.

5. Independent Practice
   Students will move from table to table reading the print materials and recording responses.

6. Check for Understanding
   The teacher will circulate from group to group to check to see that students are understanding the content of the printed material. They will edit their K-W-L chart and revise their conception worksheet.

7. Closure
Students will share the information to be added to the charts, headed social, political, religious, economic and social, with the class based upon their analysis of the printed artifacts.

Lesson – Day 3 (I hour)

1. Anticipatory Set
Students will review the K-W-L chart or the conception worksheet and the charts listing the artifacts reflecting hypotheses made, based upon the analysis of the artifacts. Students will then be asked to focus on a series of slides of life in modern China.

2. Objectives
Students will make hypotheses about life in China, based upon a series of slides.

3. Input
The teacher will show a series of slides, questioning students on their content.

4. Guided Practice
Using the charts, students will add information based upon what they had concluded from the viewing of the slides.

5. Independent Practice
Students will complete their K-W-L and revise their conception worksheets.

6. Checking for Understanding
Students will share additions with the whole group and add information to the culture charts.

7. Closure
Students will share their additions and revisions.

Lesson – Day 4 (I hour)

1. Anticipatory Set
Students will ask clarifying questions based upon the information gathered through the analysis of artifacts and the slides.

2. Objective
   Students will write an expository essay presenting information about the social, political, religious, economic, and historical (traditional) life in modern China, highlighting changes in their perceptions about China.

3. Input
   The teacher will review the graphic organizer to be used and the rubric to be used in assessing the essay.

4. Guided Practice
   The teacher will model the use of the graphic organizer and review the organization of the essay.

5. Independent Practice
   Students will complete their writing of the essay.

6. Checking for Understanding
   The teacher will conference with individual students.

7. Closure
   Students will sample Chinese food while sharing their essays.

References/Materials

As this unit is designed to be used at the elementary and secondary level, artifacts, print artifacts, and slides should be chosen to reflect the developmental levels of the students. A listing of artifacts, print artifacts and slides are included. Reference materials are also included to be used at the secondary level to enhance student understanding of modern China.

Artifacts

Bird Kite
Bottled Water
San Miquel Beer
Erhu
Massager
Chinese NBA Magazine
Democratic Party Platform
Split Baby Pants
Prayer Beads
Playing Cards with Pictures of Girls
Shoe for Binding Feet
Ticket from the Hall of the People
Scale
Dried Fish
Fingernail Protector
Bamboo Steamer
Buddist Robe Pin
Red Book
Coke Can
Religious Prayer Wheel
CNN Business Card
Tiger Balm
Chopstick Holder
Mao Lighter
Mao Hat
Prayer Ornaments
Opium Pipe
Buddist Offering Box
Peach Juice Can
Popular Magazine
Currency
Candy M & M
McDonald's Placement
University of Hong Kong Catalog
Abacus
Shadow Puppet
Doll (Ming)
Doll (Beijing Opera)
Opera Program
Calligraphy Set
Fan
Jade Dragon
Manchu Hat
Paper Cut

Double Dragon Goblet
Summer Palace Token
Flag of China
Ginseng
Exercise Balls
Lions from Forbidden City

Print Artifacts

- Shopping Credit Card
- Joint Declaration of the Question of Hong Kong
- Brochure – What Makes Hong Kong Tick
- Beijing Normal University Experimental Kindergarten Brochure
- Menu from De Fachang
- Car Advertisement
- Forbidden City Gift Shop Brochure
- Ad for Foot Reflexology Clinic
- Chinese Newspaper
- Brochure from Shanghai's Oriental Pearl Tower
- Beijing Tourist Communication Map
- Jazz Advertisement
- Poster of the Emperors
- Poster of the Forbidden City
- Shanghai Municipal Education Commission Brochure
- Real Estate Advertising
- Great Wall Brochure
- Articles from China Daily
  - Millions Compete for College Slots
  - Sharrxi Gets Tough on Polluting Firms
  - U.S. May Lose Top Spot in World
  - Free Travel to Hong Kong
  - Pension System Vital to Firms
  - China Sweeps 9 Gold, Breaks 4 World Records
  - China Refutes Change of "Political Donation"
  - Six Drug Dealers Sentenced to Death
  - Regulations Bans Lavish Lifestyles
  - Skyscraper Gang Up in Shanghai
  - Mobile Phones
  - Temporary Regulations Issued to Prevent Domestic Violence
  - Industry Growing Steadily
  - Taiwan Urged to Reunite with Motherland
  - United Technologies Tibetan Ad
  - Volunteers Help Cities Clean Up
  - Rural Households Integral to Commercial Agriculture
  - Officials to Pursue Self Improvement
  - TV Highlights
  - Weather Report
  - Asian Youth Modernized, not Westernized
  - Stable Grain Prices Necessary
  - Project Helps Mothers in Poor Areas
  - Old Villages Embody Nation's Tradition
  - Volkswagen Ad
  - Human Rights Discussion Clear Air

Slides

Tiananmen Square July 1, 1997
Beijing Skyscrapers
Beijing's Infrastructure
Subway Station/Street with Bicycles
Subway Station Warning
Arcade
Department Store
Mannequins in Window
Billboard with Pepsi Umbrellas
Kiosk with Magazines
Life on the Street – Hair cutting
Farmer's Market
Coca Cola Stand
Outdoor Restaurant on Long Bicycle
Man Making Dumplings
Whole Fish Served in Restaurant
Fish Eater – Bones and Beer
Bathroom
Construction
New Condominiums
2 Boys and Girl in Western Dress
Students in Uniform/Life on Street Scene
Celebrating the Recovery
12 Forbidden City
Single Child
Army
Catholic Church
Nanjing Bridge War Museum
College
Rotary with One Way Sign
Apartments with Air conditioners
Students at Key School
Inside an Apartment
Inside a Hutong
Children Playing Wearing Bulls T-shirt
2 Inside Hutong Courtyard
5 Apartments in Hutong
Community Work Hall Hutong
Nightlife
Restaurant – Rocky Fried Chicken
Shanghai Street Scene
City Skyline Shanghai

Apartments in Shanghai
Traditional Architecture
Emerald Buddha
Tai Chi in Park
Junks in Harbor Old Shanghai Waterfront
New Waterfront – Bend Lighted
Bamboo Streamers Stacked Outside Restaurant
Restaurant Rating
Sex Shop for Health
Vendors in Market
Plexiglass Car
Workers in Shanghai
Shanghai Sunset
People Celebrating in Beijing
Clock Counting Down to Recovery of Hong Kong
Empty Tiananmen Square
Cafeteria/Bottled Water
Street Scene – Buses, cars, bikes
2 Street Market
Installation of Air Conditioners
Professor from Cultural Revolution
Books Used for Learning English During Cultural Revolution
Colonel Sanders
Tower in Shanghai
River Scene in Shanghai
Assistant Attorney General in Hong Kong
Shanghai Museum of Art
GE Medical Systems
3 Key School Shanghai
Department Store TV Section
Motorcycle in Street Scene
Garage/Man with Cart
Rice Growing in Guilin
Rice Threshing
Rice Drying
2 Rival Housing
Industry in Rival Area
Cistern on House
House on Stilts Lonsheng
Hong Kong Architecture
Hong Kong Harbor
City Street Scene Hong Kong
Technicians Art Joint Venture
Check-In in Factory
Classroom Pictures – Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao
Boys on Bicycles

Ping Pong Game at School
10 Xian – Terra Cotta Warriors
Xian – Temple
Street Scene Xian
Worker Sleeping
Ford Vendor
2 Muslin Market
Street Market – Stalls of Pants
Man Weighing People
Muslin Mosque
Zen Temple
Cormorant Fishing
Poster of Forbidden Items on Planes
Airport Waiting Room
3 Guilin Landscape
2 River on Guilin
Refrigerators for Sale
Traffic Jam/Cars and Bridges
Making a Purchase/Full Employment
Vendors on Raft in Guilin
2 Houseboat
Water Buffalo
Caverns
Lotus Field
Rice Paddy
3 Harvesting Rice
People in the Country
Plane/Tank Monument
3 Farming Village
Housing for Teachers
Construction
Workers/Trucks/Carts
Modern Jeep
Stores
Communist Hotel
Washed Out Road
Village
Public Swimming Pool – Kowloon
McDonald's Station
Bathroom (modern)
Chinese Medicine
Great Hall of the People
Workers' Movement
10 Summer Palace
14 Great Wall
Wall Surrounding Xian

6 Seven Tier Temple
Confuscian Temple
4 Ming Tombs
5 Beijing Opera
8 Temple of Heaven

CONCEPTIONS ABOUT CHINA

1. China is a totalitarian country where only one political party is legal.
2. The Communist Party of China is controlled mainly by men in their 70's and 80's who recall Chairman Mao and the Revolution.
3. China's population problems have caused the government to impose a strict "One-Child Policy" throughout the nation.
4. Communist Part membership is crucial to career advancement and leadership roles in China's professional elites.
5. Despite great geographic and regional differences, the Chinese are a cohesive ethnic and cultural entity.
6. Most Chinese own their own homes, family farms, or living quarters.
7. Ethnic and religious minorities make up less than 1% of the P.R.C.'s population.
8. China is happy to export cheap goods to foreign markets, but discourages foreign investment in its internal economy.
9. U.S. Businesses are among the top three foreign investors in the Chinese economy. —
10. China's economy is comparable to many Third-world, developing nations, like Mexico and Pakistan, but not as developed as Malaysia or Brazil.
11. Buddhists generally favor an independent Tibet, under the leadership of the Dalai Llama.
12. Open practice of religion is discouraged in the P.R.C. as "Bourgeois".
13. China is likely to improve its Human Rights record, because the U.S. now links "Most Favored Nation" status to China's treatment of dissidents.
14. The P.R.C. will erode the freedoms of Hong Kong in the next half-century, converting its economy to a more centralized bureaucracy.
15. Now that Hong Kong (and Macao next year) have been consolidated, China is once again " whole" in the view of most P.R.C. citizens.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS
AND THE STUDY OF CULTURE

By analyzing mundane written sources a social scientist can learn a great deal about another culture. As one pieces together the clues from many sources- newspapers, advertisements, official documents and popular culture- patterns begin to emerge which help to explain the religious customs and beliefs, the political principles, the economic conditions, and the social and leisure life of a people.

You should examine this small collection of documents. There are two tasks: first, decide whether it describes mainly the religious, social, economic, political or traditional (historical) aspect of life. Then be prepared to write a general statement sbout what the document says, both literally, and about what it tells you about the culture of this people.

Document # and ID	Is it mainly historical? political? religious, economic? social?	What does it tell you about the culture of modern China?
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USING ARTIFACTS TO STUDY CULTURE

YOU CAN LEARN A GREAT DEAL ABOUT CULTURES BY ANALYZING THE THINGS THEY HAVE PRODUCED. THESE ARTIFACTS PROVIDE CLUES TO THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND EVEN HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF ANY CULTURE. THE STUDY OF ARTIFACTS BEGINS BY MAKING A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT WHAT THE ARTICLE IS AND FOR WHAT IT MAY BE USED. YOU MAY ALSO HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ITEM. AFTER THE ARTIFACTS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED, THEY MAY BE GROUPED INTO THE CATEGORIES DESCRIBED ABOVE WHICH REFLECT IMPORTANT PATTERNS RELATING TO THE CULTURE. IT IS LIKE ASSEMBLING A CULTURAL JIGSAW PUZZLE.

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Print Artifacts

USING ARTIFACTS TO STUDY CULTURE

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K • W

Topic:

Know What do you already know about this topic?

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Learn What do you want to learn? How does it compare to your knowledge of what you wanted to know?

AVAILABLE

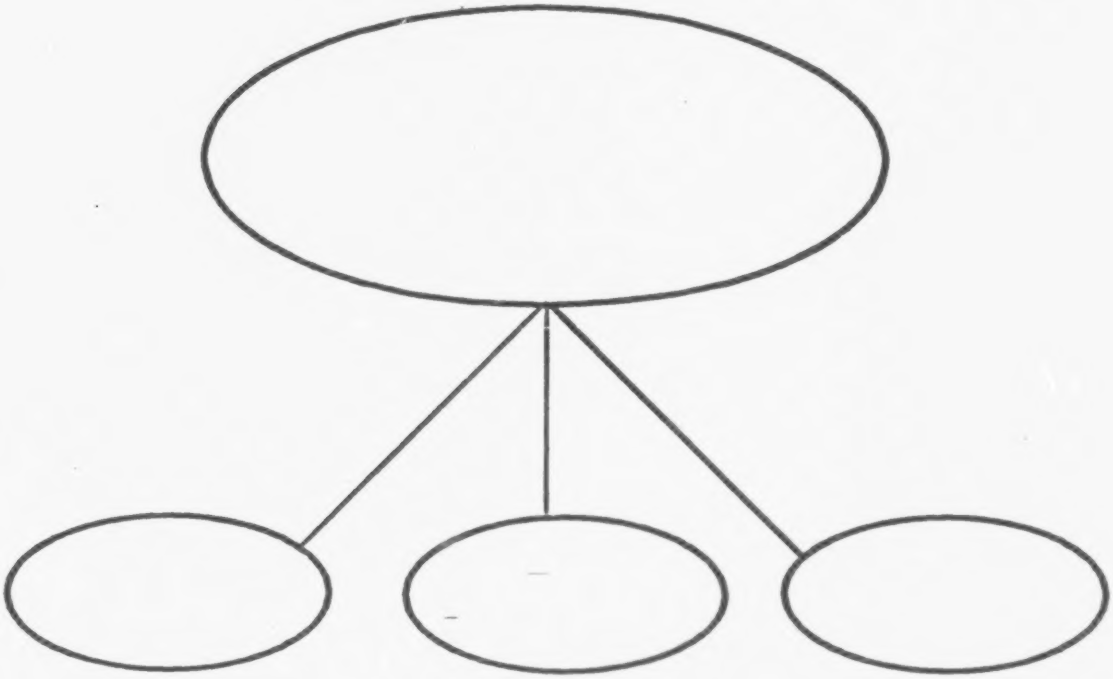
Name ______________________________

K-W-L Chart

K	W	L
What We Know	What We Want To Find Out	What We Learned -- Still Need to Learn

Name ______________________________

Concept Map 1



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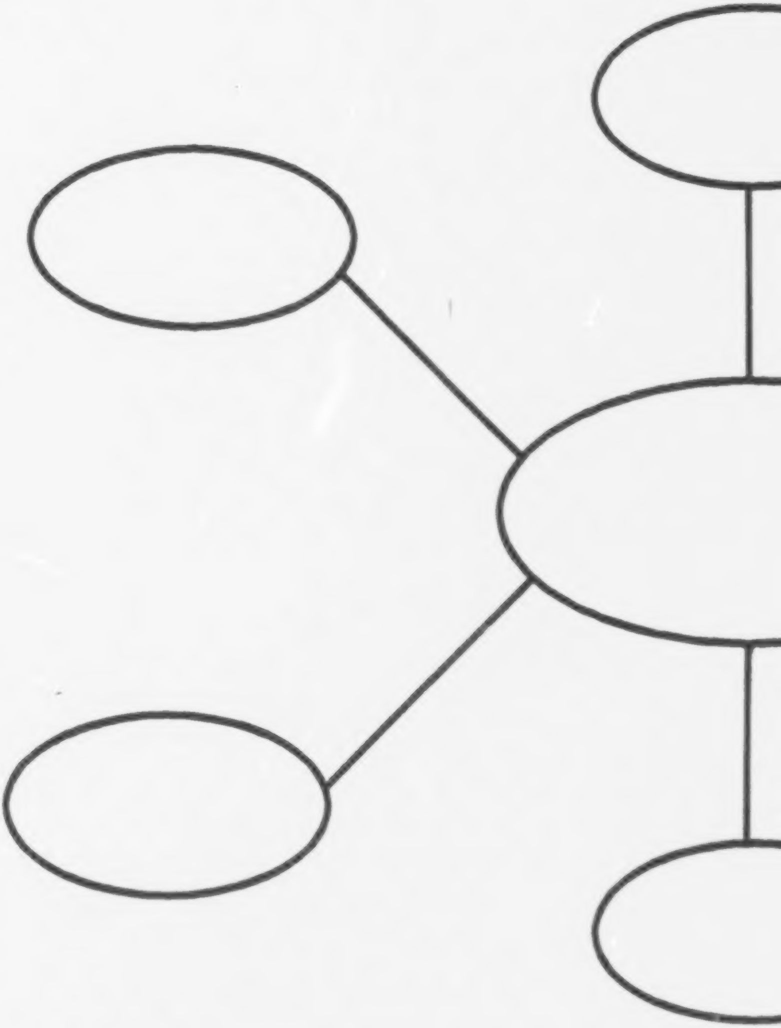

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CHRONOLOGY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINA

1900	Growing resentment against foreign domination in China erupts in the "Boxer Rebellion."
1905	Sun Yat-sen and others form the Tung Meng Hui (Alliance Society), forerunner of the Kuomintang (KMT) (Nationalist Party) and dedicated to the overthrow of the Qing (Manchu) dynasty and the end of imperial rule.
1911	Qing dynasty overthrown in revolution inspired by Sun Yat-sen.
1919	Chinese students protest Treaty of Versailles granting former German territorial concessions in China to the Japanese. These protests, climaxing on May 4th, marked the beginning of student involvement in politics known as the "May 4th Movement."
1921	Chinese Communist Party formed; Mao Zedong one of the founders.
1923	Collaboration between Communist Party and KMT begins in an effort to unify the country, now largely controlled by warlords.
1925	Sun Yat-sen dies; factionalization of KMT.
1926	General Chiang Kai-shek launches "Northern Expedition" from Guangzhou with aid of Communist Party political advisors.
1927	Kuomintang-Communist collaboration disintegrates as Chiang Kai-shek moves against the Communists in Nanjing.
1928	Chiang Kai-shek assumes leadership of KMT and the Chinese Government and establishes capital in Nanjing. China is nominally united (although Japan and Russia still hold territory in Manchuria) and the government gets international recognition.
1928-34	Mao Zedong establishes guerrilla base in southeast China (Jiangxi Province) and begins to formulate a strategy for revolution based on peasant support.
1931	Japanese invade and occupy Manchuria, setting up the puppet government of Manchukuo under the last Manchu "boy emperor."
1934	Red Army begins the Long March from Jiangxi base to northwest China (Yan'an) to escape encirclement by KMT forces.
1936	Xi'an Incident: Chiang is captured by a young warlord eager to fight Japan. He agrees upon his release to form a second united front with the Communists to resist the Japanese.
1937	Sino-Japanese War begins with Japanese attack on Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing.
1945	Sino-Japanese War ends. Open civil war resumes.
1949	Nationalist forces are defeated and the People's Republic of China is established. Chiang Kai-shek flees to Taiwan and sets up a provisional capital.
1950	Signing of Sino-Soviet friendship treaty. China enters Korean War.

1952	Basic land reform concluded, ending landlord system.
1953	Inauguration of First Five-Year Plan, which relied on the Soviet model. Korean armistice concluded.
1955	Rapid increase in agricultural collectivization.
1956-57	Hundred Flowers Campaign (see Glossary).
1958	Great Leap Forward (see Glossary).
1960	Soviet technicians abruptly withdraw from China; Sino-Soviet difficulties now become an open break.
1962	Sino-Indian border war.
1964	First Chinese nuclear detonation.
1966-76	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (see Glossary).
1971	People's Republic of China voted in as a member of the United Nations.
1972	President Nixon visits China; signs Shanghai Communique pledging "normalization" of U.S.-China relations.
	Campaign launched to criticize Confucius and Lin Biao.
1973	CCP Tenth Party Congress; emergence of new Party leaders closely allied with Mao's wife, Jiang Qing.
1974	Deng Xiaoping is rehabilitated and becomes acting leader of the government. Zhou Enlai hospitalized for cancer treatment
1975	Fourth National People's Congress ratifies new constitution.
1976	Premier Zhou Enlai dies, provoking massive pro-Zhou demonstrations that are suppressed by force.
	Deng Xiaoping blamed for demonstrations and dismissed from all posts; Hua Guofeng appointed Vice Chairman of the CCP and Premier.
	Major earthquake in Tangshan, northeast China.
	Chairman Mao dies.
	Hua Guofeng succeeds Mao as Chairman of the CCP. Jiang Qing (Mao's widow) and three close associates (collectively known as the "Gang of Four"), all members of the extremist faction of the Politburo, are arrested and purged.
1977	Deng Xiaoping restored to offices from which he had twice been purged. Other previously disgraced political figures begin to reemerge; some reassume positions of power.
	Deng initiates reforms which eventually lead to the dismantling of the commune system and increased privatization in rural areas during the late-1970s and early 1980s.

1978	Fifth National People's Congress ratifies new constitution.
	Wall posters begin to appear in major cities demanding human rights and calling for some aspects of Western-style democracy.
	PRC and U.S. announce establishment of full diplomatic relations effective January 1, 1979.
1979	Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping visits U.S. to mark normalization of relations.
	Second session of the Fifth National People's Congress begins to codify China's legal system, promulgates laws concerning joint ventures with foreign businesses, and moves to abolish revolutionary committees as governing agencies.
	Sino-Vietnamese border war.
	Posters banned on Beijing's famous "Democracy Wall" and restricted to Yuetan Park, located in a remote section of the city.
1980	Liu Shaoqi, former head of state and chief victim of the Cultural Revolution, is posthumously rehabilitated.
	Deng Xiaoping announces his retirement from government positions by 1985.
	Governor Zhao Ziyang of Sichuan Province promoted to premier, replacing Hua Guofeng.
	Bohai oil rig disaster; Minister of Petroleum resigns.
	Gang of Four put on trial on charges of organizing and leading a counter-revolutionary clique, plotting to subvert the government, engineering an armed insurrection, murder and homicide with counterrevolutionary motives, fabricating false charges, framing counterrevolutionary propaganda, and provocation.
1981	Gang of Four and chief followers convicted and jailed.
	Hu Yaobang replaces Hua Guofeng as chairman of the CCP.
1982	Major restructuring of State Council begins in March, with existing government ministries, commissions, and agencies merged and reduced, and their administrative staffs greatly cut back.
	The Twelfth Communist Party Congress approves a new constitution, replacing the one adopted in 1978. The Central Advisory Commission, composed of elder statesmen to assume "second-line" responsibilities, is created.
1983	Economic responsibility system promoted throughout China, placing greater emphasis on private initiative and the accountability of individual leaders and organizations.
	Deng Xiaoping initiates rectification of the CCP, designed to weed out many middle-level officials associated with the ultra-leftist policies of the Cultural Revolution.

Sixth National People's Congress convenes and appoints new leaders, among them Li Xiannian, titular head of state, and Ulanhu, vice president of the PRC, as well as several vice premiers.

"Spiritual [or Cultural] Pollution" becomes focus of a campaign to eliminate "harmful" social influences from the West.

CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Premier Zhao Ziyang make several trips abroad.

1984 The Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the Communist Party adopts the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Reform of the Economic Structure." Urban enterprises, with the exception of major industries such as steel, power, etc., are to be given greater freedom to plan production and assume responsibility for profit and loss; limitations are put on mandatory central planning; prices of some commodities are allowed to "float" on the basis of market demand; aspects of the responsibility system extended to the urban economy.

Leadership moves to end "Spiritual Pollution" campaign.

CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang visits several foreign countries, including Japan and Australia.

Under Deng Xiaoping's prodding, several senior Party, government, and military leaders retire.

1985 Chinese and Soviets make several small but significant moves to ease strained relations, despite major persisting differences.

Increasing numbers of PRC leaders travel abroad throughout the year, including President Li Xiannian, General Secretary Hu Yaobang, Premier Zhao Ziyang, Vice Premier Li Peng, and a number of ministers.

Beginning early in the year and peaking in September, major shifts in senior Party, government, and military posts are pressed by Deng Xiaoping. Large numbers of older officials resign from Central Committee, Politburo, and central, provincial, and municipal government positions and are replaced by younger cadres, many of them college graduates and known supporters of Deng's economic and social reforms.

1986 Sino-Soviet relations show marked improvement with economic and political steps by both sides. Gorbachev makes major speech in Vladivostok offering concessions in effort to restore normal relationship. At the same time, China makes significant gesture to U.S. by permitting naval visit to Qingdao.

Defection of CAAC airplane to South Korea results in semi-official contacts, with CAAC director flying to Seoul.

Chinese policy towards unrecognized governments of South Korea and Israel softens, as visas are given to citizens of both countries for travel to China. Chinese take full part in Asian Games in Seoul, and receive South Korean teams in China.

Chinese media report extensive debate over issues of political reform and democracy. Following several months of newspaper discussions of "socialist democracy," students demonstrate in several cities calling for swifter political reforms.

1987 In January, at an "enlarged" meeting of the Politburo, "bourgeois liberalism" is denounced. Blamed for the student demonstrations, Hu Yaobang resigns from the CCP general secretary post, but remains a member of the Politburo.

The government takes measures to curb dissident activities by expelling leading intellectual reformists from the CCP and from their jobs.

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva sign a Joint Declaration stating that China will reassume sovereignty over Macao on December 20, 1999.

The 13th Party Congress signals the apparent continuation of Deng Xiaoping's policies for economic change despite his retirement. The retirement of other senior hard-line members of the party, as well as Zhao Ziyang's confirmation as Party General Secretary, allows the new Central Committee to streamline Party organization with younger, better-educated leadership.

Pro-independence demonstrations in Tibet break out, provoking a sharp crackdown by Beijing. Travel to Tibet is restricted and all foreign reporters are ordered out.

1988 Renewed pro-independence demonstrations in Tibet provoke international criticism of China's policies there.

Hainan Island, in southwestern China, is designated China's 37th province and 5th Special Economic Zone in a move to speed the island's development and encourage foreign investment.

The 7th NPC reiterates support for the reform policies. Li Peng is confirmed as Premier of the State Council amid a major restructuring of the government bureaucracy. The Congress is characterized by an unusually high degree of openness and debate.

China expands its direct ties with Taiwan, announcing regulations allowing Taiwanese investment in the PRC for the first time.

Double digit inflation ravages China's cities causing Beijing to abandon its bold price reforms in favor of more stable economic policies.

Rajiv Gandhi visits China marking the first visit by an Indian Prime Minister in 34 years.

1989 Pro-independence riots in Tibet cause the Chinese to impose martial law in Lhasa and to expel all foreigners from the region.

Second session of the 7th NPC meets reiterating the call for more cautious economic policies. Premier Li Peng tells the Chinese people to be "mentally prepared for few years of austerity" amid rumors that he had displaced Zhao Ziyang as China's number two leader behind Deng Xiaoping.

Former Secretary General of the CCP, Hu Yaobang, dies on April 15 touching off student demonstrations mourning the death of the liberal former party chief. The student movement quickly expands to other cities and incorporates many sectors of society as the focus of the demonstrations shifts to demands for greater democracy. On May 17 and 18 over 1 million students, teachers, reporters, civil servants, and workers pour into Beijing's streets in the largest show of unrest in Communist China's history. A split in the party over how to respond to the demonstrations leads to the most serious political infighting in a decade. Amid reports that the hard-liners, headed by Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, and Li Peng have gained the upper hand over more moderate elements within the party, including General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng imposes martial law in areas of the capital on May 20 and orders troops into the city to quell the protests. The People's Liberation Army, which for two weeks is blocked by Beijing citizens from entering the city and shows reluctance to carry out the martial law order, moves against the demonstrators shortly after midnight on June 4. In the ensuing melee, several hundred civilians and several soldiers are killed. Labeling the confrontation a "counterrevolutionary rebellion," the government arrests over 1,500 pro-democracy demonstrators. The government launches an intense media campaign to propagate the Party line that the troops acted valiantly to preserve order in Beijing and to protect the people's democratic dictatorship, and that a minimum of civilians were killed in the confrontation.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev arrives in China on May 15, signaling the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations after three decades of mutual suspicion. Despite the historic nature of the meeting between Deng Xiaoping and Gorbachev, the Soviet President's visit is overshadowed by the student demonstrations and little progress on substantive issues is reported.

At a meeting of the Central Committee in late June, several leading moderates within the party hierarchy are dismissed for "mistakes" in their handling of student unrest in the capital. Zhao Ziyang is ousted from all leading posts, and is replaced by Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, Jiang Zemin.

The government begins a massive campaign to "reeducate and unite with the overwhelming majority, isolate and attack the handful of hostile elements, and make a thorough investigation into all counterrevolutionary scheming." Thousands are arrested, including several leaders of the student movement (although many of the prominent ones escaped). Highly publicized executions of guilty counterrevolutionaries" and "hooligans" take place, some degree of mandatory labor is made compulsory for students with no such experience, political meetings are once again stressed in the work place, and those suspected of participation in the spring events are forced to write self-criticisms and detailed accounts of their actions. While everyone superficially complies with these requirements, there appears to be little enthusiasm and a great deal of sullen resignation.

Deng Xiaoping continues to try to bridge the gap in the CCP between its conservative and reformist factions. Since Jiang Zemin lacks a strong enough power base to bring about a smooth political succession, attempts are made to raise his public stature and he is designated as the "core" of the next generation of leaders.

1990 On January 10th, the Chinese government announces that martial law in Beijing will be lifted. PLA soldiers are replaced by policemen and Tiananmen Square is opened to the public for the first time since June 4, 1989. Other laws still remain that ban unauthorized demonstrations, speeches, and wall posters.

The Chinese government reveals in January that 573 detainees from the pro-democracy protests have been gradually released in small numbers over the past few months. No specific names, dates, or numbers of detainees are given.

In July, China establishes diplomatic relations with Indonesia and states its intentions to formalize ties with Singapore. In early August, official relations are established with Saudi Arabia, which in turn breaks official ties with Taiwan. China also establishes trade relations with South Korea, and engages in its first direct discussions with Vietnam since the 1970's.

In late August, China reaps international praise for its crucial vote in favor of U.N. sanctions against Iraq for invading Kuwait, as well as for its efforts to end the Cambodian conflict.

In late September, China hosts the 11th Asian games. Asian teams from throughout the continent (except Iraq) compete, with China taking well over half the gold medals. Though a political, public relations, and athletic success, the Asian Games raised public questions in China over the event's cost.

1991 China sentences 18 democracy activists in January and February. Most sentences range from two to eight years, with journalist Wang Juntao and economist Chen Ziming sentenced to the longest terms so far, thirteen years. Many others arrested for dissident activities remain under arrest, but not yet publicly sentenced.

In April, Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai, and Zou Jiahua, Minister of the State Planning Commission, are appointed Vice-Premiers of the State Council. Ye Xuanping, governor of Guangdong Province, is appointed Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Both Zhu and Ye are considered to be in favor of quicker reform in China.

In mid-June, unusually heavy rains cause massive flooding along the Huaihe, Chu, and Yangtze rivers. By late July, 18 provinces in the Southern region had been affected with 1,800 people reported dead, 32,000 injured, a loss of 13.2 billion kilos of grain and a direct economic loss of 40 billion yuan (US$7.5 billion) reported. For the first time in its 42 year history the government of China requests disaster aid from foreign countries.

1992 Deng Xiaoping, in his first public appearance in a year, and President Yang Shangkun make well-publicized trips to the economically booming southern towns of Guangdong province, signalling their endorsement of liberal economic reform. Conservative Premier Li Peng and Chen Yun, the most influential of the octogenarian hard-liners, voice more limited support for market reform. This sparks nation-wide frenzy to make money.

In August, China (despite close ties with North Korea) and South Korea (despite close ties to Taiwan) establish official diplomatic relations.

A brief riot erupts in Shenzhen after applications for buying company shares in the local stock market quickly run out. Thousands of protesters express their anger over the perceived corruption in the issuing of the applications.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party holds its 14th Party Congress in October, at which several hard-liners resign and are replaced with reformers. The Congress also endorses Deng Xiaoping's policies calling for China to move toward a "socialist market economy".

1993 Top government and cabinet positions are ratified at the National People's Congress (NPC) in late March. The new leadership line-up is a compromise between Deng Xiaoping and his more conservative colleagues. As a result five important government figures are in a position to vie for power once the last of the older generation of leaders leave the scene.

> With the title of president added to his former positions, Jiang Zemin is now the official head of the government, the Chinese Communist Party, and the army. But he lacks a natural constituency and his collection of posts is seen as a sign of weakness.
>
> Li Peng retains the premiership and represents the conservatives in the party and government.
>
> Qiao Shi, as chairman of the National People's Congress, and Li Ruihuan, as chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), do not hold the highest government posts but each have wide networks of support.
>
> The fifth contender is rising star Zhu Rongji. Zhu, now the ranking vice-premier, has been given the major responsibilities for overseeing China's continuing economic reforms. Later in the year, Zhu is appointed governor of the Bank of China and charged with the responsibility of reigning in the country's furious economic growth. Zhu's austerity program of fiscal discipline and anti-inflationary measures is deemed only partially successful in cooling down the economy.

Beginning in April, Premier Li Peng disappears from the public scene. It is rumored that he is suffering from a severe cold or a mild heart attack. There is also speculation that his absence is the result of political causes. But by early June, Li is again seen in public, welcoming foreign dignitaries and holding a position of considerable power in the political system.

In May, the World Bank releases a report stating that China's economy is the third largest in the world. Continued growth of the economy in 1993 creates inflation anxieties and overheated capital investment particularly in the real estate sector. This prompts the government, spearheaded by economic chief Zhu Rongji, to launch a targeted austerity program that, not long after commencing, seems to lose steam.

In 1993 the Chinese go all-out in their quest to host the 2000 Summer Games of the Olympics. Intense lobbying of International Olympic Committee officials and propaganda campaigns in China are all part of the leadership's effort to bring the Games to China. Just days before the decision on where the Olympics will be held, China releases prominent Democracy-Wall activist Wei Jing Sheng - some six months before completion of his 15-year sentence. The move is viewed as an attempt to blunt Western criticism of China's human rights practices and to help China's chances of being awarded the Games.

However, the I.O.C. chooses Sydney as the host city for the games. Suffering deep embarrassment, the Chinese quietly let the affair drop, but not before expressing displeasure with those countries, particularly the United States, that came out against China's bid.

1994 In early 1994 Chinese security authorities begin picking up and detaining Wei Jingsheng and other dissidents for speaking out against the government, claiming he had broken the conditions of his parole.

The annual meeting of the National People's Congress in March produces no bold initiatives or concrete proposals for dealing with problems created by China's enormous economic growth. Targets are set to slow down growth, but implementation methods are noticeably missing.

With the health of paramount leader Deng Xiaoping rumored to be in decline, the prospect of a protracted succession struggle looms in the background.

In September, the Fourth Plenum of the 14th CCP Central Committee addressed the role of "democratic centralism" which it described as the "fundamental organizational system of our party." Further, the successful establishment of a socialist market economy depended upon Party leadership. There was, however, a recognition that the development of a socialist market economic system could adversely affect Party discipline. Concern was given to "decentralism and anarchism" or to "apathy" within the Party ranks, especially at the local level.

1995 At the third session of the Eighth NPC in March, major reform legislation related to education and the banking/financial sectors is adopted. Draft laws relating to the reform of judicial bodies and the police forces are also enacted. A majority of delegates approve the appointment of two new Vice-Premiers: Wu Bangguo and Jiang Chunyun. The session emphasizes outstanding problems related to inflation, corruption, the poor state of public order, and the lagging economic performances of agriculture and state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Widespread concern is voiced about ensuring a stable standard of living in the countryside against the background of a declining arable land base, increasing population, and the incidence of frequent natural disasters. A key task during 1995 was to integrate further reform of SOEs with improvements in the social security system to cope with growing numbers of under-employed and laid off workers. By year end, Party leaders announce their intention of rescue only 1,000 of the most important state industries – such as aviation, steel, and petrochemicals – and let more than 13,000 large and medium-sized SOEs close, merge, or "go to sea," the euphemism for privatization.

A tight-credit policy, food subsidies, and price controls are the keys used to bring inflation down in 1995. Inflation slows to 14.8 percent, down from more than 20 percent a year earlier.

Former Politburo member Chen Yun dies in April; Chen was the chief architect of China's centrally planned economy.

Amidst the continuing speculation about the ill-health and imminent demise of Deng Xiaoping, Premier Li Peng indicates the succession problem has been resolved with the transfer of power to the "third generation leading collective" under Jiang Zemin. Such assurances notwithstanding, problems of weak and lax discipline within the Party, particularly in the countryside, remains a major preoccupation.

An anti-corruption campaign, begun in 1993, reaches into the upper ranks of Beijing municipal government. On April 4, Wang Baosan, the deputy mayor of Beijing, is reported to have committed suicide. Wang was under investigation for "economic crimes," according to Xinhua. Wang was later accused of embezzling

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$37 million, but investigators found more evidence of graft after looking into a series of construction of construction projects under Wang's control that apparently involved hugh payoffs to staff at the Beijing Municipal Communist Party Committee, headed by Politburo member and former Beijing mayor, Chen Xitong. After implication in the scandal, Chen resigns as Beijing Communist Party chief and is stripped of his party membership on charges of abuse of office and corruption. Chen's arrest arouses speculation that Jiang Zemin will open a far-reaching crackdown on corruption, both to clear out rivals/political enemies and to earn respect from ordinary Chinese who express disgust with growing corruption among officials. While no more upper-rank officials in Beijing are charged, the anti-corruption campaign continues elsewhere in the country.

An underground nuclear test is conducted on May 15 in western Xinjiang province; the test breaks a worldwide moratorium on nuclear testing and comes only days after the vote in New York by delegates from 175 nations, including China, supporting indefinite extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). China defends its action by stating it has conducted very few tests compared to the other nuclear powers. It will cease all nuclear testing once a comprehensive test ban treaty is agreed upon. A second nuclear test is conducted in August. Japan also reports that China launched a solid-fueled intercontinental ballistic missile – the first test of a long-range, solid-fueled missile by the Chinese.

In June, it is reported that U.S. intelligence sources believe China delivered missile components to Pakistan in violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). China denies the reports, contending it is strictly honoring its commitments to the accord. Despite the pleas of some Western governments, China also announces it will continue with plans to sell a nuclear reactor and related technology to Iran.

Officials arrest literary critic Liu Xiaobo in May for preparing, along with 44 other leading intellectuals, a petition to commemorate the anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests; the petition, which is presented to the National People's Congress, also calls for broad and substantive political change. Twenty-two dissidents are later arrested in Beijing. After 20 months in custody, Wei Jingsheng, China's leading political dissident, is charged with sedition in November and sentenced to 14 years in prison at his trial the following month.

In early 1995, Jiang Zemin delivers a speech outlining an eight point proposal for the reunification of Taiwan and the mainland. Jiang reiterates that the basis of peaceful reunification should be the idea of "one country, two systems." Taiwan would be permitted to retain its social and economic identity, enjoy a "high degree" of autonomy in legislative and judicial matters, and keep its armed forces and administer its party, government and military systems. Jiang condemns the "growing separatist tendency and the increasingly rampant activities of the forces working for the independence of Taiwan." Taiwan's Premier, Lien Chan, acknowledges that relations between the mainland and Taiwan had entered "an era of negotiation" with trade and economic issues as the main concerns. However, by summer cross-Strait talks come to a halt.

In June, Taiwan's President, Lee Teng-hui, is granted a visa by the Clinton Administration to make a private visit to the United States. On Taiwan, this is widely hailed as a major diplomatic breakthrough, though the visit is designated by the United States as unofficial and private. Beijing's reaction, which was anticipated, is stronger than expected. In late July and August the PLA stages a series of guided missile tests in the East China Sea, off Taiwan's coast. In November, large-scale military exercises are conducted in Fujian province, with the United States as unofficial and private. Beijing's reaction, which was anticipated, is stronger than expected. In late July and August the PLA stages a series of guided missile tests in the East China Sea, off Taiwan's coast. In November, large-scale military exercises are conducted in Fujian province, with Beijing redesignating the exercise area from a military zone to a war zone. These actions, combined with an organized attack against Lee Teng-hui by mainland media circles, are viewed as an attempt to influence the outcome of parliamentary elections away from pro-independence candidates and provide a clear warning that Beijing will not tolerate any effort by Taiwan at *de jure* secession. Later visits by Li Teng-hui to the Middle East and Lien Chan to central Europe are characterized by Beijing as an attempt to build support for "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." Jiang Zemin is believed to be under increasing pressure from military and nationalist elements to adopt a tougher approach in foreign policy matters, particularly as related to Taiwan.

September elections in Hong Kong lead to the effective control of the Legislative Council (LegCo) by pro-democracy groups. Voters resoundingly reject pro-China parties, favoring pro-democracy candidates in 17 of the 20 seats open to direct election. Beijing terms the election "unfair and unreasonable" and reiterates its pledge to abolish the legislature. Beijing also insists that the Court of Final Appeal not be established until after 1997 and limit the number of overseas judges. At year end, China names the Preparatory Committee, made up of 150 men and women, more than half from Hong Kong, who will be responsible for steering Hong Kong through its transfer from British colony to Chinese rule in 1997. Beijing, as expected, cold-shoulders Hong Kong's most popular political party, the Democrats, and draws heavily from the colony's business elite.

Despite concerns about the maintenance of the rule of law during the transition and afterwards, surveys and press accounts throughout the year suggest that many business executives appear convinced that Beijing ultimately understands the colony's needs and intends to give Hong Kong the autonomy it requires for success.

1996

Early in the year, a new set of foreign exchange control regulations is announced and gradually implemented that by year's end will permit convertibility of the yuan for trade transactions throughout China. The move is China's first major currency change since it allowed domestic companies to buy foreign currency at banks in January 1994, and a major step toward making the yuan fully convertible on "current account" for the first time since 1949. The change gives foreign-invested companies the same access to exchange markets that local companies enjoy, and removes obstacles to repatriation of profits. While symbolically important, the move will not speed China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) or affect outstanding issues like market access and legal transparency, contend Western economic analysts. Accession to the WTO becomes an ever pressing goal of the Chinese leadership. While Japan favors China's rapid entry into the WTO, the U.S. and other OECD countries caution the sheer size of China's economy requires its accession on a commercially sound basis.

Gross Domestic Product(GDP) grows at an annual rate of 9.7 percent. Inflation is down from 1995, with the retail price index ending the year at 6.1 percent. Though the 1996 GDP growth rate is considered sustainable over the long term, At least 70 percent of GDP is now produced by the nonstate sector, consisting of private and semi-private enterprises, including foreign joint ventures. However, China's state-owned enterprises (SOEs) continue to drag on the Chinese economy.

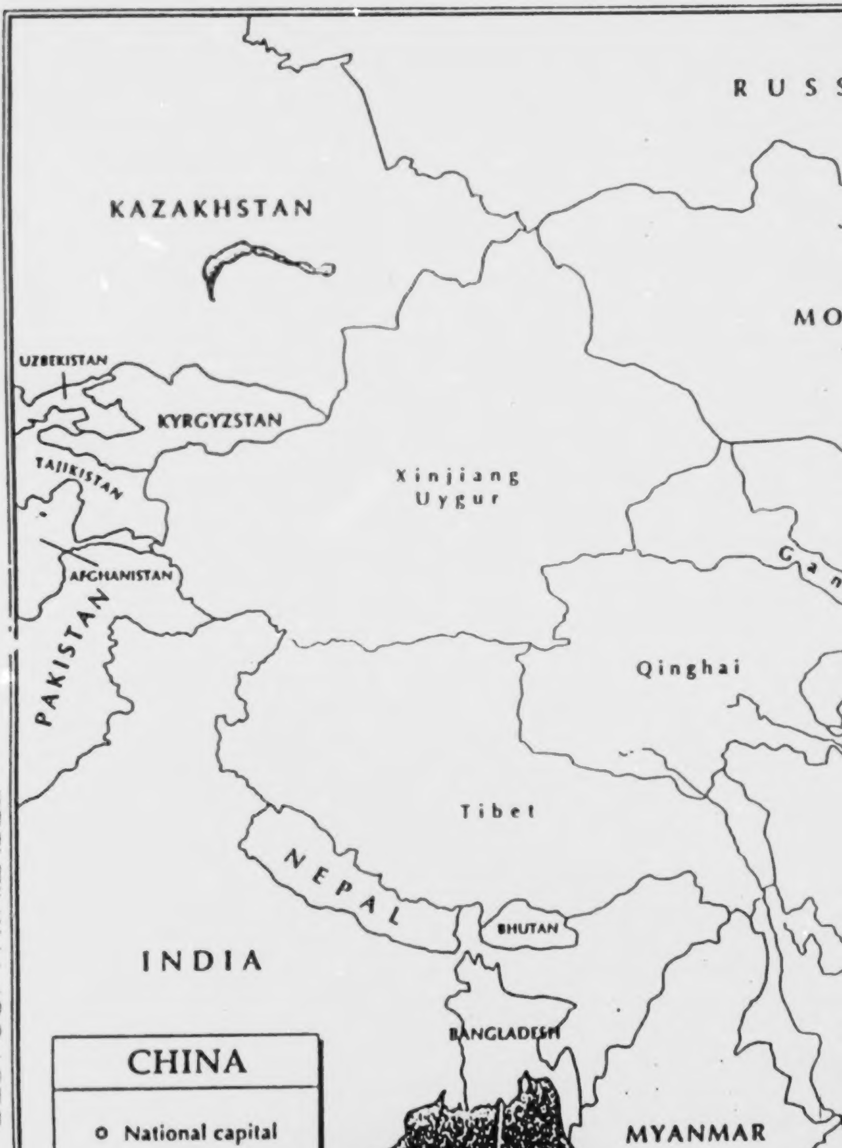
SOEs now account for less than 35 percent of total output. Overall losses increase by 38 percent in the state sector. There are scattered protests around the country by workers and retirees from SOEs who have not been paid wages or pensions for months. Government estimates that 10 million state employees are not being paid at all or are furloughed with tiny stipends are considered conservative by some analysts. In the broader context of rising urban unemployment, *China Daily* reports urban unemployment could hit 54 million by 2000. The World Bank estimates that 17 percent of China's GDP consists of "unsaleable" SOE-made goods. The People's Bank of China continues to increase lending to SOEs. The government will not allow large-scale SOE reforms until their social welfare functions – from pensions to housing – are shifted to the local level. Until then, a steady flow of working capital loans is required for SOEs to provide these services to their employees. The central government is hard pressed to fund the crucial social welfare reforms that will facilitate SOE restructuring. Other problems include increased rural-urban migration, along with generally slower economic growth rates in the interior and rural areas. Significant progress on SOE and banking reform is not expected until after the 15th Party Congress in late 1997.

In his speech to the opening of the Fourth Session of the Eighth NPC, Premier Li Peng stresses expansion of agriculture, streamlining of industrial enterprises, and promotion of socialist ethics. At the annual plenum of CCP senior leaders in October, there were few surprises and no major personnel changes. The platform did endorse President Jiang Zemin's so-called Spiritual Civilization Campaign, the most significant overhaul of party ideology since 1989, following the events in Tiananmen. The lengthy, meandering message, called by Xinhua News Agency, "one of the most important documents ever compiled" by the party, spells out how the country's leaders should combat rampant individualism, lack of patriotism, and moral decline – all problems attributed to rapid economic progress. The campaign is seen as Jiang's attempt to control the party's message, to reassert its relevance, and to diminish the influx of Western ideas and values. At the practical level it means stricter media censorship, patriotic exhortations, and an emphasis on traditional Chinese virtues, such as Confucianism, and respect for authority.

U.S.-based Human Rights Watch reports in January that thousands of children have died in state-run orphanages as a result of deliberate starvation and physical abuse, the government denies the allegations. A BBC documentary on the subject and resulting world press coverage have a negative impact abroad on China's image and human rights situation. In response, UNICEF announces that it will train workers and help establish management practices for Chinese orphanages.

In February, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that China plans to increase defense spending by 19 percent. Western analysts believe that actual defense expenditures will be 2 to 5 times higher than the official figure of US$9 billion.

In March, China announces that it will hold missile tests at sea, in an area just off the coast of Taiwan. Naval and air force exercises are undertaken with live ammunition in the Taiwan Strait. The exercises are an attempt to intimidate Taiwanese voters in the run-up to Taiwan first-ever presidential elections. Pictures of Chinese gunships firing orange streams of artillery into the Taiwan Strait juxtaposed with scenes of Taiwanese voters lining up to participate in the elections were shown on television around the world, further damage the PRC's image abroad. In response Secretary of State Christopher announces that the United States is ordering two aircraft carriers to the waters off Taiwan. After the election, President Jiang Zemin offers to meet with Taiwanese President Li Teng-hui in a conciliatory gesture, but a lack concrete concessions on key issues from both sides prevent any progress toward the two sides meeting.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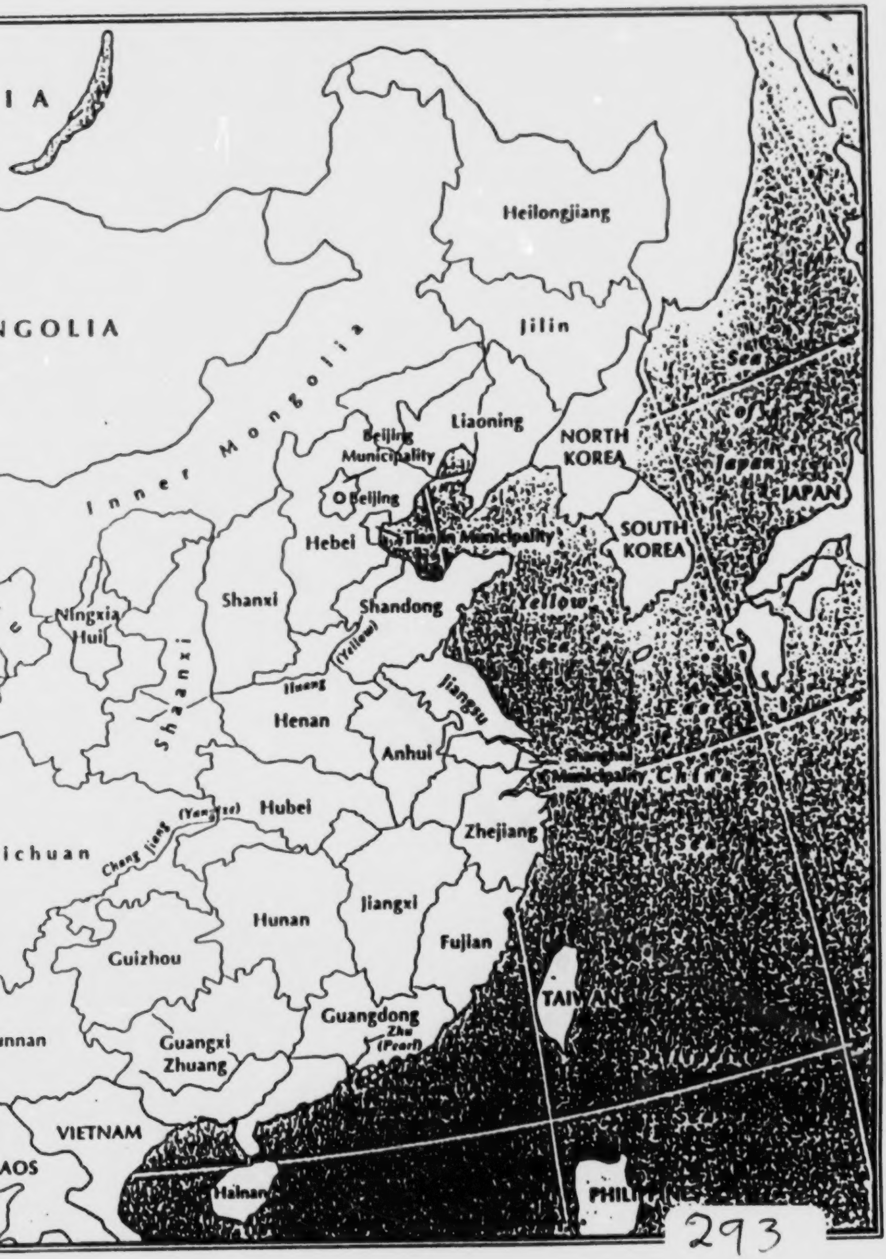
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TEXT OF U.S.-CHINA JOINT COMMUNIQUE

August 17, 1982

The following is the complete English text of the U.S.-China Joint Communique issued by the two governments on August 17, 1982.

(1) In the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations on January 1, 1979, issued by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the United States of America recognized the Government of the People's Republic as the sole legal Government of China, and it acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China. Within that context, the two sides agreed that the people of the United States would continue to maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. On this basis, relations between the United States and China were normalized.

(2) The question of United States arms sales to Taiwan was not settled in the course of negotiations between the two countries on establishing diplomatic relations. The two sides held differing positions, and the Chinese side stated that it would raise the issue again following normalization. Recognizing that this issue would seriously hamper the development of United States-China relations, they have held further discussions on it, during and since the meetings between President Ronald Reagan and Premier Zhao Ziyang and between Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua in October 1981.

(3) Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs constitute the fundamental principles guiding United States-China relations. These principles were confirmed in the Shanghai Communique of February 28, 1972 and reaffirmed in the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations which came into effect on January 1, 1979. Both sides emphatically state that these principles continue to govern all aspects of their relations.

(4) The Chinese Government reiterates that the question of Taiwan is China's internal affair. The Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued by China on January 1, 1979, promulgated a fundamental policy of striving for peaceful reunification of the motherland. The Nine-Point Proposal put forward by China on September 30, 1981 represented a further major effort under this fundamental policy to strive for a peaceful solution to the Taiwan question.

(5) The United States Government attaches great importance to its relations with China, and reiterates that it has no intention of infringing on Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity, or interfering in China's internal affairs, or pursuing a policy of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." The United States Government understands and appreciates the Chinese policy of striving for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question as indicated in China's Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued on January 1, 1979 and the Nine-Proposal put forward by China on September 30, 1981. The new situation which has emerged with regard to the Taiwan question also provides favorable conditions for the settlement of United States-China differences over United States arms sales to Taiwan.

(6) Having in mind the foregoing statements of both sides, the United States Government states that it does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and that it intends gradually to reduce its sales of arms to Taiwan, leading, over a

period of time, to a final resolution. In so stating, the United States acknowledges China's consistent position regarding the thorough settlement of this issue.

(7) In order to bring about, over a period of time, a final settlement of the question of United States arms sales to Taiwan, which is an issue rooted in history, the two Governments will make every effort to adopt measures and create conditions conducive to the thorough settlement of this issue.

(8) The development of United States-China relations is not only in the interests of the two peoples but also conducive to peace and stability in the world. The two sides are determined, on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, to strengthen their ties in the economic, cultural, educational, scientific, technological and other fields and make strong joint efforts for the continued development of relations between the Governments and peoples of the United States and China.

(9) In order to bring about the healthy development of United States-China relations, maintain world peace and oppose aggression and expansion, the two Government reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communique and the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations. The two sides will maintain contact and hold appropriate consultations on bilateral and international issues of common interest.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ANNOUNCEMENT

May 26, 1994

Good afternoon. Today I would like to announce a series of important decisions regarding the United States' policy toward China.

Our relationship with China is important to all Americans. We have significant interests in what happens there and what happens between us. China has an atomic arsenal and a vote and a veto in the UN Security Council. It is a major factor in Asian and global security. We share important interests, such as in a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula and in sustaining the global environment. China is also the world's fastest-growing economy. Over $8 billion of United States' exports to China last year supported over 150,000 American jobs.

I have received Secretary Christopher's letter recommending, as required by last year's executive order, reporting to me on the conditions in that executive order. He has reached a conclusion with which I agree, that the Chinese did not achieve overall significant progress in all the areas outlined in the executive order relating to human rights, even though clearly there was progress made in important areas, including the resolution of all emigration cases, the establishment of a memorandum of understanding with regard to how prison labor issues would be resolved, the adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other issues. Nevertheless, serious human rights abuses continue in China, including the arrest and detention of those who peacefully voice their opinions and the repression of Tibet's religious and cultural traditions.

The question for us now is, given the fact that there has been some progress but that not all the requirements of the executive order were met, how can we best advance the cause of human rights and the other profound interests the United States has in our relationship with China.

I have decided that the United States should renew Most-Favored-Nation trading status toward China. This decision, I believe, offers us the best opportunity to lay the basis for long-term sustainable progress in human rights and for the advancement of our other interests with China. Extending MFN will avoid isolating China and instead will permit us to engage the Chinese with not only economic contacts but with cultural, educational, and other contacts, and with a continuing aggressive effort in human rights—an approach that I believe will make it more likely that China will play a responsible role, both at home and abroad.

I am moving, therefore, to delink human rights from the annual extension of Most-Favored-Nation trading status for China. That linkage has been constructive during the past year. But I believe, based on our aggressive contacts with the Chinese in the past several months, that we have reached the end of the usefulness of that policy, and it is time to take a new path toward the achievement of our constant objectives. We need to place our relationship into a larger and more productive framework.

In view of the continuing human rights abuses, I am extending the sanctions imposed by the United States as a result of the events in Tiananmen Square, and I am also banning the import of munitions, principally guns and ammunition, from China. I am also pursuing a new and vigorous American program to support those in China working to advance the cause of human rights and democracy.

This program will include increased broadcasts for Radio Free Asia and the Voice of America, increased support for nongovernmental organizations working on human rights in China, and the development, with American business leaders, of a voluntary set of principles for business activity in China. I don't want to be misunderstood about this. China continues to commit very serious human rights abuses. Even as we engage the Chinese on military, political, and economic issues, we intend to stay engaged with those in China who suffer from human rights abuses. The United States must remain a champion of their liberties.

I believe the question, therefore, is not whether we continue to support human rights in China but how we can best support human rights in China and advance our other very significant issues and interests. I believe we can do it by engaging the Chinese. I believe the course I have chosen gives us the best chance of success on all fronts. We will have more contacts. We will have more trade. We will have more international cooperation. We will have more intense and constant dialogue on human rights issues. We will have that in an atmosphere which gives us the chance to see China evolve as a responsible power, ever-growing not only economically, but growing in political maturity so that human rights can be observed.

To those who argue that in view of China's human rights abuses we should revoke MFN status, let me ask you the same question that I have asked myself over and over these last few weeks as I have studied this issue and consulted people of both parties who have had experience with China over many decades. Will we do more to advance the cause of human rights if China is isolated, or if our nations are engaged in a growing web of political and economic cooperation and contacts? I am persuaded that the best path for advancing freedom in China is for the United States to intensify and broaden its engagement with that nation.

I think we have to see our relations with China within the broader context of our policies in the Asian Pacific region. A region that, after all, includes our own nation. This week, we've seen encouraging developments, progress on resolving trade frictions with the Japanese, and possible progress towards stopping North Korea's nuclear program.

I am determined to see that we maintain an active role in this region, in both its dynamic economic growth, and in its security. In three decades and three wars during this century, Americans have fought and died in the Asian Pacific to advance our ideals and our security. Our destiny demands that we continue to play an active role in the region. The actions I have taken today to advance our security, to advance our prosperity, to advance our ideals, I believe are the important and appropriate ones. I believe, in other words, this is in the strategic, economic, and political interests of both the United States and China, and I am confident that over the long run this decision will prove to be the correct one. ▭

Source: NBR Analysis: MFN Status, Human Rights, and U.S.-China Relations, Volume 5, No. 1, July 1994, pp. 35-36.

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COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF PREMODERN CHINA AND THE WEST

CHINA	WESTERN AND OTHER CIVILIZATIONS
PRIMITIVE SOCIETY (C. 600,000-4,000 B.C.)	
Lantian Man (C. 600,000 B.C.)	
	Neanderthal Man (C. 200,000 B.C.)
	Domesticated Animals (C.9000-7500 B.C.)
	Pottery and farming in Mesopotamia (7000-6000 B.C.)
Agriculture (C. 2700 B.C.)	Writing, wheeled vehicles, pottery wheel, sailboat, animal-drawn plough in Sumeria (C.3300 B.C.)
Pottery	
XIA DYNASTY (C. 2205-1766 B.C.)	
Domestication of animals	Great Pyramids
Silk	
SHANG DYNASTY (C. 1766-1122 B.C.)	Stonehenge (C.2000-1400 B.C.)
Trade, cowrie shells as medium of exchange	
White incised pottery	
Carved ivory and jade	
Bronze vessels and weapons	Hammurabi (C.1750 B.C.)
Written language	Aryan invasions, the Vedas (C. 1500-1000 B.C.)
Ancestor worship	Syrian alphabet (C.1500 B.C.)
ZHOU DYNASTY (C. 1122-249 B.C.)	Beginning of the Iron Age (C.1200 B.C.)
Spring and Autumn Period (770-481 B.C.)	
	King Solomon (C. 950 B.C.)
Iron Age (C. 500 B.C.)	
Metallic coins	Homer (8th Cent. B.C.[?])
Warring States Period (463-221 B.C.)	Rome founded (753 B.C.[?])
	Buddha (C. 560-480 B.C.)
Rise of merchant class, growth of cities	Pythagoras (C. 525 B.C.)

Philosophy:
  Confucius (C. 551-479 B.C.)
  Lao Tzu (5th Cent. B.C.[?])
Mencius (C.386-312 B.C.)
  Chuang Tzu
    (4th Cent. B.C.[?])

QIN DYNASTY (221-207 B.C.)
Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi
Standardization of weights
  and measures
Large irrigation projects
Great Wall begun

HAN DYNASTY (207 B.C.-A.D. 220)
Conquest of Korea
Alchemy
Invention of the Compass
Paper
Introduction of Buddhism
Civil service examinations
Five Classics

THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD(A.D. 220-265)
Decline of Confucianism —
Rise of Taoism and Buddhism

JIN DYNASTY (265-420)
Barbarian invasions from the North

SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN
  DYNASTIES (386-581)
Unstable period, —
  numerous kingdoms

SUI DYNASTY (590-618)
Construction of the Grand Canal
Block printing

TANG DYNASTY (618-907)
Conquest of central Asia and Korea
Cultural flowering: dance, music,3-colored pottery;
  poets Li Bo and Du Fu
Gunpowder

Philosophy:
  Aristotle (C. 384-322 B.C.)
Alexander the Great
  (336-323 B.C.)
Hannibal crosses the Alps
  (218 B.C.)

Roman aqueducts (C. 145 B.C.)
Julius Caeser (C. 104-44 B.C.)
Glass blowing (C. 55 B.C.)
Jesus Christ (24 B.C.-A.D. 30)
Second destruction of the
  Temple of Jerusalem (A.D. 70)
Destruction of Pompeii
  (A.D.79)

Partition of Roman Empire (285)
Visigoths sack Rome (400)

Barbarians overrun West (C.440)
Justinians code of law (334)
Silkworms brought to West (532)
Mohammed (570-632)

Byzantine, Persian, and Arab
  civilizations peak (C.600)

Arab invasions of Egypt, Spain, and
Indus Valley (636-711)
Spread of Buddhism to Nepal and
  Tibet (700-800)
Charlemagne (768-814)

FIVE DYNASTIES (907-960)
Warlordism
Footbinding
Printing of Confucian classics

SONG DYNASTY (960-1279)
Painting, pottery advance
Paper Currency
Movable type
Neo-Confucianism

YUAN (MONGOL) DYNASTY (1271-1368)
Genghis and Kublai Khan
Marco Polo
Extensive road construction
Flowering of classical opera and drama
Blue-and-white porcelain

MING DYNASTY (1386-1644)
Commercial expansion
Jesuit Missionaries
Finest porcelain

QING (MANCHU) DYNASTY (1644-1911)

Opium War (1840)
Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864)
Introduction of industry and railroads
Impact of Western culture, christianity

Leif Erikson (1000)
Normans conquer England (1066)
Crusades (1095-1270)
Paper manufactured in Europe (C.1150)
Magna Carta (1215)
Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)
Papacy moves to Avingnon (1308)
Gunpowder introduced to Europe (1313)
Dante (1265-1321)
Hundred Years War (1337)
Outbreak of the Black Death (1347)

Printing in Europe (1400)
Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)
Columbus discovers America (1492)
Vasco DaGama finds Cape of Good Hope-route to India (1498)
British defeat Spanish Armada (1588)

Isaac Newton (1642-1727)
American Revolution (1776-1781)
Napoleonic Wars (1804-1814)

Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto (1848)
Invention of the Telephone (1878)

ARTICLES.

■ TWILIGHT OF THE TITAN

China—the End of an Era

ORVILLE SCHELL

If he does not die in the next few weeks, Deng Xiaoping will turn 91 this August. While he is reported to be so infirm that he can hardly move on his own, the country over which he has presided since returning to power in the late 1970s is very much alive. In fact, winging toward China these days, one has the feeling of approaching a nuclear reactor that is operating over capacity and approaching meltdown. Indeed, flying over Beijing or Shanghai, all that one can usually see is an ominous penumbra of smog emanating from the industrial boom that has gripped this mutant People's Republic since 1992, when Deng gave his people permission to forget politics and focus on getting rich.

I.

Once one is on the ground, the feeling of being in a field of uncontained energy is only heightened. Driving in from the Shanghai airport is like being in one of those American children's workbooks in the thirties that boastfully limned futuristic landscapes filled with belching smokestacks, trains barreling down tracks toward distant horizons, planes zooming overhead and freeways coursing through thickets of skyscrapers. For anyone who knew time-warped China before its bizarre post-Mao metamorphosis began, the country today is an endless series of jolting surprises. Streets are clogged with traffic. There is construction everywhere. Indoor malls with glittering new department stores surge with customers for whom shopping is rapidly becoming the recreational pastime of choice. At night, restaurants are packed with China's new urban middle class raucously eating, drinking and chainsmoking until the air inside turns gray. Outside, the lights from all these restaurants, *karaoke* bars, discos, nightclubs, dance halls and flashing billboards irradiate the polluted darkness with glowing neon until well past midnight.

Nowhere has more money been made than in real estate, a supreme irony given the fact that after "liberation" in 1949 almost all the property now being sold was expropriated by the state from private owners. Now, however, local officials are selling it back again and in the process creating a new class of socialist millionaires and even billionaires, a wealth through which they themselves find nefarious ways to enrich themselves as deals come down. During the past three years Shanghai officials alone have put the land rights of some 600 parcels of land (each approximately the size of a New York City block) on the market. The 520-square-kilometer Pudong Special Zone, which is rising on the east side of the Huangpu River, is an urban development project whose scale is unmatched in world history. As far as the eye can see, there are nothing but crane-topped highrise office and apartment buildings under construction. Already Shanghai boasts Asia's tallest TV tower, one of its biggest and most modern department stores and its newest stock market. In the planning stage is its largest airport. Along the Bund on the west side of the river things are also moving at breathtaking speed. Where the headquarters of Western banks and multinational corporations clustered during the first half of this century, thirty-seven of the city's grandest deco buildings have now been put up for commercial auction. Among those bidding tens of millions of dollars are some of the very foreign firms from which these buildings were originally confiscated. Usually, however, developers simply wreck old edifices and use the land for new and more cost-effective highrise construction. People returning to the city after even a short absence find that houses of friends and relatives, indeed whole neighborhoods, have vanished.

Mao's 'put politics in command' has given way to money-making and hedonism.

Shanghai's People's Square was a Stalinist Platz built in the fifties on the site of what had been the British-run Shanghai Race Club's horse track. The reviewing stands, from which party bigwigs once watched parades of goose-stepping P.L.A. soldiers and phalanxes of marching youths producing totemic images of the revolution like socialist pompom girls at a football stadium, have disappeared. In their stead, a modern office building for the city government has arisen. On the opposite side of the square stands another new construction, which looks something like an ultramodern washing machine, the Museum of Art and History. But it is the parade ground in between where one really feels how China has changed. Its vast emptiness has been torn up and redone—transformed into a neo-Italianate piazza decorated with four enormous metal urns that look as if they have been expropriated from the stage set of an old Victor Mature epic. Courtesy of the party, each afternoon pop music begins to pour out of speakers hidden in these giant urns. As if none of them had been locked up during the Cultural Revolution for their bourgeois habits, flocks of senior citizens materialize and, dressed in long underwear and baggy Mao suits, begin rumba-ing, jitterbugging, tangoing and twisting away as crowds of intrigued gawkers, even some policemen, stare in wonder. One old man was even giving lessons (for a fee, to be sure) to dance-crazed middle-agers whose revolutionarily blighted lives had deprived them of a chance to learn how to shake, rattle and roll.

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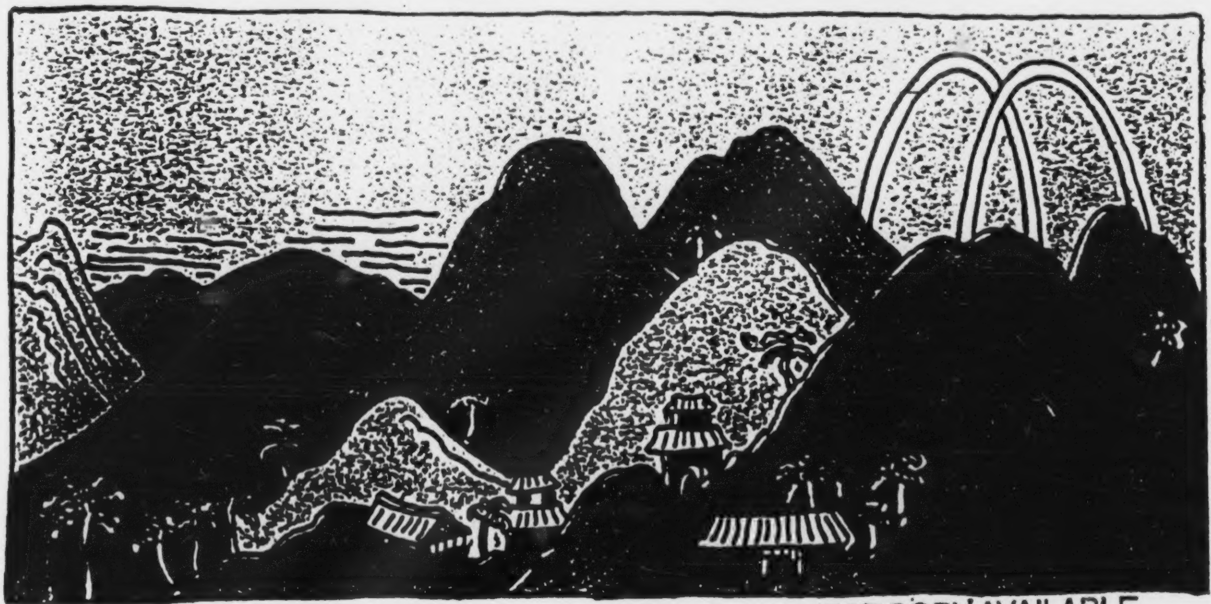
A walk down Beijing's new "miracle mile" from Tiananmen Square to Jianguomenwai is no less disorienting. Although Mao's famous portrait still hangs on Tiananmen Gate, and the Monument to the Martyrs of the People still stands in front of his mausoleum, things have radically changed. In fact, Mao's most dire fears of revolutionary sellout have come to pass. As he told Edgar Snow in 1965, Mao worried that future generations might "negate the revolution . . . ; make peace with imperialism; bring the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique back to the Mainland and take a stand beside the small percentage of counterrevolutionaries still in the country." Indeed, just behind Mao's mausoleum, as well as on top of Tiananmen Gate, there are now a number of tacky souvenir stands filled with Mao pocket watches, Mao chopsticks, Mao sun-visors, Mao thermometers, Mao pendants and other Mao kitsch.

At the five-star Grand Hotel Beijing, just down the Avenue of Eternal Peace, there is a completely different new ambience. A chamber-music group plays Mozart divertimenti and Strauss waltzes in a swank upstairs restaurant where entrepreneurs in double-breasted suits make deals over cellular flip-phones. A little farther along the avenue the unmistakably American aroma of burgers and fries wafts from the world's highest-volume McDonald's outlet, which sits astride an intersection where protesters were gunned down by the P.L.A. on June 4, 1989.

One could not have guessed from the size of the crowds inside this spanking-new McDonald's that it and the surrounding neighborhood are both slated to be turned into a new commercial and residential development, the $2.1 billion Oriental Plaza, funded by Hong Kong mega-magnate Li Ka-shing along with Goldman Sachs. So lucrative was the new deal on this prime piece of real estate that Beijing officials insouciantly ripped up the fast-food giant's twenty-year lease, forced thousands of residents from their homes and then approved the plaza's building permit even though it violated height restrictions just passed by the National People's Congress. (In the words of Liang Congjie, a preservationist critic fighting to stop the colossal project, "The plaza will make the Forbidden City look like a toy town in comparison.") The cavalier way in which the McDonald's contract was abrogated provided stark evidence to overseas investors eager to break into the country's market of how poorly rooted the rule of law still is in China.

Nowhere is the change gripping this city more obvious than in the half-square-mile area between the Beijing train station and the old imperial observatory. For centuries, this district was part of a maze of *hutong* (alleys) that veined Beijing. Sequestered from the outside world behind high walls and closed gates, the traditional-style *siheyuan* (courtyard houses) that honeycombed these alleys helped give the city much of its distinctive feel. Even after the houses fell into ruin during the Mao era, there was still something about leaving the hurly-burly of the city and entering their labyrinthine universe that was unlike any other urban experience in the world. When walking nearby, in the past I frequently found myself taking detours through these *hutong* just to enjoy the refuge they afforded from the noise and car exhaust of Beijing's charmless boulevards. It is indicative of Deng's own traditionalism that instead of living in the grandeur of the Zhongnanhai leadership compound next to the Forbidden City he too chose to live in a *hutong*. However, on a recent walk from the train station, I was stunned to find not only that this neighborhood had been obliterated but that colossal new office buildings and shopping malls have already erupted out of the rubble.

In this erstwhile Maoist redoubt where once all good comrades "put politics in command," they now wave off mention of anything political as if it were an offensive odor, the better to get back to making money and enjoying themselves. Even government officials and state-employed professionals are looking for ways to *xiahai* (jump into the ocean of commerce). China's reawakening to the profit motive has all the madcap



ILLUSTRATIONS BY SEYMOUR CHWAST

energy of adolescents discovering their sexuality. In the past year, the number of private businesses in China has increased by more than a third. Doctors at state-run hospitals moonlight in private clinics doing everything from treating venereal diseases to performing cosmetic surgery (including sex-change operations). Low-paid teachers are defecting to new private schools. State-run research institutes are clamoring to set up labs, commercial think tanks and consulting services. Even the bureaus of Culture and Religious Affairs are busy *xiahai*-ing, converting their real estate—even parts of museums and churches—into money-making furniture showrooms, video parlors, cabarets and pool halls. In Shanghai, officials from the Bureau of Religious Affairs have even rented out the Mission Russian Orthodox Church to a stock-brokerage firm and a disco.

Everyone is looking for a way to get rich lest this bubble of opportunity suddenly burst. Nowhere is the obsession with private wealth and materialism more vividly illustrated than in China's new, officially sanctioned love affair with the automobile. Since 1949, autos have been reserved for high-ranking party cadres and official business. Last year, however, the government designated automobile manufacturing a "pillar industry" and approved plans not only to create a low-cost "family mini-car" but to develop ways to make bank loans and installment-payment plans available so that more Chinese can become car owners. Such grand plans have created a sense of urgency approaching panic among foreign car manufacturers hungrily eying China as the next century's great untapped market. Never mind the fact that there are few roads and less parking, and that China's cities are already suffocating in exhaust from gasoline that is still leaded.

'Seek Enjoyment'

China, which for so many years sternly commanded its people under penalty of persecution to sacrifice for the future, has now been reborn as an epicenter of a new Asian hedonism. Nowhere is this hedonistic urge to *zhaole* (seek enjoyment) more starkly manifest than in the fixation of Chinese on pop culture, particularly music and dancing. Not only are senior citizens dancing away their golden years in public plazas but China's youth have become slavishly devoted to disco and Karaoke Kultur. New York, one of Shanghai's newest and most luxurious nightspots, ensconced in an old 1930s theater, features svelte young female ticket-takers in garbage-bag plastic dresses or miniskirts. Most of its habitués are dressed to kill. Young men favor double-breasted suits accessorized with beepers and flip-phones holstered at their sides, and young women are coiffed, made up and turned out in clothing that puts most American youths to shame. Once such a fixation on the self would have guaranteed a one-way ticket to the gulag; now narcissism is flaunted with ostentatious abandon as the hallmark of success. No one bats an eye when film star Chen Chong, known as Joan Chen in Hollywood, "launches" a new perfume line called "Little Flower" after her very first screen role. In fact, "on assignment" at her press conference at the Shanghai Mansions were reporters from none other than the *People's Daily* (the Communist Party's main propaganda organ) and *Liberation Daily* (mouthpiece of the Shanghai Municipal Communist Party).

From the inside of other famous Shanghai nightspots such as the Casablanca, J.J.'s and the Shanghai Moon Club, which have financial backing from the Chinese military and public security establishments, one feels as if one is back in the twenties and thirties, when taxi girls and prostitutes made Shanghai "an adventurer's paradise." Once again, young women sashay each night into the city's clubs to dance and feed their expensive habits in clothes, cosmetics and consumer goods by selling their bodies to wealthy local millionaires and overseas businessmen. Many of the latter no longer troll nightclubs for sex, but keep a "second wife" in an apartment or hotel room for the sake of convenience.

The dizzying succession of contrary "correct lines" that has presaged these changes has made it almost impossible for Chinese to imbue their past with any coherence. The result has been a tendency to want to escape from history. So resistant are most people to recalling where they as a society have been and where they are going that it often seems as if their present fever to produce and consume is as much a quest for an anesthetic to numb the reflective impulse as an urge to make up for lost time. Finding themselves caught between the catastrophe of Mao's revolution and the uncertainty of Deng's ongoing "counterrevolution" (as some wags call it), they have responded not with an effort to understand how they have arrived at this state of precarious ambiguity but with a wave of national amnesia. Ever fearful of interpretations that might undermine its infallibility and authority, the party has, of course, aided this mass forgetting by putting much of the past out of bounds. At the same time, uncertainty about what tomorrow holds and a widely held feeling of powerlessness to affect the political course of events has caused most Chinese to avoid thinking about the future, much less doing anything to try to influence it. Despite the fact that Deng has been grandly dubbed the "general architect" of China's evolving society, even his own conception of China's future has been strikingly vague. "We are crossing the river by feeling our way over the stones," he has proclaimed with some bravado.

Such ahistoricism is, of course, a great paradox for a people who have been traditionally so enamored of their past and the way their millennia of uninterrupted culture have conferred both a sense of gravity to the present and continuity to the future. For the moment, the excitement of the marketplace and of being able to indulge in purely recreational activities has created a Chinese version of *carpe diem.* The haze that envelops and blurs so much of the urban landscape is an all too apt metaphor for the reluctance of this society and its government to reflect lucidly on where it has come from, much less where it is headed.

II.

One does not have to be in China long to become aware that beneath the surface of this frenzy of commerce and self-indulgence another drama is being played out. This involves a shadowy power struggle by party rivals who know they do not have much time now before 90-year-old Deng "goes to meet Marx" [see Jonathan Mirsky, "It's Purge Time in Beijing," June 19]. The recognition that soon China will no longer have a "big leader" at the helm to steady its often erratic course creates a dissonant background hum behind the economic miracle that is unsettling to anyone who allows himself to hear it. As dissident astrophysicist Fang Lizhi recently warned, "We must remember that the most typical source of chaos in a monolithic, totalitarian state is the power struggle among top leaders for succession. It is a dangerous game without regulation." It is the virtual inevitability that such a struggle will take place sometime after Deng dies that makes efforts to ignore the future so futile.

"He's just like a candle burned down to the last little stub so that any small breeze can snuff him out," a friend in Beijing who is an intimate of one of Deng's doctors recently told me. "There's no telling how long they can keep those old guys going on Chinese herbs and breathing machines. What's important is to be able to say that a leader is technically still alive to avoid a scramble for power."

Gossip about Deng's health and rumors of his imminent demise have been sweeping the capital for months and causing manic fears for China's stability. The last time he was seen in public was during the 1994 Chinese New Year, when Central Chinese Television (CCTV) showed him on tape for a few minutes. Chinese political spin doctors probably hoped that by simply producing Deng's live remains they would allay fears that his reign was nearing an end. What appeared on the screen, however, was not so reassuring. Viewers saw a palsied old man staring blankly off into space, doddering forward between two supporting aides. Of course, when he failed to make even a cameo appearance this past New Year, people took it as an even worse sign. Last fall, just as the *People's Daily* was trumpeting that "our Party has already victoriously completed the transfer of power to the current President and Party chief Jiang Zemin," more hearsay about Deng's poor health sent the Shanghai Securities Exchange plummeting some 40 percent. When a Foreign Ministry spokesman insisted that Deng was fine, the volatile exchange shot up 36 percent. But then, when Hong Kong papers reported Deng in a coma this January, the Hang Seng Index took a similar dive.

'Although Mao unified China, history will hold Deng up to be every bit as great.'

After surviving almost a century of Chinese history, Deng is now very deaf and variously said to be suffering from Parkinson's disease, kidney failure, the effects of several strokes and/or prostate, pancreatic and testicular cancer. He is currently believed to be lying barely conscious in Military Hospital 301. By using his enormous personal prestige as a leader, Deng has been able to balance different interests and factions against one another and thus avoid major breakdown at the top. So important has Deng's role been in maintaining the status quo that many would welcome almost any subterfuge delaying the day when the leadership has to reconfigure itself. There have even been rumors that if he dies at a particularly sensitive political moment, "relevant authorities" might withhold news of his death until a more propitious time. When Deng's main rival, the 90-year-old Chen Yun, died this April, it took authorities almost two days to make an announcement.

The Mystique of Power

Deng's success as a "big leader" has grown out of his long tenure as a veteran revolutionary, which included a stint in the Shanghai underground during the twenties, the Long March in the thirties and his role as a military commander in the Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek in the forties. More recently, his mass appeal was reinforced by his practical bent. When in 1978 he proclaimed, "Our motto is 'Less talk, more action,'" he summed up the essence of his pragmatism. But even in the early sixties he was dropping such adages as, "Black cat, white cat, it's a good cat as long as it catches mice." After twice being deposed by Mao for such heretical sentiments, he finally returned to power in 1978. "Not only did he start the reform process in 1979, [he] restarted it in 1992, thereby irrevocably changing the whole direction of China," reminds Larry Lau, a Stanford economist. "Although Mao unified China, I think history will hold Deng up to be every bit as great."

Deng's effectiveness has also borrowed heavily from the tradition of bygone emperors who relied on detachment and seclusion to spin a mystique of power around their rule. Like

Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*, Deng has ruled by the three powers of miracle, mystery and authority. When a Foreign Ministry spokesman was recently asked at a press briefing how and where Deng was, the answer was characteristically enigmatic: "Mr. Deng Xiaoping is wherever he is."

Unlike Mao, Deng has steadfastly eschewed the titles of premier, president, or party general secretary. When he visited the United States in 1979 to normalize relations, he was just a lowly vice premier. In fact, since 1993, when he gave up his position as chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission, Deng's only title has been president of the All-China Bridge Association. "Shunning grandiose titles only lent him a greater air of mystery and invincibility," writes M.I.T. political scientist Lucien Pye. "People were thus free to imagine him as being truly omnipotent, far more in command than if his powers were only those assigned to a particular position or job." Since Deng's authority had such an insubstantial institutional basis, foreign journalists were left scratching their heads for a shorthand way to convey the eminence of this man who ran China's politics from behind the scenes. They finally settled on the suitably vague but evocative "China's paramount leader."

If ruling ex officio has served Deng admirably, it has served his country less well. By allowing so much authority to reside in the hands of an uncrowned and unelected patriarch, institutional and legal structures were never able to come into their own. But what Deng wanted for China was not political democracy but the dream of nineteenth-century reformers: *fuqiang* (wealth and power). By holding the reform of China's political system hostage to his own whim even as he spurred the country to new heights of economic development, Deng has kept his country in a state of arrested political development. Moreover, with him alive, other party leaders have remained fearful of making major decisions that might prove a liability to them in the post-Deng scramble for power.

Struggling to Succeed

Deng's current anointed successor is Jiang Zemin, a 69-year-old electrical engineer who was sent to the Soviet Union as a student in the fifties and became the mayor and party chief of Shanghai in the eighties. Jiang's problem is not that he is actively disliked but that ordinary people don't really care about him. Viewing him as belonging to the "wind faction," which blows without conviction according to the prevailing political breezes, they treated his enthronement the way employees of a family-owned company might acquiesce in the appointment of the boss's lackluster son as C.E.O. To compensate for his deficit of political magnetism, Deng got Jiang appointed to an embarrassing abundance of official posts. Currently, he is party general secretary, president, Politburo member, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, chairman of the Central Military Commission, head of the Central Financial and Economic Group and head of the Central Taiwan Work Group, just to name a few. As the "core" of the party's central leadership, allies have also tried to fan to flame a mini-cult of personality by, among other things, releasing a painted poster bearing the inscription "Glad and at Ease" that shows an avuncular Jiang standing solicitously behind Deng.

Such efforts, however, are dubiously effective. In China, what is important for a leader is not simply his position and titles but how others assess the clout of his *guanxi* (network of personal relationships) through which political business is really transacted. While it is true that Jiang's "Shanghai clique" has become increasingly powerful on the Politburo, what he lacks are the strong ties to the military that Deng forged over half a century of soldiering. So it came as no surprise when Jiang recently launched his "Thousand Generals Program" and began pinning medals on a newly promoted crop of young Army officers and installing loyalists in the upper ranks of the 800,000-strong People's Armed Police, the national police force that was hastily beefed up after 1989. As Mao learned after the Cultural Revolution and Deng learned in 1989, the military is the last line of defense for a politically besieged party leader. With the central party's discipline failing and regionalization of the country advancing due to the power of booming local economies, the military is one of the last national institutions that remains intact, and it could end up as the key arbiter in any post-Deng power struggle.

Even in the military, however, the situation is in flux. Although Jiang tirelessly emphasizes the need to "uphold the party's absolute leadership over the army," with military units also becoming ever more deeply involved in commerce (through investments in commercial projects such as hotels, nightclubs, arms trading and even in companies pirating foreign CDs and computer programs), it is harder than ever to predict whether, despite the frequency with which they are rotated, regional commanders will be loyal to the party if political push once again comes to shove.

While the party likes to speak of its central leadership as if it were a coherent structure with Jiang Zemin at its core, it is actually composed of a nebulous welter of rival factions that serve as a chaotic substitute for political parties. Each faction has its putative leaders whose political differences tend to center around their differing views on the pace of reform and the degree to which the party should relax ideological and social controls. Those who view further opening up to the outside world and continued economic liberalization as essential to China's development are generally referred to as "reformers," while leaders who are more ideological and unwilling to see China drift too far from its revolutionary moorings are referred to as "hard-liners." The hard-liners, who tend to view many of Deng's economic reforms as a betrayal of Mao's revolution, have lost influence over the past decade and a half. Nonetheless, they continue to exert real power within the party and the army, especially during times of uncertainty or incipient crisis, when they are not averse to exploiting patriotic sentiment, even to inciting xenophobia, to gain mass support.

Every tea-leaf reader in China is, of course, trying to figure out who will inherit the mantle of leadership after Deng's death. It is a measure of how uncertain things are that "China experts" have no consensus about how the cards of leadership will ultimately get reshuffled. If Jiang Zemin fails to hang on, the enigmatic National People's Congress president, Qiao Shi—who is being touted by some observers as a closet liberal, although his elusive political predilections make him seem more a Chinese Colin Powell than anything else—could pick up the reins. Then again, if there is an economic crisis, the heirs of Chen Yun's hard-line legacy may be able to regain substantial influence, as they did after the Tiananmen uprising. Or if the political jousting really begins to threaten the status quo, the military will perhaps be provoked into staging a countercoup under 88-year-old former general, president and Deng ally Yang Shangkun. If the whole situation really begins to unravel and if pressure to reverse the verdict on the 1989 protest movement mounts, it is even possible that Zhao Ziyang, the 77-year-old former premier and party chief (still under modified house arrest for his pro-student position in 1989) could be summoned back to head a caretaker government.

Not to be forgotten in any post-Deng power struggle are the so-called *taizidang* (prince faction), who have parlayed their privileged positions as children of high-ranking party leaders into fortunes stashed in foreign bank accounts and into behind-the-scenes political power. Some are even said to have lofted rumors about Deng's poor health just to send the stock market into a tailspin so they could capitalize by buying low and then selling high when, a few days later, their rumors were officially denied and the market rebounded. The backbone of a new crypto-capitalist authoritarianism, the *taizidang* are united only by their unwillingness to see the status quo and their privileged positions disturbed. Deng's own daughter Deng Rong, who came to New York this past March to promote her book *Deng Xiaoping: My Father* and attend a series of international coming-out parties in her honor hosted by the likes of Alexander Haig and Rupert Murdoch, is perhaps the most internationally visible representative of this wealthy and powerful group.

Nothing illustrates the politically unpredictable nature of things better than two recent votes in the National People's Congress, which has usually acted as a rubber stamp for decisions already handed down by key leaders. First, over a third of the delegates refused to vote for Jiang Chunyun, a newly designated vice premier who was supported by Jiang Zemin despite evidence of massive corruption in Shandong Province when he was governor there. Several days later, the Congress again reasserted itself when 661 delegates defiantly refused to vote for a new education law and almost a third of them failed to support a new banking law. These were such unexpected signs of life in the Congress that the *Beijing Youth Daily* facetiously compared them to a Chinese scientist's recent discovery of DNA traces in a 65-million-year-old dinosaur egg.

To cap off the unprecedented week, N.P.C. vice chairman Tian Jiyun proclaimed to delegates from Guangdong Province that "comrades serving the N.P.C. have not been courageous enough. They have been afraid of offending other people." Then, president Qiao Shi seemed to expand the boundaries of permissible political dialogue with a closing speech that attacked "lawless government cadres" and insisted that China could only consider itself truly modernized when it was ruled by law rather than by personality. In another telling statement, he also declared that the N.P.C., because its power derived from the 1982 Constitution, should be viewed as a "primary" rather than "secondary" government institution.

Industrial Dinosaurs

Whether this trend toward greater parliamentarian independence continues or not, the terms of the political leadership game in China could radically change when the last titans of the revolution die. At the very least, it is doubtful that any successor will be able to write his will so grandly on China's history. Instead of shaping history, Mao and Deng's successors seem destined to be shaped by it and by the grave problems that have been ineluctably arising as a result of economic reform.

Perhaps the most refractory problem China faces is the more than 100,000 state-owned enterprises (S.O.E.s), two-thirds of which fail to turn a profit. Despite the fact that their losses amount to between 2.4 and 5.3 percent of the gross domestic product and necessitate huge government subsidies (draining around 70 percent of state investment funds), that the output value of S.O.E.s has recently fallen below 50 percent of the country's total and that the World Bank has called them the country's "underlying structural problem," the Communist Party continues to cling to the notion of state ownership of "the means of production," especially of heavy industry. After all, if party leaders cannot claim to be implementing some kind of socialism—Deng's term of choice is "socialism with Chinese characteristics"—what rationalization do they have for continuing their authoritarian rule?

The most hopeful strategy for resolving the problem is for the state to find foreign joint-venture partners for money-losing factories. But few foreign C.E.O.s want to make matches with Chinese enterprises that are badly managed, burdened with outmoded technology, overstaffed with unproductive workers who cannot be fired for incompetence and weighed down by large rolls of retirees on pension. The alternative is to activate the bankruptcy law that has been on the books, although largely unused, since 1986. However, party officials are loath to strip members of the proletariat of their jobs, housing, health care benefits and pensions not simply because such actions would appear brazenly un-Communist but because they fear what is known as the "Polish disease": the convergence of labor unrest with growing dissatisfaction among dissident intellectuals that could lead to a Solidarity-type protest movement. Last June the official *Market News* admitted that in 1993 alone there had been 12,358 significant labor disputes between factories and workers, many of whom have been fired or *xiagang*ed (put on partial salary).

So desperate have some Chinese officials become to relieve their ministries of the burden of failing S.O.E.s that they have sometimes ignored the niceties of the party's ideological commitment to state ownership. Last September, for example, the vice minister of the State Economic and Trade Commission went so far as to urge some local cadres to simply cut off supplies of power and raw materials to S.O.E.s that did not shape up and become self-reliant.

Masses and Classes

As a result of all the economic changes, China's once relatively stable social structure is rapidly changing. While some people are getting fabulously wealthy and creating a whole new myth of prosperity, others, especially those living on state pensions and fixed incomes, are having trouble even keeping up with an inflation rate that has been hovering around 20 percent. Party leaders vividly remember the unrest that resulted after the inflation rate rose to 19 percent in 1988. The way the country's once largely classless society has been delaminating is deeply disturbing, particularly to old revolutionaries who still remember Marx's warning in *The Communist Manifesto* about "society splitting into two great hostile camps." As early as 1993, some 4.3 million people saw their incomes skyrocket to twelve times the urban average and thirty-two times the rural average, while at the same time another 400 million people suffered a decline.

Nowhere has the income gap widened more rapidly than between the urban and backward rural areas. In 1994, annual urban income was 3,150 yuan ($373) per capita, while rural income was only 1,200Y ($142). And with the government keeping the price at which it purchases agricultural commodities artificially low, with venal local officials imposing more and more arbitrary taxes and levies, and with inflation driving up the cost of farm implements, fertilizers and insecticides, the temptation for peasants to leave for the city and become part of the *liudong renkou* (floating population) has steadily increased. Some 100 million people (almost 10 percent of the country's population) are now officially estimated to have moved from the countryside to the city in what has quietly become the largest mass migration in recent human history. As China's overall population is increasing by some 12 million a year, the amount of arable land continues to shrink because of all the new factories, industrial parks, golf courses, housing developments and highways. Experts predict that another 100-200 million peasants could easily become surplus rural laborers in the near future.

Beneath the official version of China's miracle lies a darker subtext of corruption.

Nowadays railroads are so crowded with "floaters" that lavatories and luggage racks are often occupied by passengers. The neighborhoods surrounding train and bus stations often look like urban refugee centers as thousands of new arrivals are forced to camp out there because they have nowhere else to go. At best, they end up in shantytowns and find jobs doing piecework in factories, toiling as day laborers on construction sites, serving as domestics or, if they're young and female, working in China's burgeoning sex industry, which many still find better than rural life.

While these migrants do deliver a virtually unlimited supply of cheap labor to China's dynamic coastal economy and send significant funds back home to poor rural areas, floaters have not only strained municipal services to the limit but are seriously undermining the government's ability to carry out such crucial national programs as its "one family, one child" policy. Even more worrisome to China's leaders is the rising crime rate caused by this migration. The papers are filled with crime statistics, but every now and again one comes across something that hammers home how things have broken down. A poll recently conducted by a Beijing radio station revealed that 80 percent of respondents claimed that someone in their family had had a bicycle stolen over the past year, a major crime in a society in which ordinary people are dependent on bikes for basic transportation. In large cities, floaters now account for between 40 and 80 percent of all convicted criminals.

Crime à la Mode

Lawlessness is not, of course, limited to floaters. There has been a tenfold rise in overall criminal activity since Deng's reforms began shaking up Chinese society in 1979. Hardly a day goes by that one does not read in the papers about such things as counterfeiters printing fake currency and securities; con men setting up phony banks with forged documents; syndicates kidnapping young women to sell as wives, concubines or prostitutes; pornographers with computerized production and distribution networks becoming millionaires; drug traffickers supplying domestic and world markets with heroin; weapons merchants peddling guns to gangsters; and criminal rings making fortunes selling everything from fake medicine to the blood of children, who are rounded up in the countryside and then "milked" like dairy cows. Thieves have even stolen thousands of manhole covers from the streets of Beijing for resale as scrap iron!

To make matters worse, it is increasingly difficult to distinguish police from criminals dressed up as police to fool their victims. During a recent crackdown in Henan Province, out of thirty-eight uniformed officers checked in the street, only seven turned out to be legitimate officers of the law. Moreover, many real police have become more dedicated to graft, collecting bribes and racketeering than to the suppression of crime. Officers in local bureaus of the Ministry of Public Security (China's secret police), for instance, are renowned for demanding bribes from ordinary citizens before issuing such crucial documents as passports or releasing inmates from prison. They are also widely rumored to be raking in huge payoffs from protection schemes for *karaoke* bars, nightclubs, massage parlors and brothels in cities like Shenzhen and Shanghai. They are even reported to be taking payoffs in return for giving hospitals access to organs extracted from executed prisoners for transplants [see Aryeh Neier, "Watching Rights," June 12].

Rot at the Top

Without a free press, most major instances of high-level government corruption are never exposed. Sometimes, however, an instance of official corruption on a staggering scale reveals itself. Take the case of Li Min, deputy chief of Beijing's municipal State Security Bureau, China's C.I.A. He was recently arrested for the role he and his bureau played in the bogus Xinxing Industrial Company, which, before it got busted, bilked some 3.2 billionY ($380 million) from government and private investors by promising them annual returns as high as 50 percent.

Beneath the official storybook version of China as an economic miracle lies a darker subtext of corruption permeating all levels of government and life. The situation is so bad that in 1993 Deng himself was quoted in the *People's Daily* as decrying the way China has become "dominated by corruption, embezzlement and bribery." Although the party has sponsored numerous "anti-corruption campaigns," they have focused almost exclusively on making examples of low-level officials—what the Chinese refer to as "scaring the monkey by killing the chicken." However, after a February Cabinet meeting at which Premier Li Peng warned that corruption was "a life and death" struggle in which the party could "lose the trust of the people," something unprecedented began to happen. Suddenly the anti-corruption effort began to topple some very high-ranking figures. Their fall suggested that the post-Deng power struggle had begun to break out into the open, albeit in a somewhat oblique and mysterious form.

First to fall was Zhou Beifang, who was arrested for "serious economic crimes." Zhou was chairman of Shougang Concord Holdings in Hong Kong and son of Deng's old comrade-in-arms Zhou Guanwu, who was himself chairman of the state-owned behemoth Capital Iron & Steel Works. One of Zhou the Younger's business cohorts in Hong Kong was none other than Deng's son, Deng Zhifang. Moreover, one of his main investors was Li Ka-shing, the billionaire who was also constructing the mammoth $2.1 billion Oriental Plaza in Beijing, which was slated to devour McDonald's.

It wasn't long before a secretary of Beijing Vice Mayor Zhang Baifa became enmeshed in the investigation as well, suggesting that whatever tectonic political orogeny was taking place, the shock waves were spreading. Then in early April, another Beijing Deputy Mayor, Wang Baosen, who headed the municipal planning commission, had his chauffeur drive him out toward the Great Wall to the outskirts of town, where he unceremoniously blew his brains out. Although his death received only the most cursory announcement in the New China News Agency, word quickly spread over the *xiaodao xiaoxi* (back-alley news), filling the city with rumors of shady real estate deals, including the official permission given to the Oriental Plaza despite the fact that it violated recently passed height limitations on new buildings. Soon, there was even speculation that Wang might have been murdered to protect higher-ups who were implicated in a far larger web of corrupt deals.

What all this meant and whether further accusations would follow was not completely clear. However, such unusual public manifestations of high-level intrigue suggested big maneuverings beneath the surface. In the recent past, anti-corruption drives have come and gone without disturbing the veneer of high-level unity. But this spring, Jiang, who had been building up files on his rivals' involvement in corruption, started using this information both as a political weapon and as a way to gain public support for his leadership. When hard-line Beijing party chief Chen Xitong, who had been a militant supporter of suppressing student protesters in 1989 and whose personal secretary was already under arrest, was forced to resign and was put under house arrest in late April, it began to look as if Jiang, who as mayor had avoided violence in Shanghai, was trying to project himself as being more self-assured by taking such resolute, independent and, as it turned out, popular action because it seemed to attack corruption. Some even suggested that by arresting Chen, Jiang was also trying to distance himself from the 1989 massacre in anticipation of the "verdict" on it as a "counterrevolutionary rebellion" being reversed, a hypothesis that seemed all the more plausible after he also visited the grave of Hu Yaobang, the former party leader whose death presaged the protest movement and whose career has since become a symbol of unsullied public service.

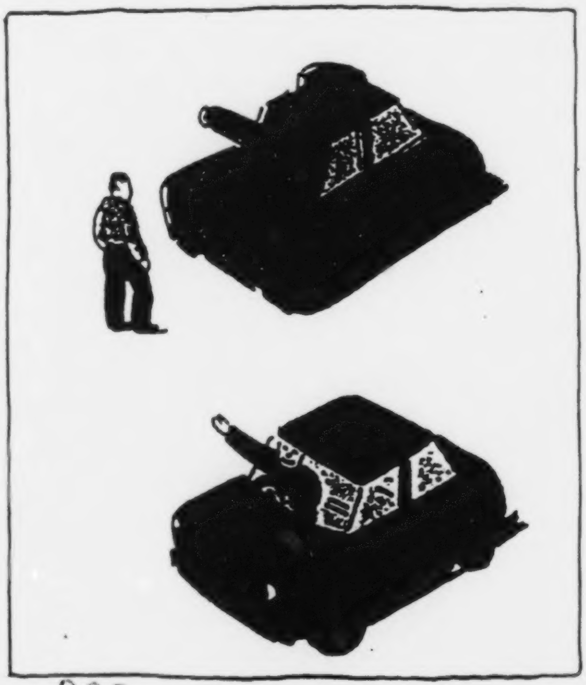
"Sure, something's happening," one Chinese friend laughingly told me. "If they arrested every corrupt official, there would be no government left." But still, something had to be done. As Fang Lizhi recently observed, "For anyone who knows China's long history of collapsed dynasties and upheavals triggered by corruption, there can be little comfort in the belief that the most pervasive corruption in our history will somehow, this time, result in enduring stability."

Marx Meets Confucius

Corruption is just the most obvious expression of a deeper malady that now grips Chinese society. Changes have come so precipitately and suddenly that few people have a sense any longer of what they believe in, whether traditional Confucian values, revolutionary Maoist values or some sort of East-West amalgam. The result is a normative vacuum in which no one seems to know what it means to be "Chinese." As the rock star Cui Jian sings on his recent album *Eggs Under the Red Flag*, "Money is fluttering in the wind. We have no ideals." A Chinese writer friend put it even more bluntly: "All that is left uniting us is greed."

To fill this void, the party Central Committee launched a propaganda campaign last October calling for a mind-numbing "great new undertaking to build a political party of Marxism which is armed with the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics; serves the people wholeheartedly; is fully consolidated ideologically, politically, and organizationally; can stand the test of all hazards; and which always advances ahead of the times." As part of this campaign, cadres from government organizations were required to spend a week at a party school studying *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*. "You don't have to listen, but you can't go to sleep either," commented a friend who works for a state trading company. "We even had to write papers, but it doesn't matter what you write because even the teachers don't bother to read them!"

At the same time the party launched a crusade to revive Confucianism. On the occasion of the sage's 2,545th birthday, last October, a conference of some 300 scholars from



twenty countries was dutifully convened. For the Communist Party to rehabilitate Confucius, whom it had formerly reviled as a degenerate apostle of China's exploitative feudal society, was an act of unsurpassed opportunism. After all, Confucius was a political philosopher who stressed the traditional virtues of rank, obedience and harmony rather than the Maoist virtues of equality, revolution and class struggle. Moreover, while Deng had proclaimed that "to get rich is glorious," Confucius had held commerce and merchants in distinctly low esteem. "It is shameful," he said, "to make gain your sole object, irrespective of whether the *dao* prevails in the state or not." This was hardly a testimonial for the kind of rapacious capitalism that Deng has unleashed. And if initiators of this revival thought the Confucian emphasis on orthodoxy, authority and social harmony might help them thwart China's dissident movement, they were ignoring another seminal tenet of this traditional doctrine, which teaches that only when leaders are benevolent and just should the people submit to their rule.

Laissez-faire economics coexist with the old Leninist political system.

Coming at a time when most people were yearning to indulge their basic capitalist urges, the attempt to raise Confucius from the dead did little more than add to the sense of cognitive dissonance. That sense was further heightened by a larger party effort to dredge up other symbols that might appeal to nationalist sentiment. This past National Day, leaders deluged the public with syrupy appeals to love the country and love the party, as if they were one and the same. At the same time the propaganda department of the Central Committee issued a document titled "Implementation Program for Patriotic Education," which ordered all schools to revise their curriculums to "make patriotic thought the principal melody of society" so that the "masses" could be bombarded at "any time, anywhere, in every aspect of their daily social life" with "the spiritual infection and uplifting influence of patriotism."

Not only have old socialist values and ideology been seriously eroded but the party and the central government, though still autocratic, have suffered a substantial loss of power due to the growing economic independence of outlying regions such as Guangdong Province (adjacent to Hong Kong), Fujian Province (across the straits from Taiwan) and the Shanghai/Yangtze River Valley area (in south-central China). Because of the strength of local industry and direct trade with the outside world, these regions have gained a new and independent spirit that was plain to see in the recent N.P.C. votes. Their independence has also tempted them to try to dodge central regulations on everything from environmental quality and management of state property to birth control and the payment of taxes. Even though centralized power is a crucial element in assuring economic stability—without it there will be no force able to exercise the macroeconomic control needed to lower inflation and cool off growth of the economy as a whole—for now the trend toward greater regionalization seems unstoppable.

Let a Thousand Flowers Die

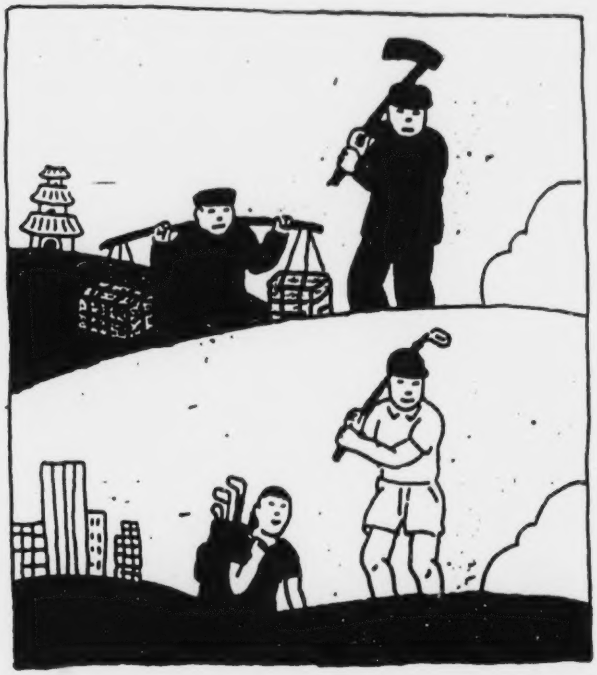
One thing Deng has taken pains to impart to Jiang and his "core leadership" is that while economic reform may be essential to fulfilling people's rising expectations and maintaining party power, political reform, especially freedom of expression, is dangerous because it allows critical voices to challenge the party's stranglehold on government. This strategy of egging China's economic system on to become more laissez-faire while tenaciously maintaining its old Leninist political system has helped create the appearance that intellectual and political dissent have vanished. It is true that most Chinese are now preoccupied with business and making money. After all, when presented with a choice between business and the possibility of freedom and wealth, or opposition politics and the likelihood of imprisonment and certainty of penury, most people choose the former. However, there remains a small group of determined intellectuals and labor activists who continue to speak out and to insist that it is deceptive and self-defeating to imagine that politics can be so completely separated from economics. As Wei Jingsheng, China's most celebrated dissident, put it during the 1978-79 Democracy Wall movement, "To accomplish modernization, the Chinese people must first practice democracy and modernize China's social system. . . . Without this condition, society will become stagnant and economic growth will encounter insurmountable obstacles." For such heretical views, Wei was given a fifteen-year jail sentence at Deng's behest.

After being released in September 1993, Wei immediately and unrepentantly resumed decrying China's backward state of democracy. The party perceived his solitary voice as such a threat that in April 1994 he was mysteriously spirited away again, this time without any charges being brought or any notification given to his family. More than a year later, he remains "disappeared," and his secretary, Tong Yi, who was administratively detained, is reported to have been seriously beaten in a "re-education-through-labor" camp for her role in keeping Wei in touch with members of the foreign press.

Tellingly, last July the N.P.C.'s Standing Committee passed a law that makes anyone who "maintains connections with or accepts financial support from groups abroad" subject to arrest for "carrying out activities which endanger state security." Fearful that such dissident voices might become the sparks that light the next prairie fire of political dissent and wary that any sign of political tolerance might appear as weakness, Deng and his minions have taken a line on free speech that is harsher than at any time during the past decade and a half. Sentences of up to twenty years continue to be meted out to those who commit crimes of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" by speaking out. Last November, for instance, a journalist named Gao Yu was arrested as she prepared to leave China to study at Columbia University and was accused of having leaked state secrets. Her crime, it turned out, was quoting a Beijing source in a Hong Kong paper as having said that Jiang Zemin had advised the Central Committee at a closed meeting that certain personnel assignments were decided "after consultation with senior comrades, especially after hearing the opinion of Deng Xiaoping." For this lèse-majesté Gao was sentenced to six years in prison, and the State Council official who had leaked the news to her was given thirteen years.

As the sixth anniversary of the June 4, 1989, massacre approached, democratic activists began distributing a new flurry of manifestoes and petitions calling on the government to allow greater political tolerance. In February, before the N.P.C. convened, four such petitions were signed and then in May five more surfaced in what has been the biggest recrudescence of public protest since 1989. A petition released on May 15 and signed by forty-five prominent intellectuals commemorated the U.N.'s "Year of Tolerance." Calling tolerance "a mark of human civilization," it urged the government "to promote and encourage respect for human rights" as stipulated in the U.N. Charter. Another petition signed by fifty-two intellectuals called for reversing the official verdict on the 1989 demonstrations as "counterrevolutionary" and warned that China faced another "blood-soaked tragedy" if it did not implement political reforms and begin to respect human rights. The party's response was to round up, interrogate and detain dozens of activists and intellectuals for "disturbing the social order." Such a reaction made it clear that far from feeling a new confidence in its right to rule because of China's economic successes, the party continues to feel very vulnerable to the critique of dissidents.

Deng's policies have succeeded in maintaining an uneasy stability for the past fifteen years. But whether such a strategy will continue to be successful after his death is another question. Unreleased political pressure has a way of building up, especially when economic problems arise, and unless relieved, creating massive ruptures. "It must be said that as the contradictions in society accumulate and sharpen, the use of such repressive measures is not only unreasonable but harmful," writes 26-year-old Wang Dan, a Tiananmen Square student leader who served three and a half years in prison and has been under almost continuous police surveillance since being released. "When all the channels for expression of political opposition in an open, legal fashion are closed, such political forces as already exist will merely be forced to participate politically in secret and illegal ways. In terms of social stability and progress, the disadvantages of this greatly outweigh any possible benefits."



And the Future . . . ?

Whereas with most other great nations it is possible to look ahead and know that certain fundamental ideas, institutions and values will endure for years to come, in today's China there is almost nothing that is fixed or certain. What makes reading the future so difficult is that there is a range of sharply conflicting scenarios, each of which has almost equal plausibility.

It may be that China will be able to muddle through after Deng and become the first socialist-bloc country to successfully reform itself under the aegis of a Communist Party. However, it is also plausible that the Beijing government will continue to lose control until China finds itself back in some state of quasi-feudal fragmentation, even anarchy exacerbated by feuding party factions. Whatever happens, all that is certain is that because of China's long history of authoritarianism, political reform and a more democratic society will not come as easily as this last rush of economic development. What causes apprehension in China is not just the obvious recognition of Deng's mortality but the unspoken recognition that China's old system of "great leader" governance will die with him. However brutal party rule has been, leaders like Mao and Deng at least created the illusion that someone was leading history. Ordinary Chinese still yearn for an effective leader or emperor, but now all they see on the horizon in post-Deng China is a collection of unconvincing understudies waiting in the wings. As the writer-in-exile Liu Binyan recently pointed out, "The government Deng Xiaoping leaves behind will be the weakest in China since Communist rule began in 1949. . . . At the same time, the populace has become more difficult to rule than any other in Chinese history."

In his *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx wrote that "philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." From Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek to Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, throughout the twentieth century there has been a mythic big leader to serve as figurehead and give China the appearance of coherence and greatness. Now, as the last leader of truly mythic proportions runs out of life, it is perhaps understandable that ordinary Chinese should turn away from politics and grab at whatever material advantages they can. After all, they know better than anyone the problems the next generation of party leaders will have to confront; how hastily and unsystematically Deng's economic miracle has been thrown together; how murky China's sense of direction is; and how unstable the edifice of the party's political leadership has always been in China—especially when it comes to passing the baton from one ruler to another. ☐

China
Resource Based Unit
Of
Study
for
Intermediate Ages

By Francia
Johnson
January 1998

Map of China

Directions: On the separate sheet containing the map of China and the countries around it place the following and color them as directed. Use the Rand McNally Atlas to help you in completing the map.

1. Label the Yellow River and the Yangtze River.
2. Place Peking, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong and Taipei on the map.
3. In all capital letters label the following countries:
   - China
   - Nepal
   - Burma
   - South Viet Nam
   - Taiwan
   - Mongolia
   - Bhutan
   - Thailand
   - North Viet Nam
   - South Korea
   - Soviet Union
   - India
   - Cambodia
   - Laos
   - North Korea
4. Label the Pacific Ocean, The Yellow Sea, The East China Sea
5. Color the countries as follows:
   - China - red
   - Mongolia - blue
   - Nepal - yellow
   - Bhutan - green
   - India - orange
   - Burma - yellow
   - Laos - green
   - Thailand - red
   - Cambodia - yellow
   - North Viet Nam - blue
   - South Viet Nam - red
   - Taiwan - blue
   - North Korea - yellow
   - South Korea - green
   - Soviet Union - yellow
6. EXTRA CREDIT:

   Add additional cities, rivers, and mountains to your map

2

orders of China

Use a map of the Eastern Hemisphere to help you locate the following places on the outline map below. Write the letter of each place in the correct circle on the map.

a China

b Mongolia

c USSR

d North Korea

e Yellow Sea

f East China Sea

g South China Sea

h Laos

i Japan

j Taiwan

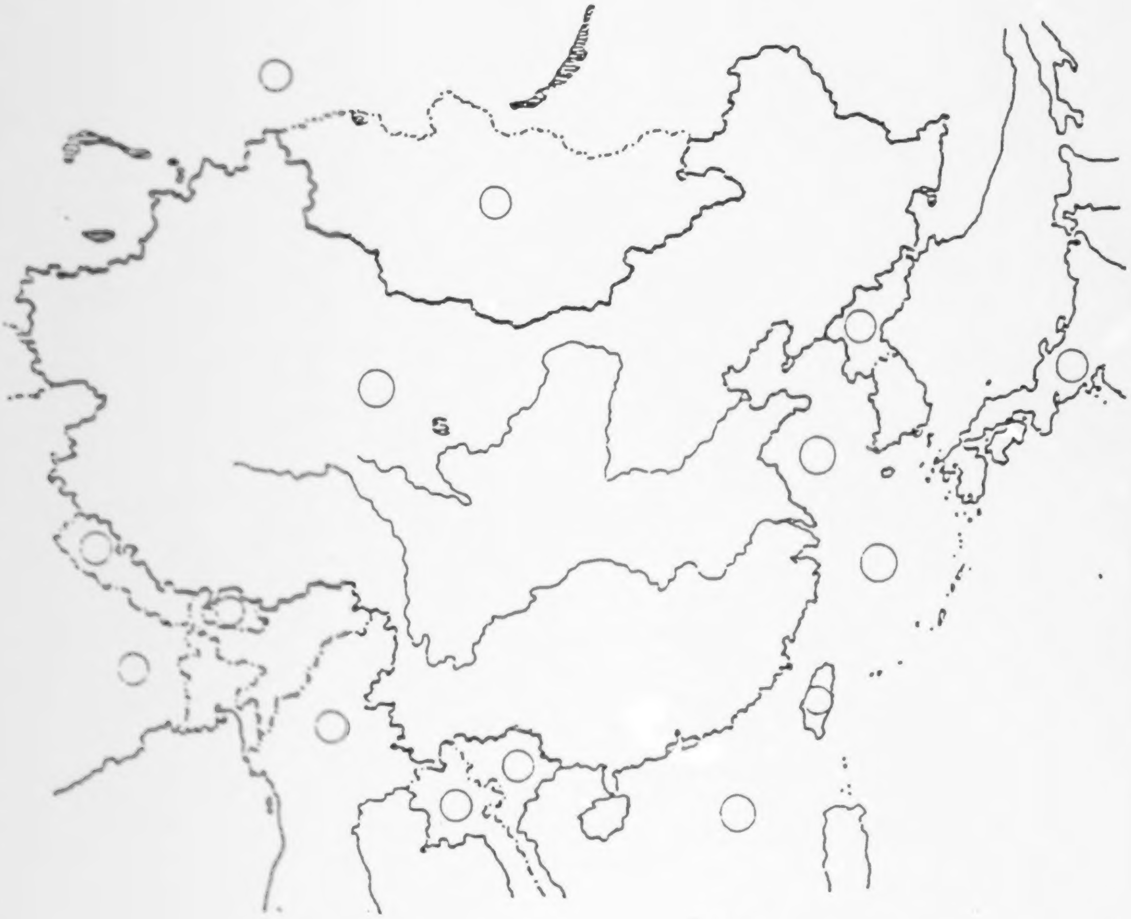
k Vietnam

l Burma

m Bhutan

n Nepal

o India



3

Geographical Terms

Match each geographical term below with the number of the point on the map that best fits the term's description.

_____peninsula — large arm of land surrounded by ocean on all but one side

_____gulf -- large arm of water surrounded by land on all but one side

_____strait — narrow body of water that links two large bodies of water

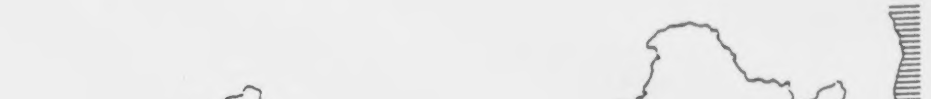
_____island — small body of land surrounded by water on all sides

_____river source — place where a river begins

_____river mouth — place where a river empties into a large body of water

_____tributary — a stream or river that flows into another river

_____highland — a place with hills, mountains, or plateaus—high flat landforms



ainfall in China

ircle the letter of the correct answer after each of the following questions.
se the map below to help you find the answers.

About how much rain and snow falls in Beijing each year?

a more than 80 inches b less than 4 inches c between 20 and 40 inches

Which part of China receives the most rain and snow each year?

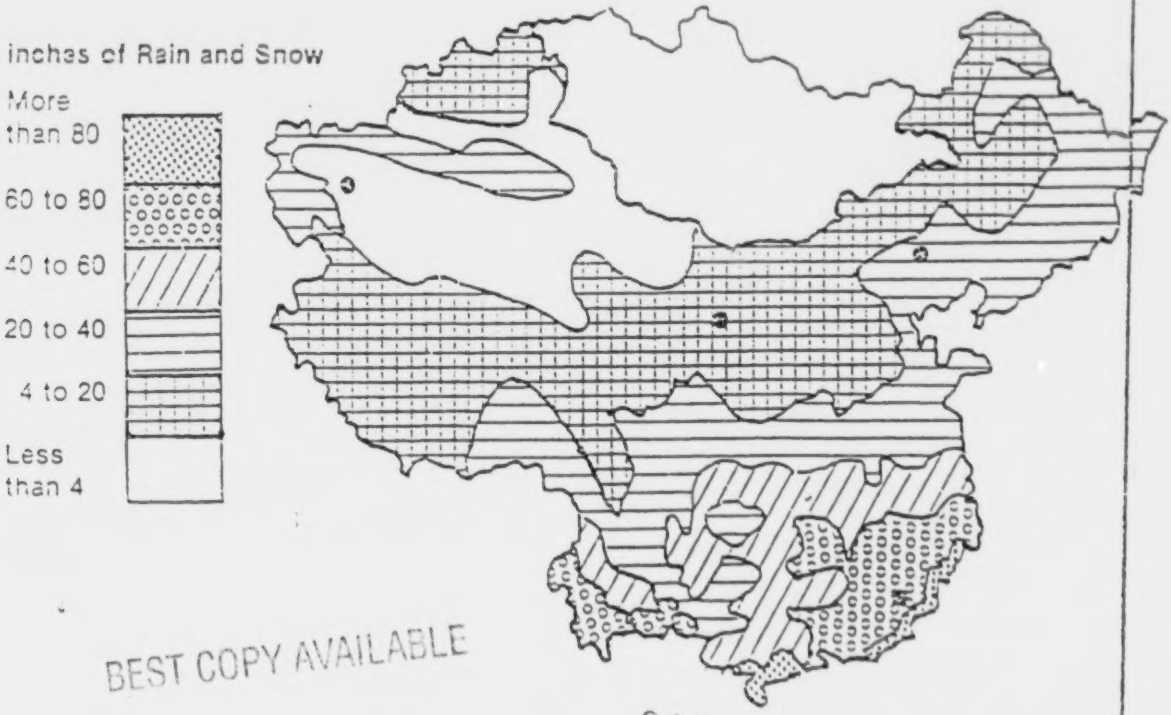
a northwest b central c southeast

Which city on the map is in the driest part of China?

a Kashgar b Canton c Lan-zhou

From spring to fall, warm, wet air from the ocean brings monsoons, or heavy rains, to the land of China. Compare the map on this page to the physical map on work sheet #1. What do you think stops rain carried by warm, wet air from reaching all of China?

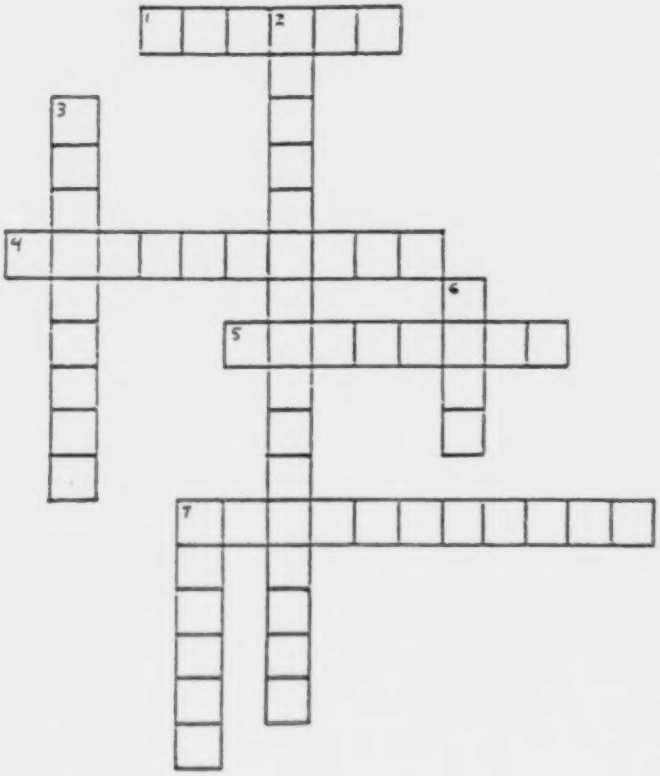
a valleys b plains c mountains



Features in Regions of China

Complete the crossword puzzle by filling in the name from the list below that best fits each clue.

- Shandong
- Takla Makan
- Canton
- Yellow River
- Tibetan Highlands
- Himalayas
- Gobi
- Yangzi



ACROSS
1 major city in West (Hsi Chiang) River Delta
4 very large desert in western China
5 peninsula in Eastern Highlands with good deposits of coal
7 flows through Mongolian Border Uplands and North China Plain

DOWN
2 large plateau in southwestern China
3 southernmost mountain range in Tibet with some of world's highest mountains
6 desert in Xinjiang-Mongolian Uplands, very cold in winter
7 fertile valley in Eastern Lowlands

6

Animals of China

The following are Chinese riddles about animals. Can you guess what animal each riddle refers to?

Old Mr. Chang, I've heard it said,
You wear a basket on your head;
You've two pairs of scissors to cut your meat,
You've two pairs of chopsticks with which to eat.
What is it?

A bright red flower he wears on his head;
His beautiful coat needs no thimble or thread;
And though he's not fearsome, I'll have you know
Ten thousand doors open when he says so!
What is it?

Unscramble the words below to find the answers.
(acbr; orretos)

Try writing your own riddles that describe the following animals mentioned in the filmstrip: the camel, the great panda, and the yak. Use an encyclopedia to find out more about these animals.

7

Regions of China Word Search

Circle the names for the regions of China from the following list as you find them in the puzzle below.

Xinjiang-Mongolian Uplands
Mongolian Border Uplands
Central Uplands
Southern Uplands
Tibetan Highlands
Eastern Lowlands
Sichuan Basin

S	W	O	S	H	H	P	O	R	A	B	L	U	X	P	O
P	E	A	R	B	T	I	J	E	R	S	T	N	I	E	R
E	A	S	B	O	R	D	E	R	U	P	L	A	N	D	S
C	O	D	O	C	N	N	O	B	A	A	L	W	J	A	O
H	R	C	Y	K	I	M	S	S	N	C	I	A	I	N	U
W	A	E	L	L	E	O	E	N	U	R	F	R	A	U	T
A	N	N	E	T	S	N	P	E	T	E	R	T	N	T	H
N	G	T	D	I	I	G	H	M	R	P	A	I	G	S	W
B	E	R	U	B	D	O	P	T	O	U	G	L	M	B	E
S	B	A	F	E	A	L	E	A	F	S	I	W	O	E	S
I	O	L	F	T	R	I	T	E	I	U	L	E	N	A	T
N	A	U	Y	A	A	A	E	R	S	O	B	S	G	S	N
L	T	P	T	N	P	N	R	T	T	I	S	T	O	T	O
A	T	L	K	H	N	B	S	T	I	C	I	M	L	E	R
M	R	A	A	I	E	O	O	A	C	O	C	I	I	R	T
R	A	N	I	G	I	R	C	E	B	D	H	D	A	N	E
E	I	D	N	H	G	D	N	R	O	I	U	D	N	L	E
T	N	S	C	L	I	E	K	U	N	L	A	L	U	O	L
T	F	S	A	A	L	R	S	G	P	A	N	E	P	W	B
U	I	A	T	N	E	U	B	Y	R	L	B	L	L	L	A
B	S	N	E	D	R	P	R	L	A	I	A	A	A	A	R
S	C	H	R	S	R	L	I	L	C	P	S	N	N	N	R
T	B	H	I	M	O	A	A	E	T	X	I	D	D	D	M
U	I	A	N	A	A	N	N	N	I	E	N	S	S	S	I
N	N	C	A	J	R	D	E	P	R	E	T	S	A	E	T
A	E	I	G	O	T	S	P	T	S	A	F	Y	A	R	G

Now find these regions on a map of China. Select one region and write an individual or group report on the lifestyle of the people in that region.

MINI-FACTS AT A GLANCE

GENERAL INFORMATION

Official Name: People's Republic of China (Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo/ Zhongguo Renmin Gongheguo)

Capital: Peking

Official Language: *Putonghua*, known as Mandarin in the West. Based on the northern Chinese dialect spoken in Peking, *putonghua* is taught in China's schools. Many minority languages are also spoken and taught in different parts of the country. These include Tibetan; Chuang; Miao and Yao; various Turkic languages, such as Uighur, Kazakh, and Khalkhas; Mongolian; Tungusic; and Korean.

Government: There are three major political organizations in Communist China—the Communist Party, the army, and the government. But the real power is the Chinese Communist Party. The party makes policy which the army and the government carry out. Local Communists elect representatives to one of twenty-nine Provincial Party Committees. These committees, in turn, send representatives to the National Party Congress, held about every five years. The National Party Congress elects a Central Committee of about two hundred members, who do the routine work of the party . The twenty-seven members of the Central Committee's Politburo (Political Bureau) are the most powerful group in China. The Politburo elects a Standing Committee and a Secretariat, which actually decide policy for the entire country. The chairman of the Standing Committee is the real head of the Chinese government. According to the 1979 constitution, the National People's Congress (not the same as the National Party Congress) is the only legislative authority in the country. In reality, its job is to rubber-stamp the decisions made by the Chinese Communist Party. Delegates to the National People's Congress are elected at the provincial level from a list drawn up by the party. On the advice of the party, the delegates appoint the members of the State Council, which oversees the government ministries and bureaus.

Flag: China's flag was adopted in 1949. In the upper left-hand corner, on a plain red background, is a large yellow star with a semicircle of four smaller yellow stars to its right. The stars stand for the Communist Party and its members.

9

Government Station

Activities

You will first need to choose three members to act as recorders for your group.
Recorder #1 is responsible for recording the group's answers on the worksheet, "China's Leadership: Communist Party."
Recorder #2 is responsible for recording the group's answers on the worksheet, "China's Leadership: Government."
Recorder #3 is responsible for recording the group's thoughts during the brainstorming session.

1. Read "The Political System Today" pamphlet. You may choose to have one member read it aloud to the group, to have each group member read a section of it aloud, or for all members to read it over silently. In any case, each group member is responsible for reading or listening to the material.

2. Use what you have just read to help you fill in the blanks on the two worksheets, "China's Leadership: Communist Party" and "China's Leadership: Government." Do the worksheets one at a time, with **each group member contributing ideas**, and the recorders writing down the group's answers on the worksheets. Be aware that the worksheets have the most powerful positions at the top, but in the text the first information is about the least powerful positions.

3. Brainstorm as many similarities and differences as you can think of between the Chinese system of leadership and the United States' system of leadership.

   Consider these issues:

      The Communist Party compared to the Democratic and Republican parties.
      How leaders are chosen.
      How political decisions are made.

Recorder #3 should write down all of the group's ideas on the sheet provided.

10

China's Leadership: Communist Party

1. ____________________
The real head of the Chinese government

2. ________________ 3. ________________
These groups decide policy for the whole country

4. ____________________ or ____________________
The most powerful group in China

5. ____
200 members who do the routine work of the party

6. ____
This group of delegates meets about every 5 years to elect people to the above position

7. ____
29 committees from the provinces who send representatives to the above position

8. ____
40 million members who hold all the most important positions in government and in the army. They are usually the managers in schools, on farms, and in the factories.

Steps needed to join Position #8: ____________________
____
____

China's Leadership: Government

1. ______________________________

Appointed by the members of the position below.
These people oversee the government ministries and bureaus.

2. ______________________________

The only legislative authority in the country.
Actually, though, they have no real power and generally "rubber stamp," or go along with, decisions made by the Communist Party.

In the provinces, elections are held to choose delegates to go to the above position.

How are the candidates selected? Can just anyone run for office? Answer on the line below.

3. ______________________________

12

Comparison of the System of Leadership between China and the United States

Brainstorming Session

Similarities	Differences

Chinese Culture:
Art Station

Red Scrolls

At this station, your group will be creating two scrolls. Begin by reading the information sheet together. When you have finished, complete the following steps, in order. Each group member should complete at least one character. The remaining characters can be done by individuals or as a group.

1. Each member needs to choose one Chinese character to complete.

2. With black felt pen, color in the character on the tagboard.

3. Cut out each piece of the character. Be careful to keep your pieces separate from other group members' pieces!

4. Using the master sheet of characters as your guide, place the pieces of your character on the red butcher paper. Remember to place the characters in the order you see on the master sheet! Glue the pieces, one at a time, on the red butcher paper. Try to space the characters evenly on the scroll.

The Red Scroll

Do you know what a red scroll is? It's a long piece of red paper which the Chinese use to write meaningful lucky phrases with a large brush and black ink. These red scrolls are hung either inside or outside of the house just before Chinese New Year. Many Chinese believe that by doing this, it will ensure continued happiness and prosperity for the household.

The custom of the red scrolls has been around for a long time. During Chinese New Year celebration, many restaurants display them in front of their buildings.

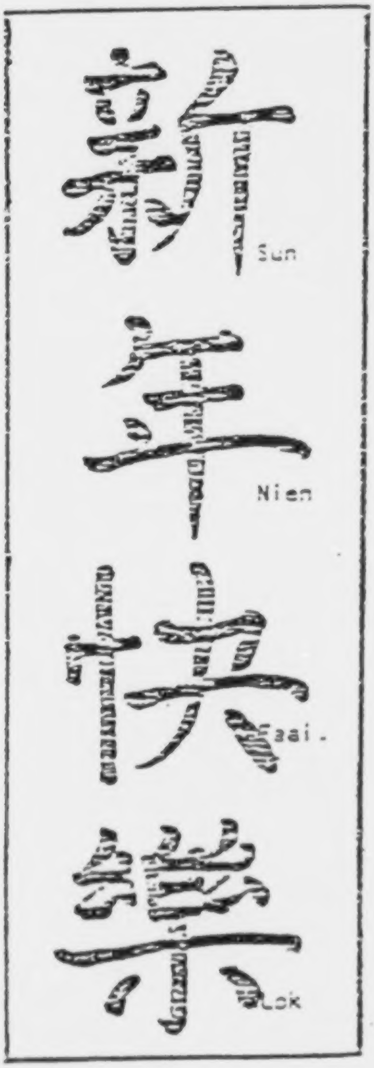
According to tradition, the Chinese first carved lucky characters on peach wood for Chinese New Year in 907 A.D. They believed that the plaques would bring good luck and drive away evil spirits. As time passed, the people thought that the peach wood was too heavy and inconvenient to use; so, they started to use red paper instead.

The custom of the red scroll originated with a Ming Dynasty emperor who liked them very much. Once, just before Chinese New Year, the emperor was in the capital city and saw some beautiful red scrolls. He decided that all of his subjects should put them on their doors. He thought that the scrolls would make everyone happy and that peace would continue in his kingdom.

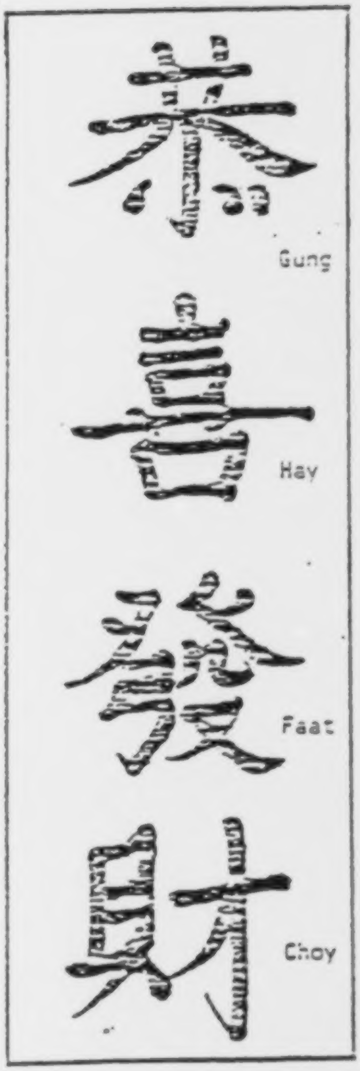
When the people heard the emperor's order, they immediately put red scrolls outside their doors. The only people who didn't obey the order were those who didn't know how to read or write. They met to discuss their problem because they didn't want to offend the emperor. Finally, they decided to put plain red paper, brushes, and paper near their front doors. Then they would ask for help from people who did know how to read and write. Since then the hanging of red scrolls for Chinese New Year has been a custom in many homes.

Red Scrolls I & II

I.

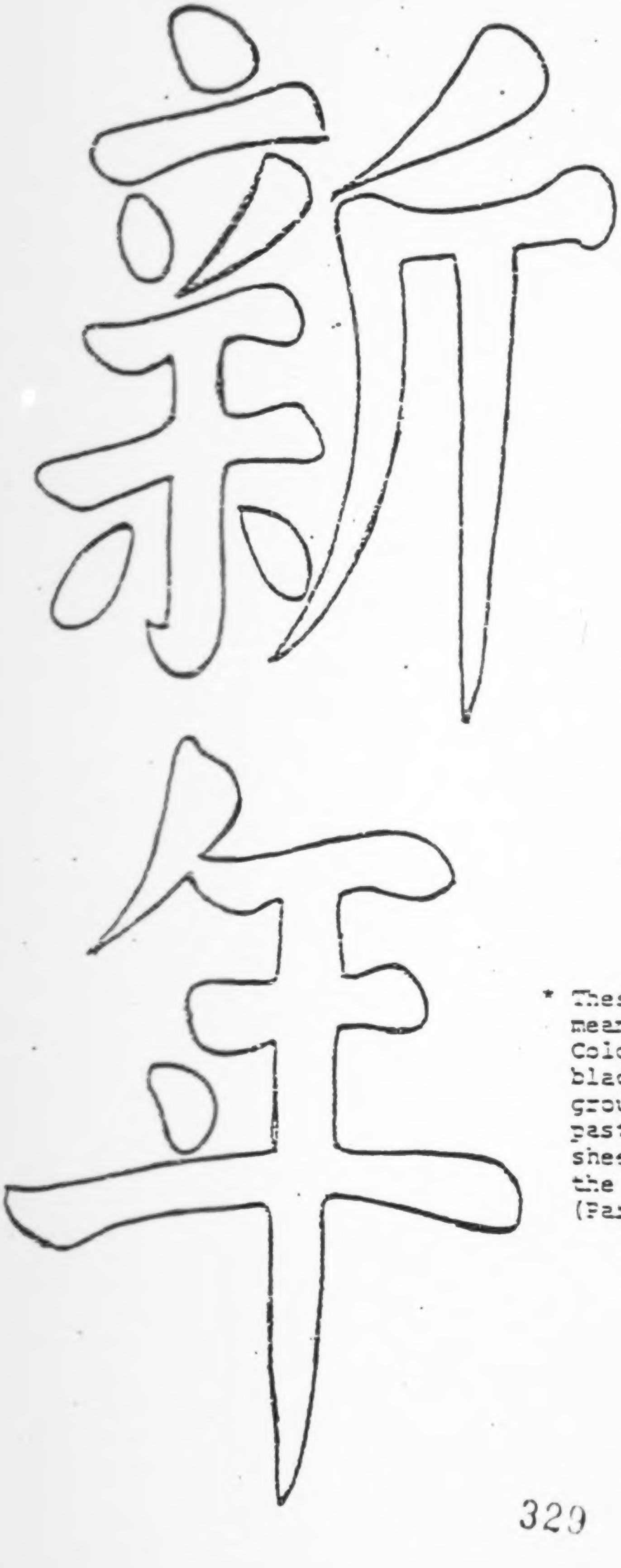

新 Sun
年 Nien
快 Faai.
樂 Lok

II.


恭 Gung
喜 Hay
發 Faat
財 Choy

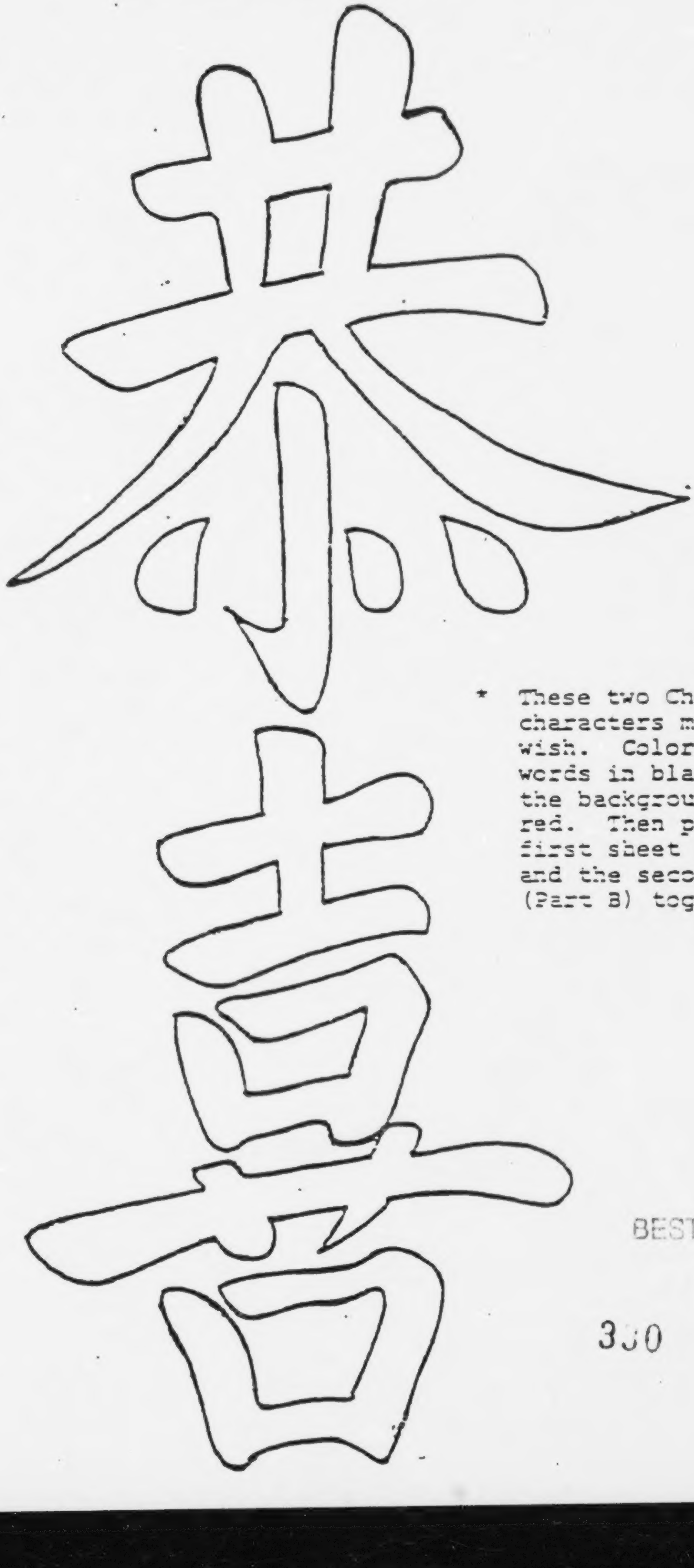
* Every red scroll consists of two pages (four Chinese characters). When you put the two pages together be sure they are in the proper order.

Red Scroll I - Part A



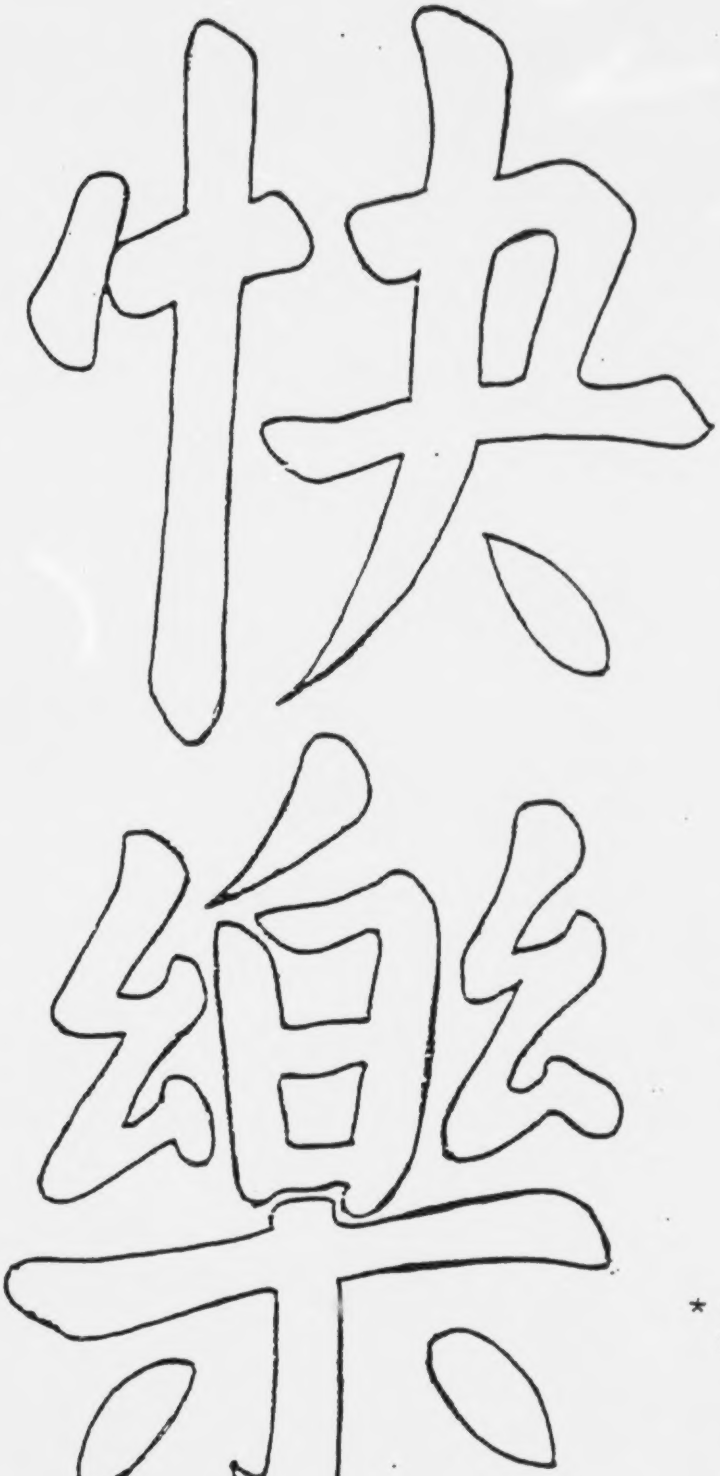
* These two words mean New Year. Color the words in black and the background in red. Then paste the first sheet (Part A) and the second sheet (Part B) together.

Red Scroll II - Part A



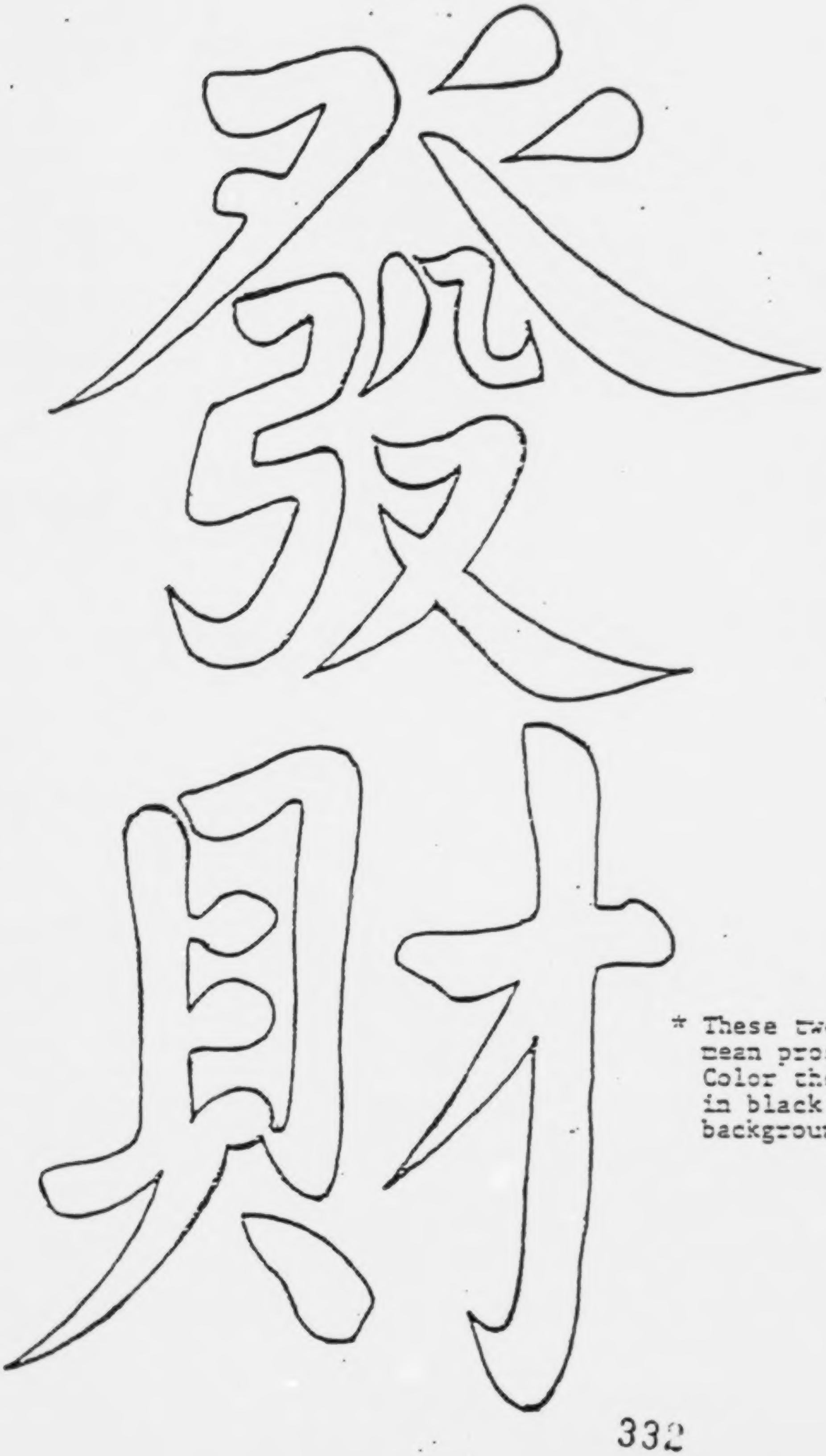
* These two Chinese characters mean to wish. Color the words in black and the background in red. Then paste the first sheet (Part A) and the second sheet (Part B) together.

Red Scroll I - Part B



* These two words mean happiness.

Red Scroll II - Part B



* These two words mean prosperity. Color the words in black and the background in red.

20

Almanac Station

Directions: Below is a list of activities, follow the list in order and do it.

1. Look at the two different calendars - the Twelve Animal calendar and the Zodiac Signs. Find where you would be for each calendar. Write it below:

Twelve Animal______________________________

Zodiac Sign__________________________________

2. Is everyone in your group the same sign?_______________

3. Now look at the blank circle form labeled student work sheet. In the bottom left hand corner there is a key. You will need to use an almanac, an encyclopedia, etc. to find the information you need to fill in this circle. For example:

1. Look in the index of the Almanac, look up Noted Personalities. Turn to the first page listed after the words Noted Personalities
2. Find Barbara Walters, write her birthday in the second ring in on the circle
3. Now figure out what Animal sign she is, write it in the third ring
4. Now figure out her age - to do this you write down 1989, then subtract the year she was born.- write it in the 4th ring in
5. Now look at the Zodiac Signs, figure out her sign, write it in the 5th ring in
6. Then, you will have to brainstorm, or use encyclopedias, etc. to figure out what her achievement is (or what she does to make her famous) and write that in the first ring of the circle.
7. Then do the same thing for all the other names.

21

China's Economy

Objectives

- to establish that agriculture is the backbone of China's economy;
- to explain that as a communist country, the government exerts a great deal of control over the economy of China;
- to enumerate manufacturing, fishing, mining, and foreign trade as other significant economic activities.

Summary

A dichotomy exists within China's economy. Although the country has the sixth largest Gross National Product in the world, it is still considered a developing nation because of its per capita income and the relatively low amount of industrial jobs. This third filmstrip explains how China's communist government controls the economy. Students will learn that agriculture is the economic basis of China and how the country's agricultural system is organized to adequately provide for its huge population. China's other major industries, such as heavy metals, shipping, consumer goods, and fishing are also discussed.

Skills to Be Developed

- understand China's economy under a communist government;
- name China's major industries;
- explain the differences between labor in China and labor in their own country.

Discussion

1 Discuss with and explain to the students the idea of governmental control over industry. How do students think this affects China's industry?

2 Ask students to discuss which products they think or know are manufactured in China.

3 Considering that 75% of Chinese workers are farmers, what do students think is the "backbone" of China's economy?

4 Review the vocabulary list at the beginning of the filmstrip.

Discussion

1 Why is it unnecessary for China to import many agricultural products from other nations? What special farming system does China have that helps the Chinese people to be self-sufficient?

2 Have students name some of the products which are manufactured in China. For what reasons has industry in China lagged behind industry in other nations?

3 Have students name some of the countries with which China trades. What products are traded between these countries?

4 Which mineral resources are mined in China? Discuss the coal industry in China.

Classroom Activities

1 The Chinese government regulates a large part of China's economy. The government has control over jobs, wages, how much food and clothing each person may have, etc. Write a report comparing how much control Communist China has on its economy and how much control a major non-Communist country such as the United States exerts over its economy.

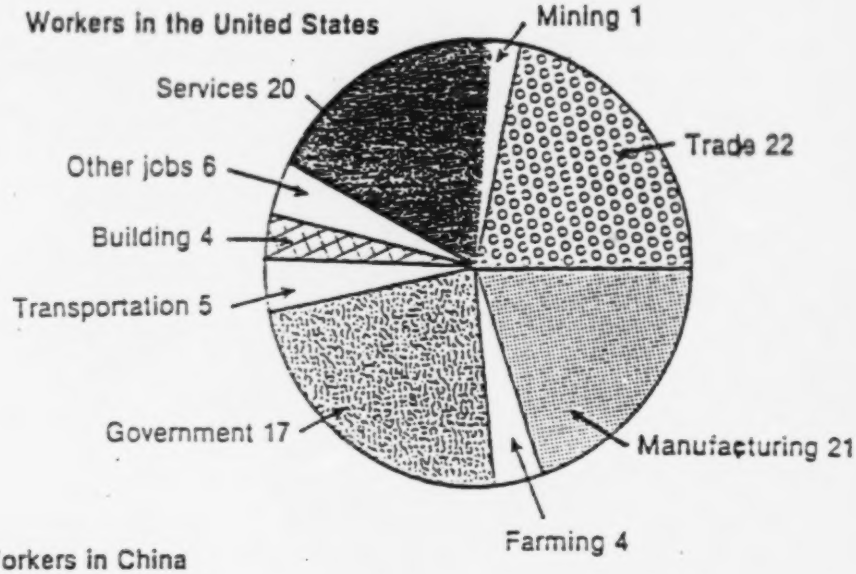
2 Have students discuss their theories on the success of China's agricultural production when only about 13% of the land can be cultivated. From this small amount of land China manages to feed most of its huge population. How do they manage this?

3 Instruct students to draw maps of China. Have them plot the major cities which are also the major industrial sites in China. Instruct students to create a key for their maps, using symbols to represent which industry each city is responsible for.

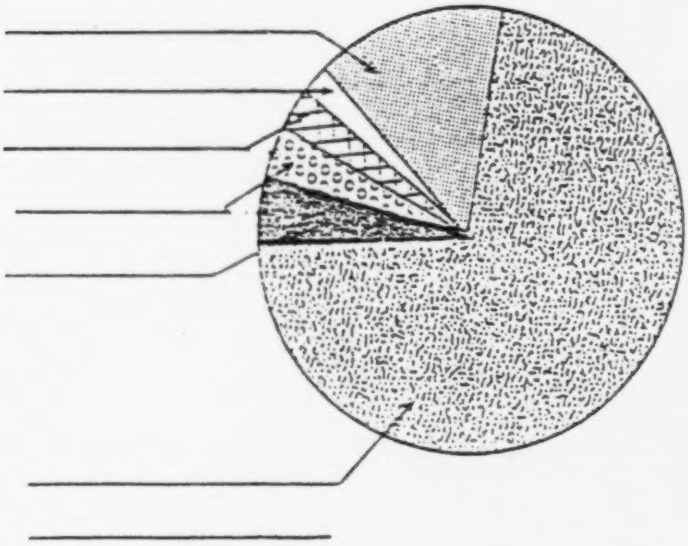
4 Go to the library and research the following: How does China compare to the Soviet Union concerning the government control over the country's economy? In what ways are they similar? In what ways are they different?

Workers in China

Study the following circle graph showing the number of people out of every one hundred workers who hold a certain kind of job in the United States. Then use the list of facts below to help you complete the circle graph, *Workers in China.*



Workers in China



Kinds of Work	# of people
Farming, forestry, and fishing	76
Manufacturing and mining	11
Trade and Banking	3
Building	2
Government	1
Other services	4

China's Economy and Communist Government

Read the following paragraphs. Note the terms in dark print. Based on each term's use in the reading, decide which definition below best explains the term. Then write the term in the space before its meaning.

China's Communist government controls the **economy**. The government decides what goods are produced and how the goods are used. For example, the government controls jobs and **wages** in important factories. The average factory worker in China makes about seventy **yuan**, which is about thirty-seven dollars a month in American money. The government also runs long-distance **transportation systems**, such as railroads.

For many years, **agriculture** has been the backbone of China's economy. Chinese farmers raise enough crops to feed China's people, but this is becoming more difficult as the **population** grows in size. One reason for successful farming in China is **irrigation**. Ditches, dams, and canals help bring water to crops during dry spells. The Chinese also **conserve** soil by planting trees and grasses with roots that hold the soil in place. During the 1950s, the Communist government gathered groups of peasants on **collective farms**. The peasants now farmed the group's large section of land instead of their own plot.

____________________ 1 farming

____________________ 2 money earned at a job

____________________ 3 land farmed by a group under government control

____________________ 4 form of Chinese money

____________________ 5 way of bringing water to crops

____________________ 6 the people living in a particular area

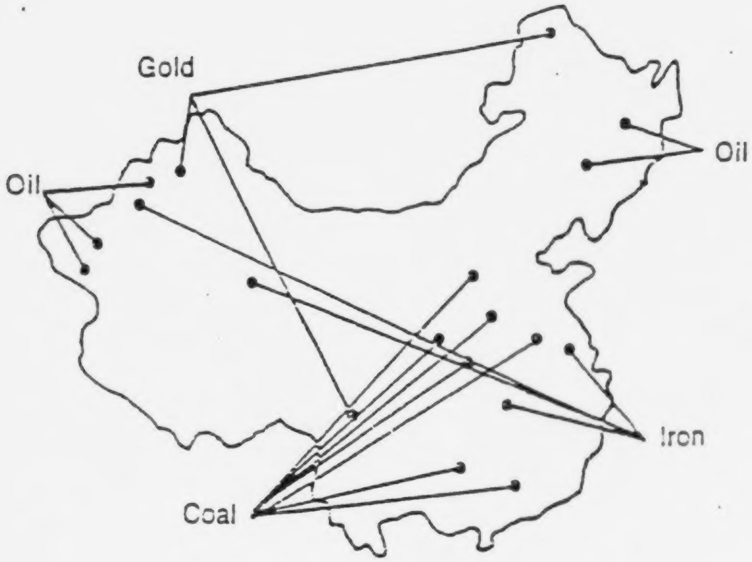
____________________ 7 save

____________________ 8 way of going from place to place

26

Mineral Resources in China

The following map shows some places where minerals are found in China. On the second map, make symbols to replace the confusing dots and lines on the first map. Then complete the key to show which symbols stand for coal, oil, and iron ore. The symbol for gold has already been done for you.



Key
Gold □

aking Silk

Some collective farms outside silk-manufacturing cities, such as Wuxi, Hangzhou, and Suzhou, raise silkworms. The following steps are used in raising the worms and making the silk. Number the steps in the order that they occur. Read each step carefully. There are clue words in each sentence that will lead you to the next step.

_____Farmers feed mulberry leaves to silkworms to help them grow.

_____In the factories, workers soak cocoons so they will unwind in long threads.

_____First, farmers grow and gather mulberry leaves.

_____Then cocoons are sent to factories.

_____Next, workers twist together threads from several cocoons.

_____After the silkworms are large and white, they spin their cocoons.

_____Finally, workers wind up the twisted thread and send it to another factory where the thread is woven into silk cloth.

Facts about China's Economy

Complete the crossword puzzle by filling in the word from the following list that best fits each clue.

France

steel

livestock

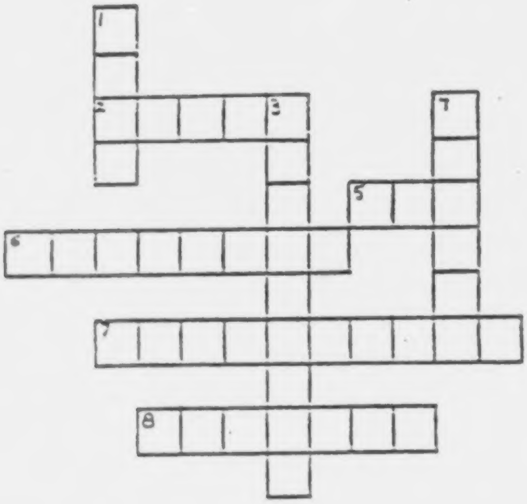
USSR

tractor

vegetables

tea

machines



ACROSS
2 a large heavy industry in China
5 crop raised by farmers in southeastern China
6 these manufacture slowly because they are outdated
7 more of these raised in China than in any other country
8 a large machine made in China

DOWN
1 a country China traded with in 1952
3 more of this raised by Chinese farmers today than before 1950
4 a country China trades with today

Important Industries of China

Complete the following facts about several of China's important industries by decoding the mystery words. Use the key below to figure out the words in code.

1 13 2 14 2 14 4 is a strong industry in China.

2 Some minerals found in China are 2 22 15 14   15 22 6, 20 2 14, and
12 6 10 7.

3 China's 15 2 12   5 2 6 12 7 21 supply one-fifth of the country's fuel.

4 Today, 10 13 6 22 2 8 10 14 companies help China refine its oil.

5 Rivers in China help supply 6 12 6 8 20 22 2 8 2 20 25.

6 China's 5 2 21 3 2 14 4 industry is among the largest in the world.

7 Two thirds of China's fish come from freshwater 12 10 11 6 21 and
24 15 14 7 21.

KEY

A = 10 B = 9 C = 8 D = 7 E = 6 F = 5 G = 4 H = 3 I = 2 J = 1
K = 11 L = 12 M = 13 N = 14 O = 15 P = 24 Q = 23 R = 22
S = 21 T = 20 U = 19 V = 18 W = 17 X = 16 Y = 25 Z = 26

新年快樂

CHINESE NEW YEAR

By Francia
Johnso
January
1998

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INTRODUCTION

Chinese New Year is celebrated in different ways in the United States. It is one of the most joyous and colorful holidays and is celebrated for any and all of the following reasons:

1) For many people, it is a time to start a "new" life, a rebirth, better life in the New Year.
2) It is a time for family members to gather together to renew and continue love and support for each other.
3) It is also a celebration for life itself, with hopes for more good things to come in the New Year.

Some cities that have a large Chinese American population offer a variety of community activities.

As with many ethnic families in the United States, the extent to which traditional customs are observed in the Chinese American family varies. Some families may not celebrate Chinese New Year at all; some may simply take their immediate families out to dinner at a Chinese restaurant. Still other families may try to keep many of the traditional customs alive and may encourage their children to learn about and actively participate in them.

CHINESE NEW YEAR

THE LUNAR NEW YEAR

Chinese New Year is computed on a lunar calendar. The lunar year has 354 days and 12 lunar months, about half of the months have 30 days and the other half 29. To make the months correspond with the months of the planets, a 13th month is inserted every two or three years and two months are added every five years. The New Year begins on the 20th day of the first moon and may fall anywhere from January to March. It arrives with the second new moon after the winter solstice (the shortest day of the year).

Twelve animals and five elements are assigned to the 12 cycle years of the lunar calendar. For example:

Western Calendar	Symbolic Animal	Element	Lunar Cal.
1971	Boar	metal	4669
1972	Rat	wood	4670
1973	Ox	wood	4671
1974	Tiger	earth*	4672
1975	Hare		4673
1976	Dragon		4674
1977	Serpent		4675
1978	Horse		4676
1979	Ram		4677
1980	Monkey		4678
1981	Rooster		4679
1982	Dog		4680

*other elements are fire, water

CELEBRATION RITUALS

History

In days gone by, preparations began in advance and festivities lasted a full month after New Year's Day, from new moon to full moon. Weeks before the New Year, villages bustled with housecleaning activity, befitting the time of renewal. Men in masks and warrior costumes symbolically chased pestilence out of the town. A villager, garbed as a sorcerer, ran through the streets with an ax in hand, driving out evil spirits. All debts were to be settled before the old year ended. This is to insure the saving of face for the borrower and to bring good fortune to him and his family during the coming year.

Another custom of the new year is the dragon and lion dance accompanied by the sounds of firecrackers and drum beats. The dragon and the lion are demon dispellers and symbolize the Yang force meaning good. Noisemakers such as the drum, gong, cymbals, firecrackers, are for the purpose of inhibiting the Ying forces which are considered bad.

The dragon or lion is stored at the family association or fraternal halls. Each year young men are trained to portray the agile, quick-footed and graceful lion or dragon. They must pretend they are waking from a year's hibernation. As the gongs and other noisemakers sound, and firecrackers blister about him, he stirs from his home, and moves out to wish the people, their families and businesses a happy and prosperous new year. With his performance, a task of collecting money for charitable institutions and annual dues to associations, is completed by dangling from a window or fire escape a string bearing lettuce, tangerines, and money. The lion or dragon dances in front of his bait, swallows it and bows three times to acknowledge the gift.

KITCHEN GOD - The kitchen god, Do Gwan, is worshipped in a makeshift altar in the home and takes special preference during the holiday. According to tradition, all gods go to Yu Huang Ti, the Jade Emperor and highest god of all, between the 24th day of the 12th month and New Year's Day. Legend says that this god has to be bribed by the head of the household smearing honey over the god's lips so that his report of the family's conduct may be sweet. An elaborate feast is also given for this diety. It consists solely of sweets - also to insure that his report on the family's conduct would be sweet. After the meal, the god, who is represented by a paper image seated on a bamboo chariot, is set afire, so that he rides with the flames to heaven. The ceremony ends with a burst of firecrackers. (A new picture of the kitchen god is placed on the home altar on the fourth day of the new year.)

FAMILY & COMMUNITY ACTIVITY - The color of the season is red (happiness). It is a custom to welcome in the new year with this color on doorways, foods and decorations. Blossoms of the spring representing the Yang decorate the doors and entrance ways of buildings and homes. These blossoms are often called the flowers of prosperity. Red paper greets the new year with inscriptions such as "May wealth and glory become complete," "May we receive the hundred blessings of heaven." or "Wealth, high rank and good salary."

Tradition dictates that friends and relatives must be visited. Callers bring "li-se" for the children and a large bag of oranges and tangerines. (Li-se is a gift of money in red envelopes.) Again the color of red is emphasized in the li-se; oranges and tangerines mean welcome to the new year and the wish for good luck. In return, the hostess offers tea, homemade Chinese New Year pastries and melon seeds. (The melon seed is a symbol of a wish for progeny.) Upon leaving, custom prescribes as part of etiquette, a brief argument where the hostess insists that the caller take back some of his gifts; and after a few minutes, the visitor relents and takes some back before leaving.

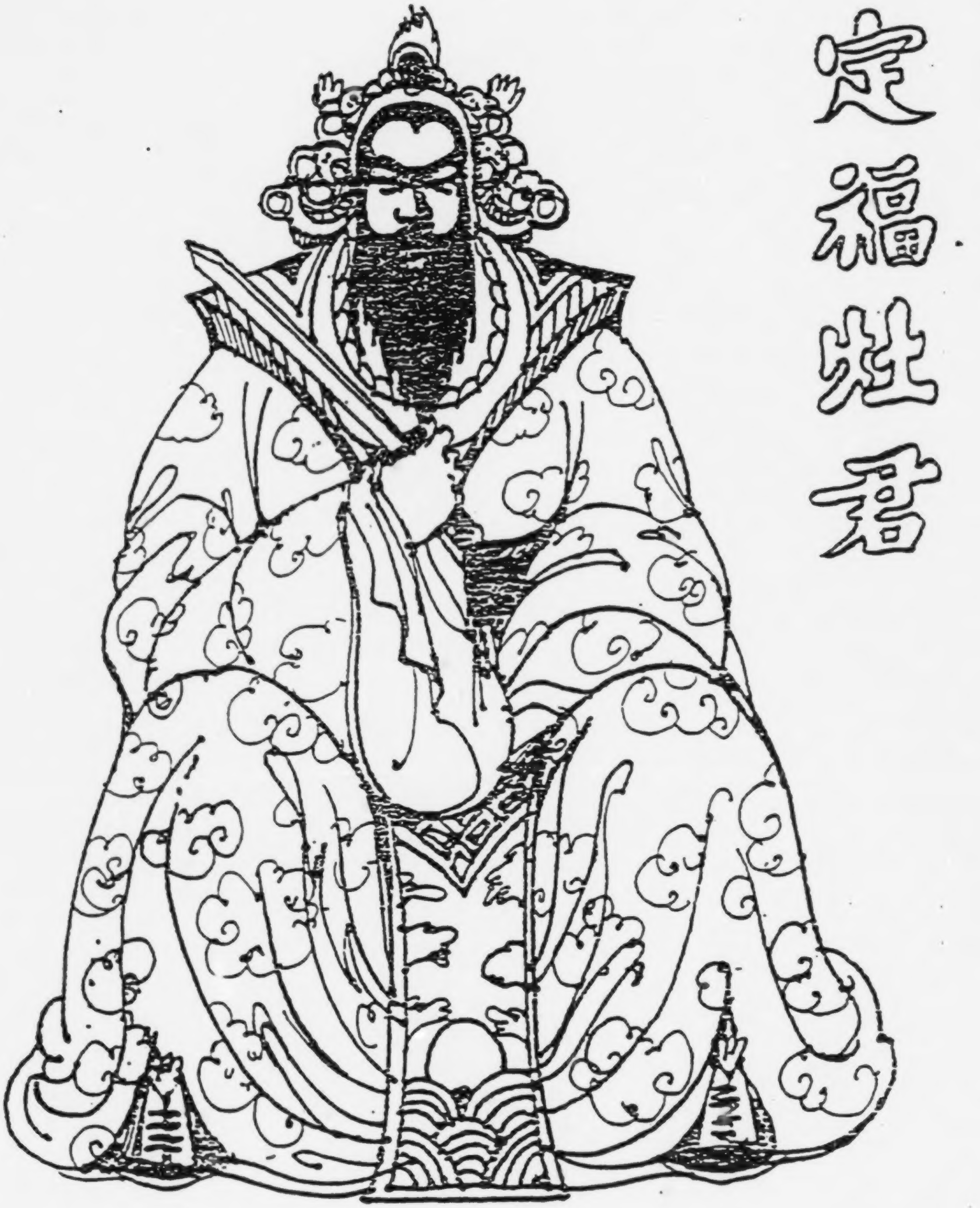
This family tradition is led by the female of the household. The housewife has numerous preparations to finish before the beginning of the new year, such as cleaning the house which symbolizes sweeping out the evil and preparing the new year's eve menu. All food has to be cut and sliced before midnight of the new year as the use of the knife is prohibited on New Year's Day, "lest it should cut the luck."

NEW YEAR FOODS - Bakery goods consisting of new year's cake - a dark brown, sweet pastry three inches thick and about eight to fifteen inches in diameter made of rice, flour, brown sugar, peanuts and dates, sprinkled with sesame seeds on top, is a standard appetizer offered during this time. The Chinese name for this pastry is "go" meaning high - so, the meaning of the name is to wish you much luck.

Sweetmeats of large fried balls of dough stuffed with melon and coconut are cooked to tell the fortune. If the sweetmeats turn out to be round and fluffy, the year will be a lucky one; whereas a poor batch symbolizes misfortune.

Chicken, called "gai" in Chinese is offered also. "Gai" in certain parts of China means to bind. The purpose of this dish is to pray that the family will remain united throughout life.

The official ending of the holidays is the Feast of Lanterns, celebrated on the 15th of the first month. The colorful and elaborate lanterns are hung over household doors to attract prosperity and longevity.



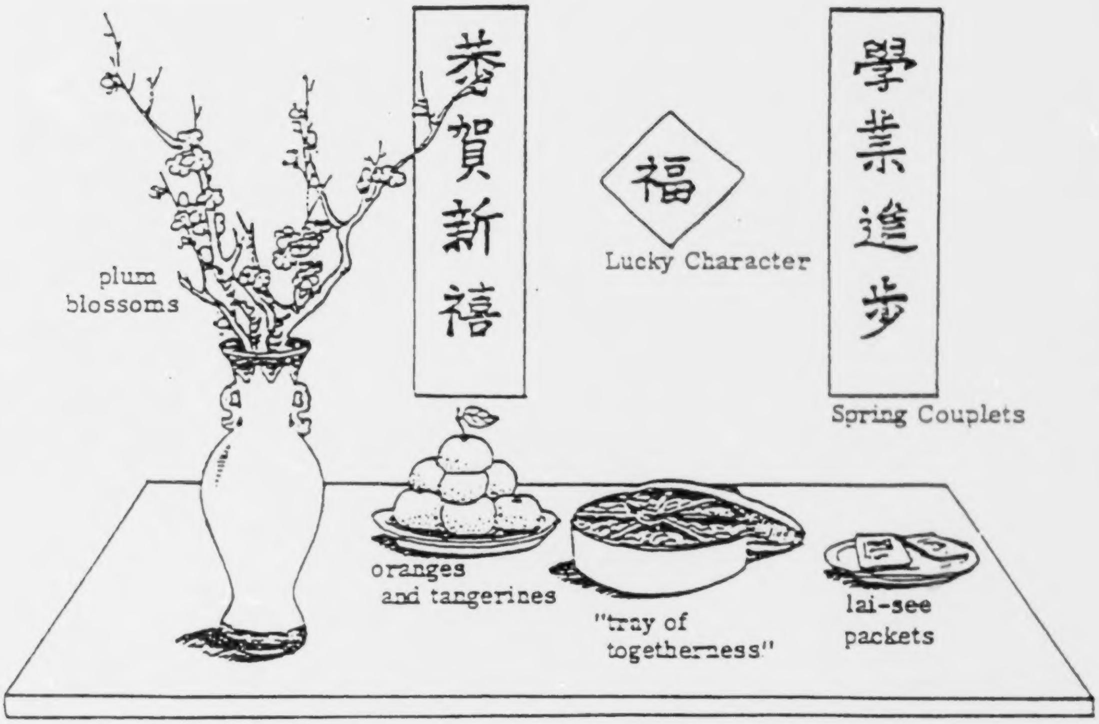
The Kitchen God

SHOWCASE/HALL DISPLAY

A showcase display using New Year objects commonly seen in Chinese American communities would make a colorful and interesting introduction to the Chinese New Year celebration.

5

Description of New Year display objects commonly seen in San Francisco Chinatown and other Chinese American communities.


恭賀新禧
福
Lucky Character
學業進步
Spring Couplets
plum blossoms
oranges and tangerines
"tray of togetherness"
lai-see packets

1. Spring couplets:
   Spring couplets are traditionally written with black ink on red paper. They are hung in storefronts in the month before the New Year's Day, and often stay up for two months. They express best wishes and fortune for the coming year. There is a great variety in the writing of these poetic couplets to fit the situation. A store would generally use couplets that make references to their line of trade. The couplets here are appropriate for a school, they say "happy new year", and "continuing advancement in education".

2. Lucky Character:

The single word fook, or fortune, is often displayed in many homes and stores. They are usually written by brush on a diamond-shaped piece of red paper.

3. Lai-see envelopes:

(also called Hong-bao) Money is placed in these envelopes and given to children and young adults at New Year's time, much in the spirit as Christmas presents. Presents are also often exchanged between families.

4. Sample Chinese Calendar:

The Chinese calendar will often show the dates of both the Gregorian (Western) calendar and the Chinese Lunar Calendar. The Gregorian dates are printed in Arabic numerals, and the Chinese dates in Chinese numerals.

5. Zodiac Chart:

The rotating cycle of twelve animal signs was a folk method for naming the years in traditional China. The animal signs for one another in an established order, and are repeated every twelve years. 1976 was the Year of the Dragon, 1977 the Year of the Snake.

6. Flowers:

Flowers are an important part of the New Year decorations. In old China, much use was made of natural products in celebrations as well as in daily life. The two flowers most associated with the New Year are the plum blossom and the water narcissus.

Plum blossoms stand for courage and hope. The blossoms burst forth at the end of winter on a seemingly lifeless branch. In Chinese art, plum blossoms are associated with the entire season of winter and not just the New Year.

The water narcissus is another flower that blossoms at New Year's time. If the white flowers blossom exactly on theday of the New Year, it is believed to indicate good fortune for the ensuing twelve months.

7. Tangerines, Oranges, and Pomelos:

Tangerines and oranges are frequently displayed in homes and stores. Tangerines are symbolic of good luck, and oranges are symbolic of wealth. These symbols have developed through a language pun, the word for tangerine having the same sound as "luck" in Chinese, and the word for orange having the same sound as "wealth". Pomelos are large pear-shaped grapefruits.

8. Tray of Togetherness:

Many families keep a tray full of dried fruits, sweets, and candies to welcome guests and relatives who drop by. This tray is called a chuen-hop, or "tray of togetherness". Traditionally, it was made up of eight compartments, each of which was filled with a special food item of significance to the New Year season.

CHINESE ALMOND COOKIES

1 C.	Lard
1 C.	Shortening
4 ½/C.	Flour
2	Eggs
1 3/4 C.	Sugar
2 tsp.	Almond extract
1 tsp.	Vanilla extract
2 tsp.	Baking powder
1 tsp.	Baking soda
1	Beaten egg (for glaze)
½ lb.	Blanched almonds

Cream together lard, shortening and sugar. Add all the other ingredients, except beaten egg and almonds, and mix well. Dough will be dry and crumbly. Roll dough into " balls and press a half almond in center of each ball. Brush top with beaten egg and bake 20 to 25 min. at 350°.

Balls may be rolled in sesame seeds instead of using almonds. Makes 8 dozen.

CHINESE STEAM CAKE (Gai Don Goh)

4	Eggs (large)
1 C.	Flour, sifted
1 C.	Sugar
½ tsp.	Salt
1 tsp.	Vanilla

Beat eggs until lemon colored and fluffy. Gradually add sugar (10-15 min.) Fold in flour and salt and mix well.

Pour into a 9" cake pan greased and lined with wax paper on bottom. Place pan elevated on a trivet in a large steamer. Cover and steam cook for 25 min.

Note: This cake can be baked also in a 350° oven for 40-50 minutes.

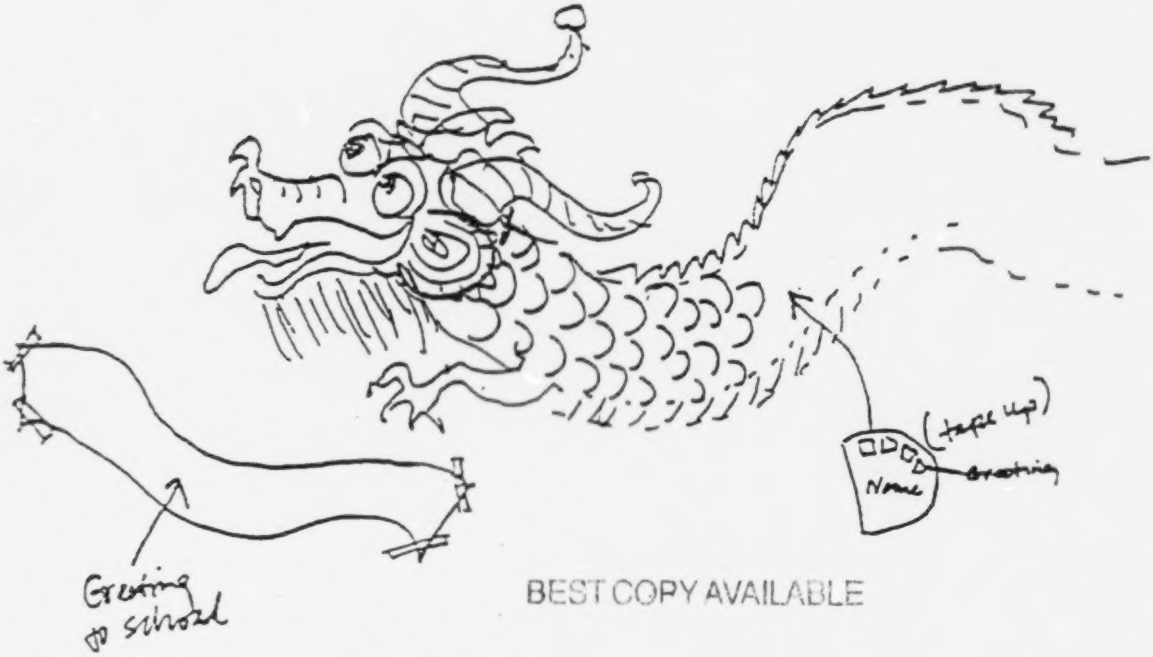
8

DRAGON DISPLAY

MATERIALS: White art paper
Felt pens

PROCEDURE: Draw a large picture of a dragon on the white paper. Do not complete the scales but be sure the outline is drawn. Cut some half circles of paper and place in an envelope near the dragon. Children take a half circle and put their name on it and place on the dragon.

SUGGESTIONS: This could be a school project as well as a class one. School visitors could be invited to write their name on a scale and add it to the dragon, thereby wishing the school a happy Chinese New Year.

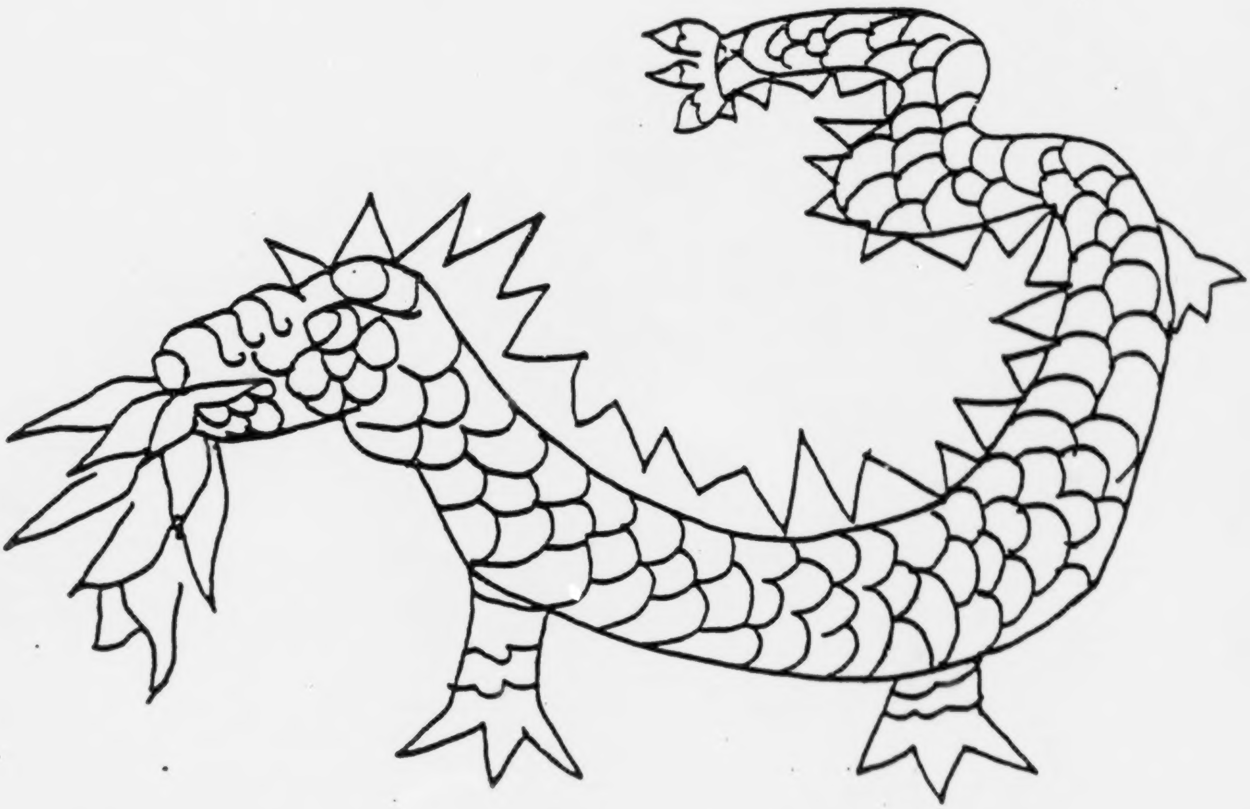


The Cycle of the Twelve Animals

A long time ago the Chinese picked twelve animals and assigned them each to a year forming a cycle of 12 years. Every twelve years marks the beginning of a new cycle. The cycle goes as follows: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, ram, monkey, rooster, dog and boar. The following chart shows the arrangement of the animals and years.

Rat	1960	1972	1984
Ox	1961	1973	1985
Tiger	1962	1974	1986
Hare	1963	1975	1987
Dragon	1964	1976	1988
Serpent	1965	1977	1989
Horse	1966	1978	1990
Ram	1967	1979	1991
Monkey	1968	1980	1992
Rooster	1969	1981	1993
Dog	1970	1982	1994
Boar	1971	1983	1995

Why did the Chinese pick these particular animals for the names of the year? Actually no one really knows how it came about. There are two old tales which have been told to Chinese children generation after generation about the origins of the 12 animals.



10

Story I

Twelve animals quarreled one day as to who was to head the cycle of years. The gods were asked to decide and they came up with an idea -- a contest: Whoever was to reach the bank of a certain river would be first and the rest of the animals would be grouped accordingly.

All assembled at the river and the ox plunged in. The rat jumped upon his broad back. Just before the ox stepped on shore, the rat jumped off his back and on the river bank. Thus the cycle starts off with the rat then follows: ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, ram or goat, monkey, rooster or chicken, dog, and boar or pig.

Story II

Once upon a time a king in China invited the animals in his kingdom to share in the New Year's celebration. As it turned out, only twelve of the animals came. First to arrive was the rat. Next came the ox. One by one they came. The twelfth and last to show up was the boar. Then the king named a year for each of the animals that came.

Special meanings have been given to each of the animals. Some people believe that certain animal years are better than others. These animal signs were important enough that they influenced important decisions such as marriages of people born under certain signs. People also believe that the year you are born in is supposed to affect your character in some way. It's fun to read anyway!

The Cycle of the Twelve Animals - A Description

Year of the Rat - A child born during the day is most likely to have a rich easy life. Rats are supposed to sleep by day and forage by night. If born during the night, one can expect a life of hard work.

Year of the Ox - The ox is a strong, steadfast animal. A child born this year is supposed to be a hard worker. S/he is strong and dependable.

Year of the Tiger - The tiger is said to be loyal and is a good provider. But the tigress tends to be shrewd.

Year of the Hare (Rabbit) - A person born this year is likely to be blessed with many children. S/he should have a happy and fruitful life.

Year of the Dragon - The dragon is supposed to be conservative. S/he is quick to anger only if s/he is protecting her/his young. The dragon is fond of the night time.

Year of the Serpent (Snake) - The serpent is said to be blessed with three virtues: sagacity, tenacity and agility. Therefore, a person born during this year should be capable of making sound judgments, doing various kinds of work, and keeping on the job until the work is finished.

Year of the Horse - The horse is a strong and friendly animal. A person born during this year is supposed to be kind to strangers, but s/he is not good when working with relatives.

Year of the Ram - The ram is said to be a proud and domineering animal. A person born this year should be strong in the instinct to help and guard her/his fellows. S/he should make a good doctor.

Year of the Monkey - This animal is quick and agile. S/he is always curious and highly observant. The person born this year would be a loving parent. S/he would be good in work that requires curiosity, but s/he is not likely to mind her/his own business.

Year of the Rooster - We know the rooster is an early riser. The person born this year would likely be very industrious. S/he would be proud, single-purposed and quick.

Year of the Dog - A dog can be a loyal friend. A person born this year would be loyal and persistent and quick to learn.

Year of the Boar - This animal is intelligent and emotional. A person born this year is likely to be a good parent. S/he is prolific. S/he may be easy to anger, but s/he is intelligent. S/he knows when to retreat if necessary.

What Sign Are You?

Subject Area: Math Drill; Social Studies

Level: Elementary

Objectives:
- to practice using reference charts to find information
- to learn to calculate age or year of birth if one or the other is given
- to become familiar with the astrological Zodiac and the animal cycles and understand their similarities and differences
- to research general information about noted personalities

Materials Needed:
The Cycle of the 12 Animals (page 23)
Astrological Zodiac Signs (page 24)
Personalities and their Birth Dates Worksheet (page 26)

Procedure:

(1) Compare and contrast the Lunar Calendar (page 5) with the calendar used in our classrooms, the Animal Cycle signs with the Astrological Zodiac signs.

(2) Have the students find their own signs in both ways. Analyze what each says about themselves. (You may need to point out that there is no stigma attached to any of the animals.)

Do they agree or disagree with the description of themselves according to the signs?

(3) Here are suggestions for using the worksheet in groups or individually. Before running off the student copies, fill in information according to what you want your students to do. This would be determined by their abilities and your objectives.

a. Math: Leave out the ages. Have students find out how old the person would be in 1980 by subtracting.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1980 \\ -\ \underline{1925} \\ 55 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \\ \text{(Maria Tallchief)} \\ \text{years old} \end{array}$$

b. Math: Leave out the year of birth. Find it by subtracting.

c. Math: Along with either of the above, have students find the animal sign for each person. Since it comes in 12 year cycles, keep adding 12 or groups of 12 to the year of birth until you reach a year that is indicated in the reference chart.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1927 \\ +\ \underline{12} \\ 1939 \\ +\ \underline{24} \\ 1963 \\ +\ \underline{12} \\ 1975 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(Cesar Chavez)} \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \text{- (Rabbit or Hare as indicated on the chart.)} \end{array}$$

Write or draw in the symbol of the sign.

The Cycle of the Twelve Animals - A Description

Year of the Rat - A child born during the day is most likely to have a rich easy life. Rats are supposed to sleep by day and forage by night. If born duri the night, one can expect a life of hard work.

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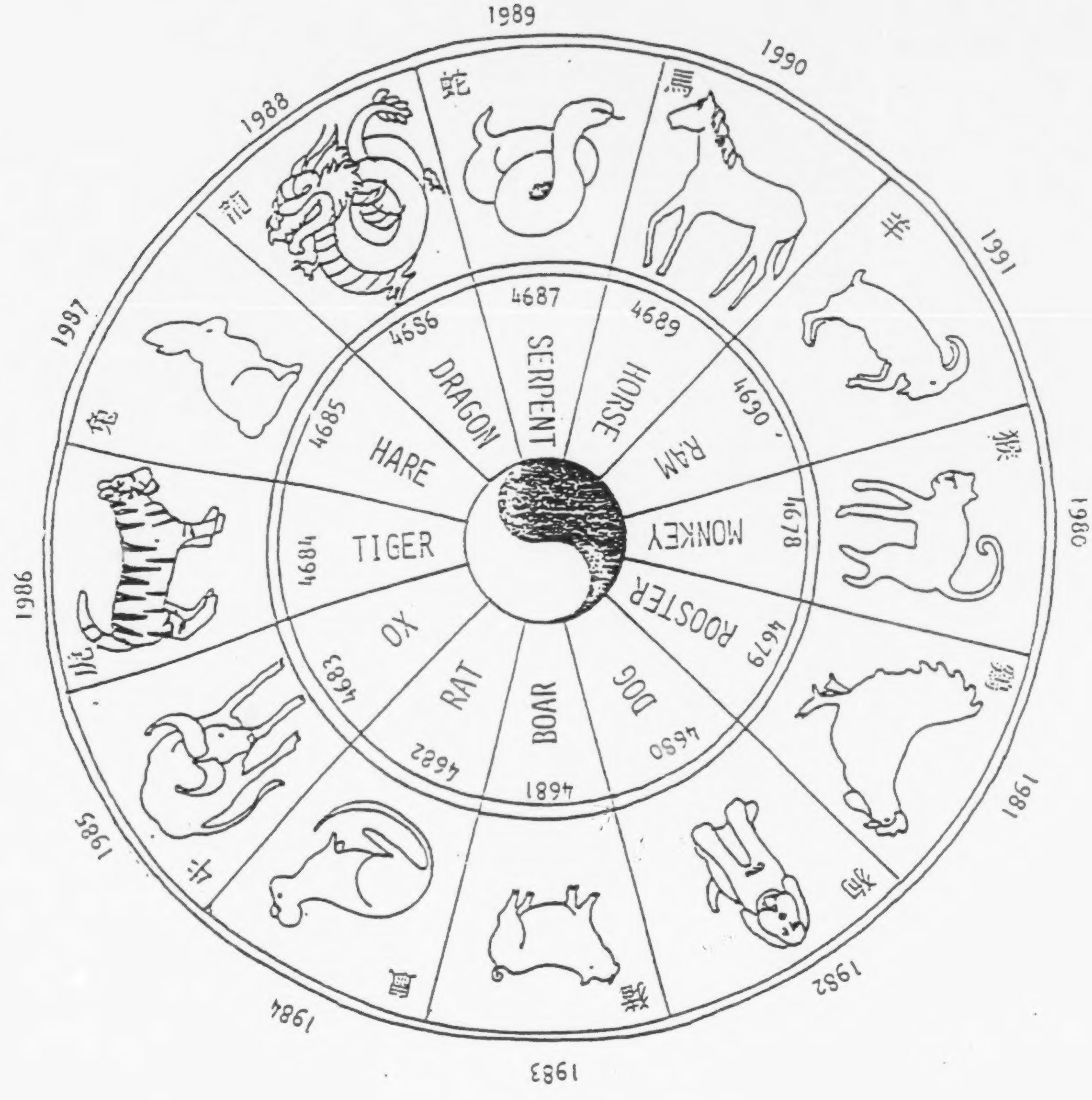
The Cycle of

THE TWELVE ANIMALS

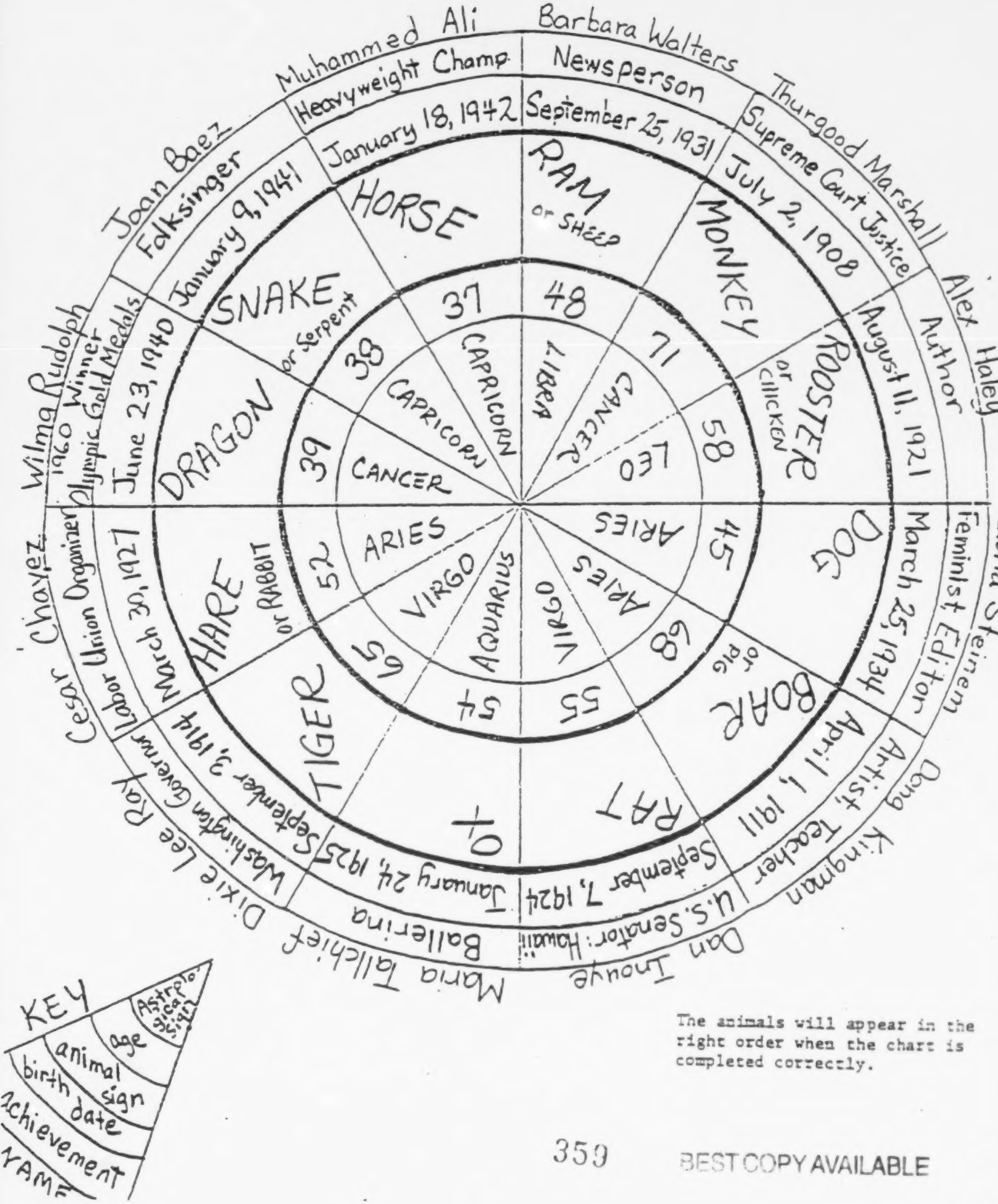
十二生肖



1989
蛇
SERPENT
4687
1990
馬
HORSE
4689
1991
羊
RAM
4690
1980
猴
MONKEY
4678
1981
雞
ROOSTER
4679
1982
狗
DOG
4680
1983
豬
BOAR
4681
1984
鼠
RAT
4682
1985
牛
OX
4683
1986
虎
TIGER
4684
1987
兔
HARE
4685
1988
龍
DRAGON
4686

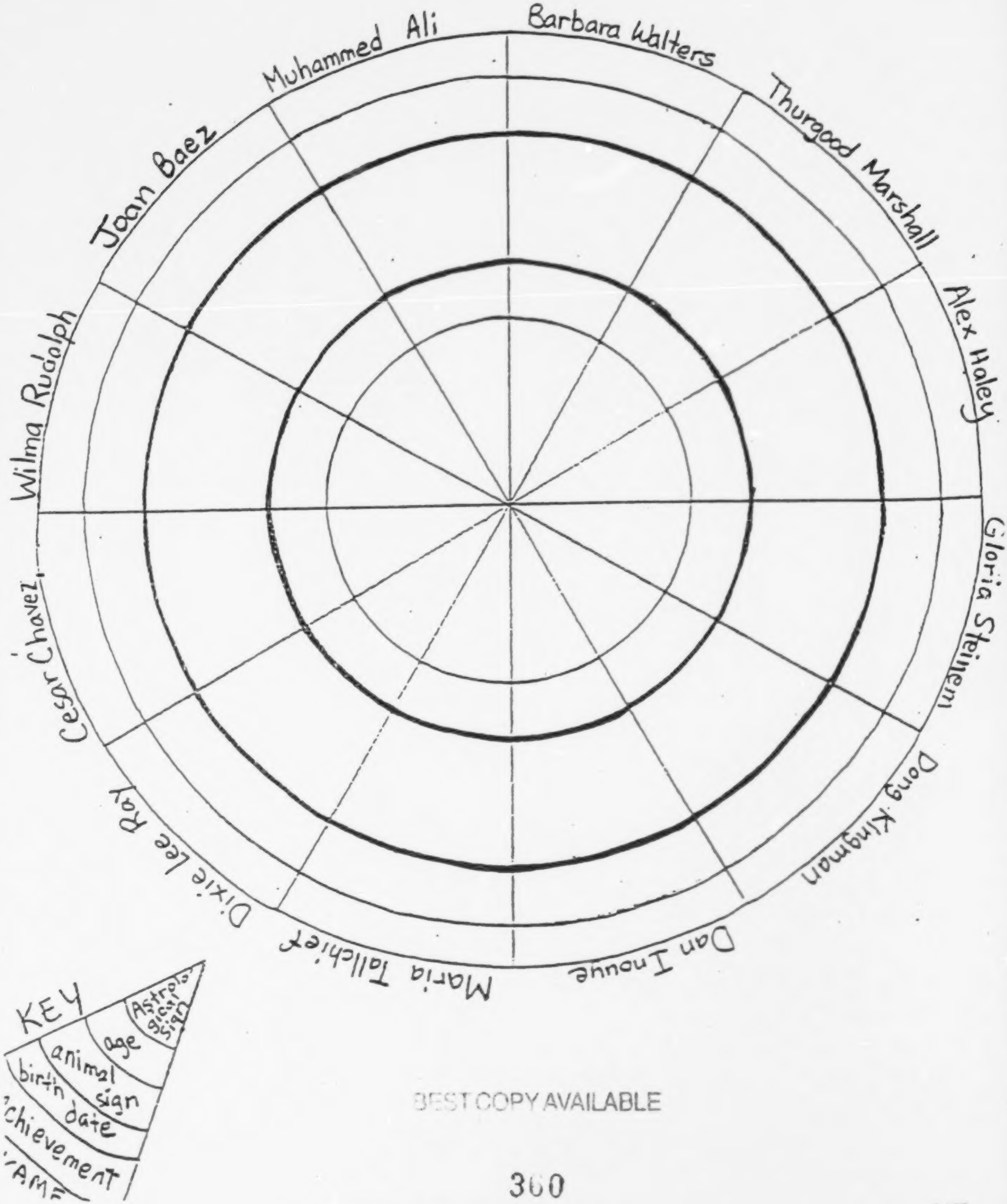
15

Personality Key
Teachers Worksheet


Barbara Walters
Newsperson
September 25, 1931
RAM or SHEEP
48
LIBRA
Thurgood Marshall
Supreme Court Justice
July 2, 1908
MONKEY
71
CANCER
Alex Haley
Author
August 11, 1921
ROOSTER or CHICKEN
58
LEO
Gloria Steinem
Feminist Editor
March 25, 1934
DOG
45
ARIES
Dong Kingman
Artist, Teacher
April 1, 1911
BOAR or PIG
68
ARIES
Dan Inouye
U.S. Senator: Hawaii
September 7, 1924
RAT
55
VIRGO
Maria Tallchief
Ballerina
January 24, 1925
OX
54
AQUARIUS
Dixie Lee Ray
Washington Governor
September 3, 1914
TIGER
65
VIRGO
Cesar Chavez
Labor Union Organizer
March 30, 1927
HARE or RABBIT
52
ARIES
Wilma Rudolph
1960 Winner Olympic Gold Medals
June 23, 1940
DRAGON
39
CANCER
Joan Baez
Folksinger
January 9, 1941
SNAKE or Serpent
38
CAPRICORN
Muhammed Ali
Heavyweight Champ.
January 18, 1942
HORSE
37
CAPRICORN
KEY
Astrological Sign
age
animal sign
birth date
achievement
NAME

The animals will appear in the right order when the chart is completed correctly.

Student Worksheet


Barbara Walters
Thurgood Marshall
Alex Haley
Gloria Steinem
Dong Kingman
Dan Inouye
Maria Tallchief
Dixie Lee Roy
Cesar Chavez
Wilma Rudolph
Joan Baez
Muhammed Ali
KEY
Astrological sign
age
animal sign
birth date
chievement
AME

Chinese Calligraphy

To the Chinese, calligraphy is as much an art as painting.

Calligraphy is not mere handwriting. It must show originality, style, strength and personality. Writing may be neat and even ornate but that does not necessarily make it calligraphy.

Development of calligraphy into an art owes much to use of the Chinese writing brush and paper. The brush was invented before the 5th century B.C. It is subtle and responsive. Lines and strokes can be made exactly as one intends. Quickly absorbent paper was invented in the early years of the Christian era. It does not distort the forms of the characters while drying. Furthermore, it defies correction. Unsatisfactory lines and strokes cannot be altered once they are on the paper. This is a commandment of the calligraphic art.

The ideographic Chinese characters present an infinite variety of structural problems that challenge artistic imagination. They are formed by horizontal and vertical lines, dots, hooks, and slanting strokes. It is for the artist to decide the thickness, length and shape of each mark. He must take into consideration the fact that the size of the characters and the space between them contribute to the beauty of the composition and its rhythm. For variety, he may not always write the same character in the same shape and size. To relieve the tendency of Chinese characters to be square, he may elongate or round them into a new gracefulness.

The most common calligraphies are called regular, running and grass styles. The first is elaborate, with lines and strokes written one after the other; the second is rapid, with lines and strokes joined together whenever convenient; and the third is a shorthand form of writing.

Principles of balance and symmetry usually are observed in Chinese calligraphy. However, one school which advocates the beauty of momentum argues that a horizontal line should not be horizontal but higher at one end than the other, that a square should never be perfect and that symmetrical parts should never be identical in size or position.

Chinese calligraphy is an art, a philosophy and a form of relaxation for many who will never acquire consummate skill. Its calm and orderly beauty is attracting an ever widening circle of admirers and even a few practitioners among Westerners.

Chinese Calligraphy - Gung-Hay Fat Choy

Subject Area: Art, Social Studies, or Language Arts

Level: Elementary

Objectives: to complete a crayon rubbing art project in honor of Chinese New Year

While the objectives for Social Studies, Art or Language Arts may be determined by the kinds of lessons taught before the project, objectives should also include the following:

- an understanding of the use of characters in Chinese and Japanese writing. (It is not a phonetic alphabet system. Each character would represent all or part of an idea or word meaning.)
- an introduction to the art of calligraphy.
- an understanding of the use of the color red in Chinese culture.

Materials Needed: Four Chinese Characters saying "HAPPY NEW YEAR"
Tagboard
Red butcher paper at least 8½ x 30"
Black crayon
Black yarn
Teacher prepared layered plate for crayon rubbing. To prepare a "layered plate": on tagboard, run off two sets of the Chinese characters. Cut out each little part of the characters of one set. Glue each of the parts onto corresponding parts of the other set of characters. The characters are raised enough so that you now have a "layered plate" from which to make a crayon rubbing. Identify each part as being "tops" (happiness) or "bottom" (New Year).

Procedure: Because of the limited number of layered plates, this works best as an Interest Center project.

(1) Fold over an inch at the top of the butcher paper. Fold over again and then again to make it stiff.

(2) Do the same to the bottom part.

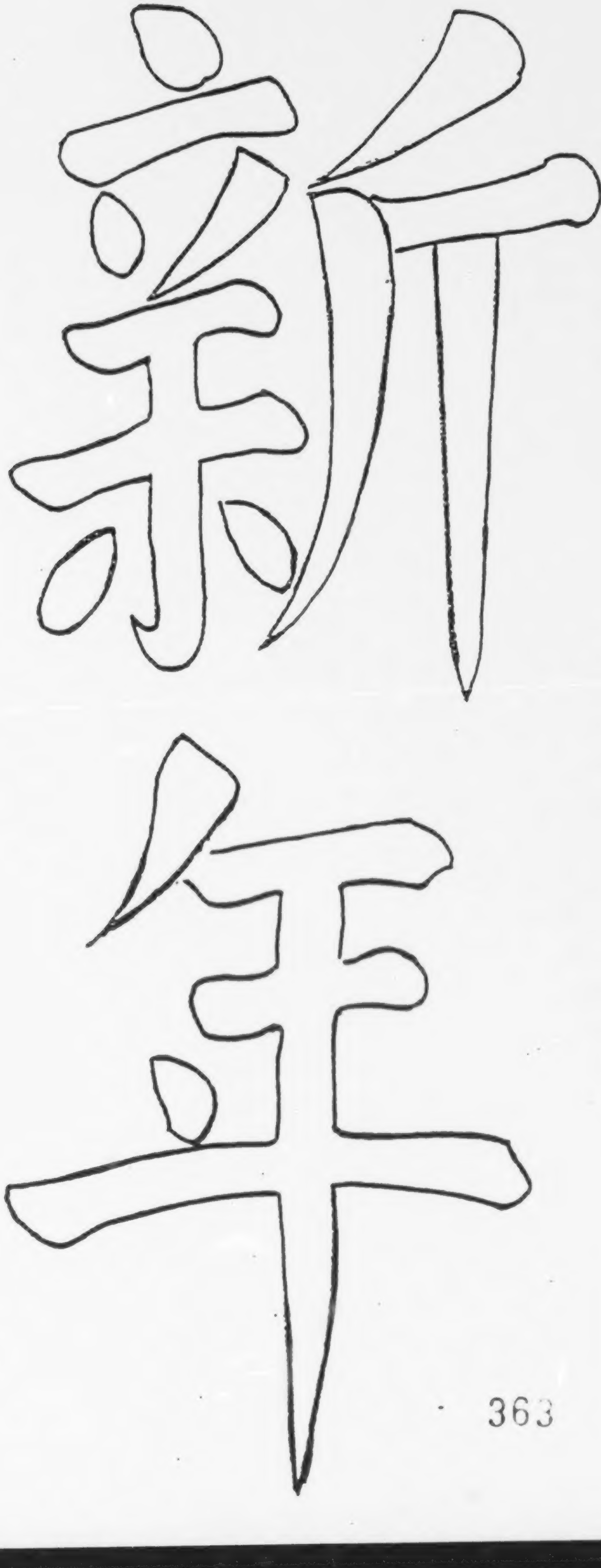
(3) Put the top layered plate under the top part of the red paper.

(4) Make a black crayon rubbing of the character. Be sure to press hard over the edges of the characters to make each part as dark as possible. Be careful to not rub over the edges of the plate itself.

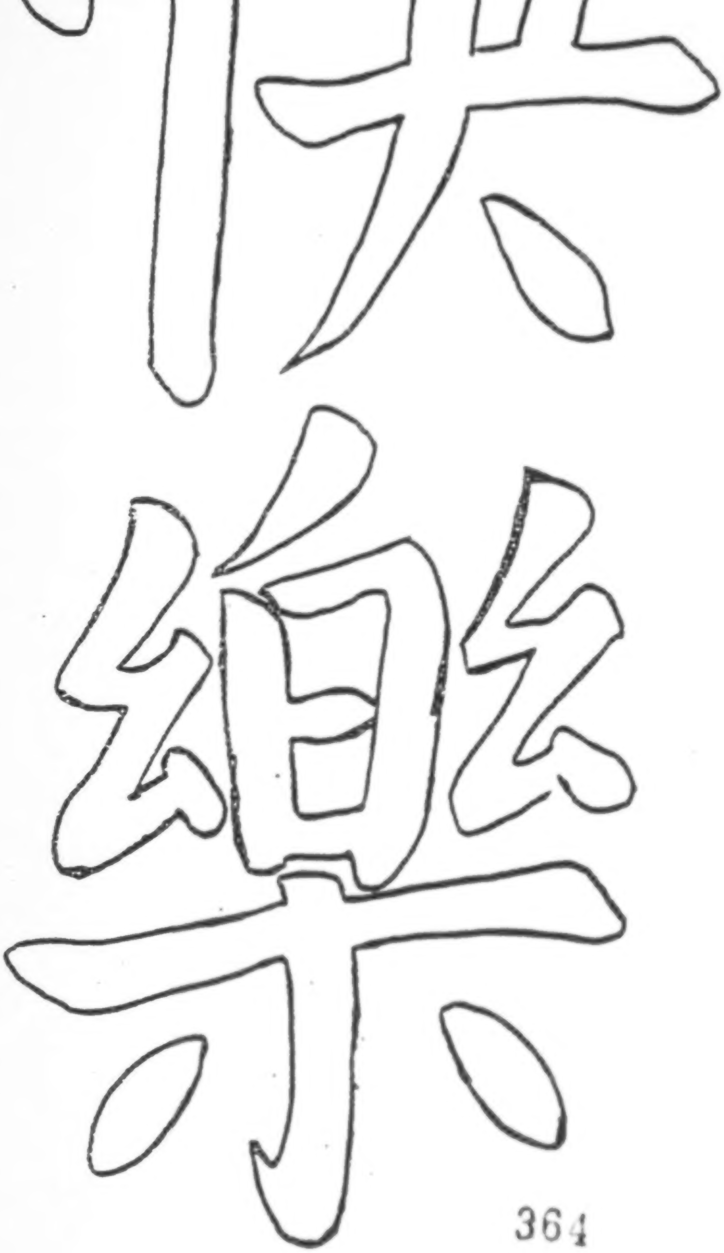
(5) Do the same with the last two characters for the bottom part of the scroll. Be sure to space correctly the second and third characters so that it all looks balanced.

(6) Put yarn under the top folds in the back of the scroll and glue the fold down. Tie the yarn at the top to make a hanging. Variation: Sticks may be inserted into the top and bottom of the scroll and then the yarn tied to the end of the stick at the top.

(7) Glue the bottom folds down also.



*These two characters mean New Year. Color the words in black and the background in red, then paste the first sheet & the second sheet together. .



*These two characters mean happiness.

Lion or Dragon Puppet

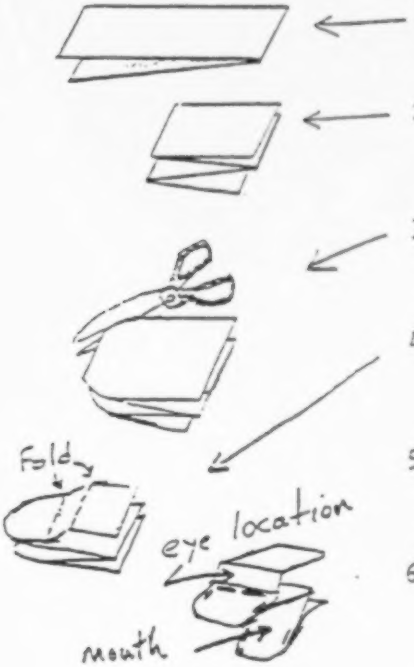
The Lion or Dragon Dance is often performed during a Chinese New Year celebration. The dragon stands for courage, adventure, and bravery. The lion guards people and houses against evil spirits. (See Background Information pages 1-3)

Level: Elementary

Materials Needed: 4" X 20" strip of construction paper
variety of materials for decorating the puppet and making its tail

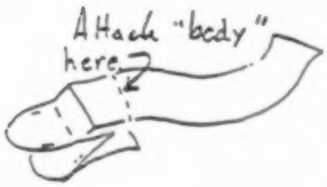
Example:		
	construction paper	crayon
	fabric	tissue paper
	crepe paper	yarn

Procedure: To make the Lion or Dragon Head -

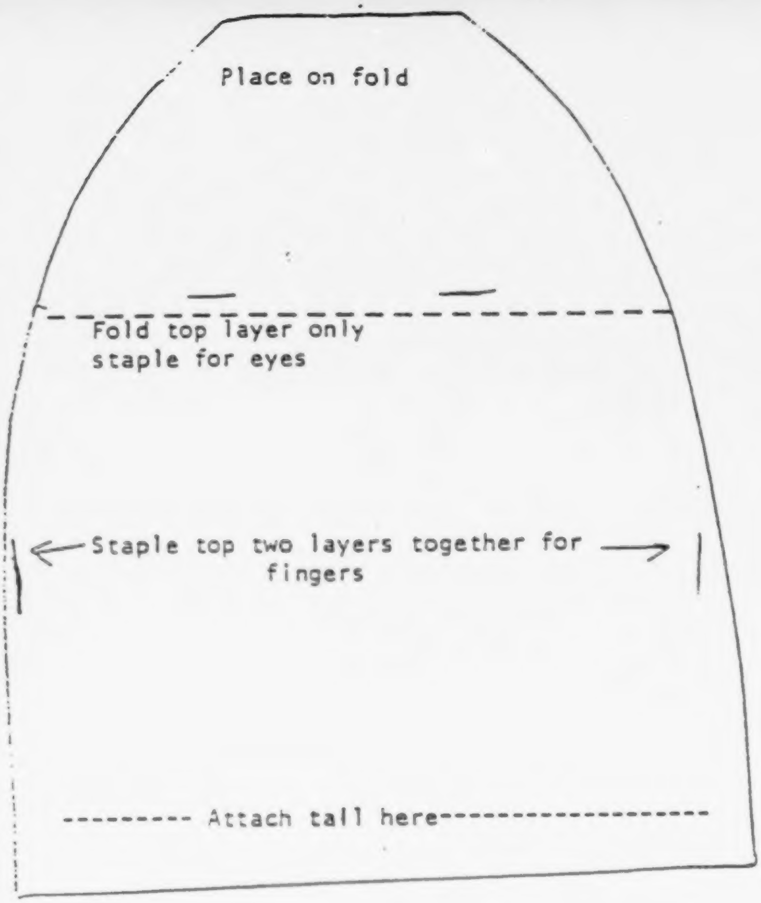


1. Fold the construction paper in half to make it 10" X 4".
2. Take each open end and fold it to the top to make an accordion pleat (5" X 4" when flat)
3. Place the pattern on the folded construction paper and cut.
4. Take the top layer and make a fold for the eyes and staple.
5. Staple the top two sides for the fingers and the bottom two sides for the thumb.
6. Students can decorate the head in any way - making bulging eyes, a fiery tongue, stringy beard, etc.

To make the tail which should be attached to the top part of the puppet-



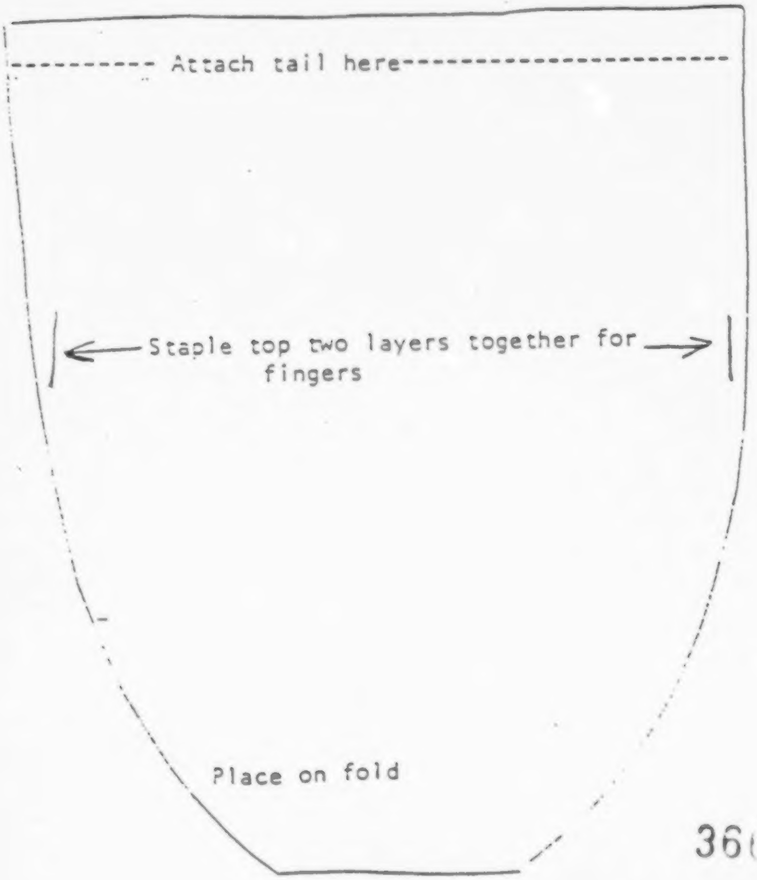
1. A long strip of construction paper can be attached to the head. Decorate it in any way or color it, then accordion pleat it.
2. Crepe paper streamers can be attached to the head or crepe paper can be pasted on the construction paper tail.
3. Colorful tissue paper scraps can also be pasted on the construction paper tail.


Place on fold
Fold top layer only
staple for eyes
Staple top two layers together for fingers
Attach tail here

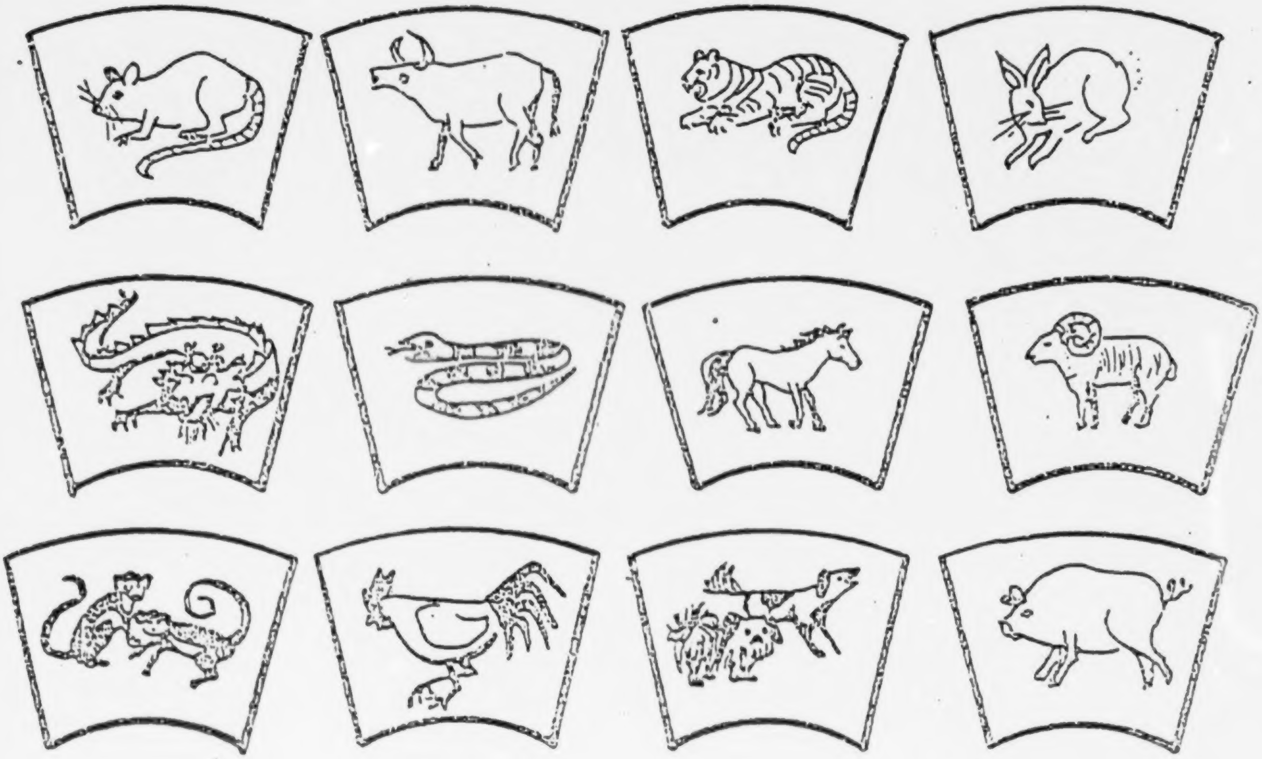
Pattern for Lion or Dragon Head

Instructions on the pattern is for the top part of the head only.

The bottom two layers should just be stapled on the sides to form a pocket for the thumb.


Attach tail here
Staple top two layers together for fingers
Place on fold

CHINESE CALENDAR

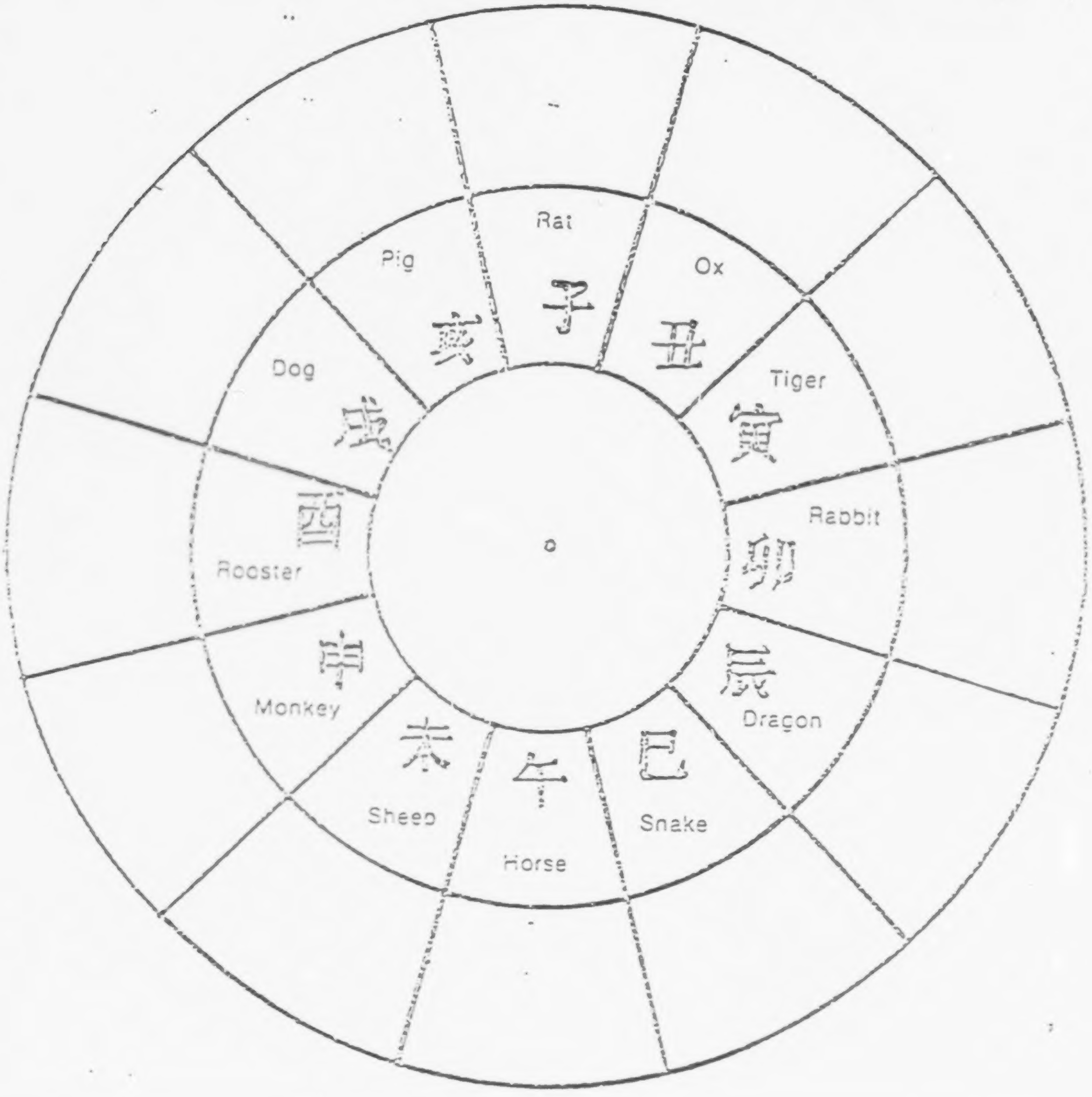


CHINESE YEARS ARE DIFFERENT

The Chinese people celebrate each new year by naming that year after an animal. Twelve different animals, some real and some not, each take their turn. After twelve years, they start all over again.

By moving the marker on your Chinese Calendar one animal clockwise each year, you will see whether the Chinese people are celebrating "the year of the horse," "the year of the tiger," etc.

CHINESE CALENDAR


Rat
子
Ox
丑
Tiger
寅
Rabbit
卯
辰
Dragon
巳
Snake
午
Horse
未
Sheep
申
Monkey
酉
Rooster
戌
Dog
亥
Pig

1. Copy on red construction paper.
2. Cut out animals, paste in place by matching to name.
3. Cut out pointer and fasten with a brass fastener.
4. Cut out story and paste under calendar.

THE TWELVE ANIMALS

(Outlines)

MATERIALS: Various colors of tissue paper, cut into 2" squares
Glue
Animal outlines

PROCEDURE: Twist squares and glue onto animals to give 3-D effect
Use different colors for the facial features

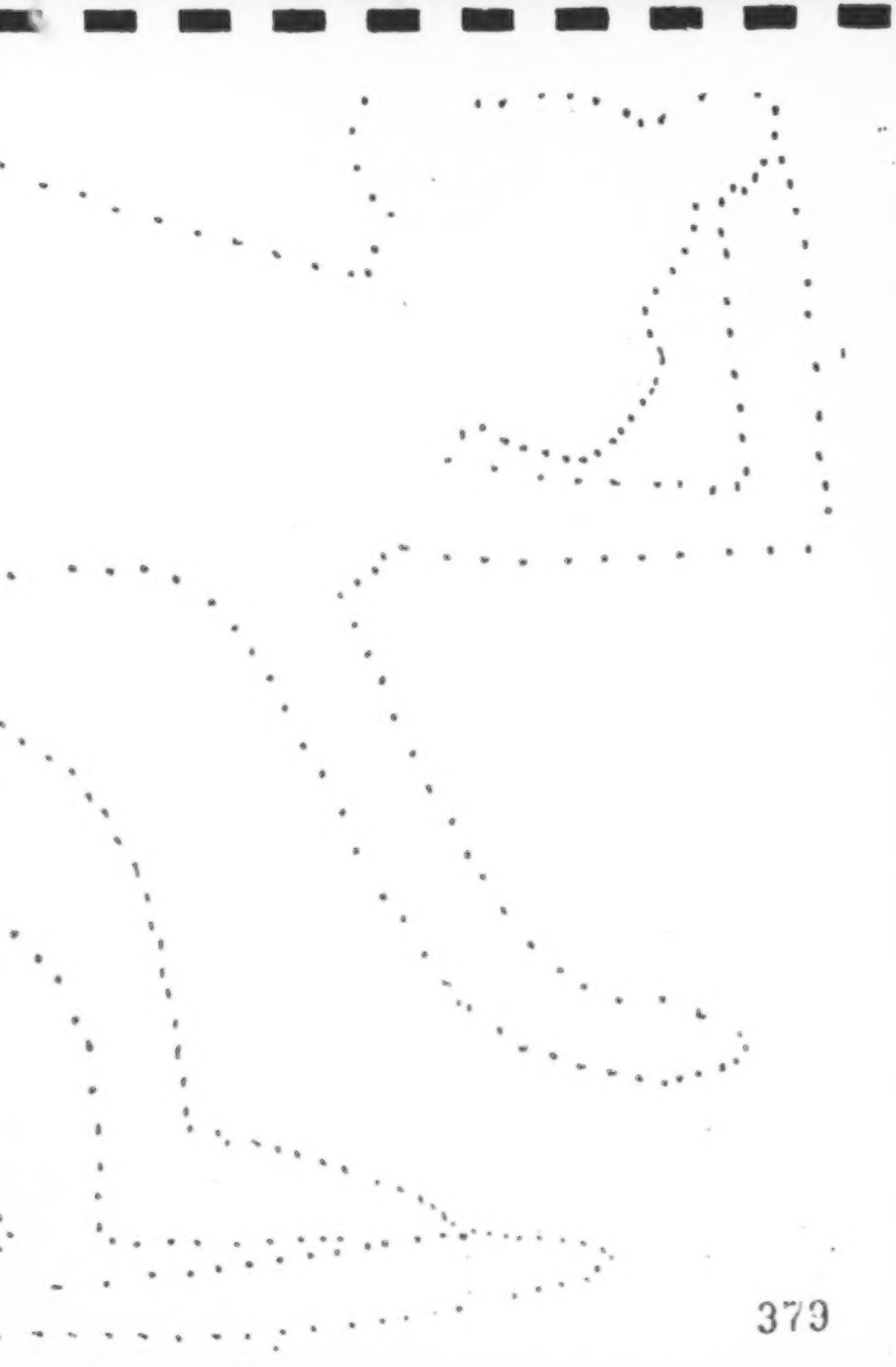
SUGGESTIONS: When project is completed, these could be used for oral language development. A comparison could be made regarding their shape and their differences.

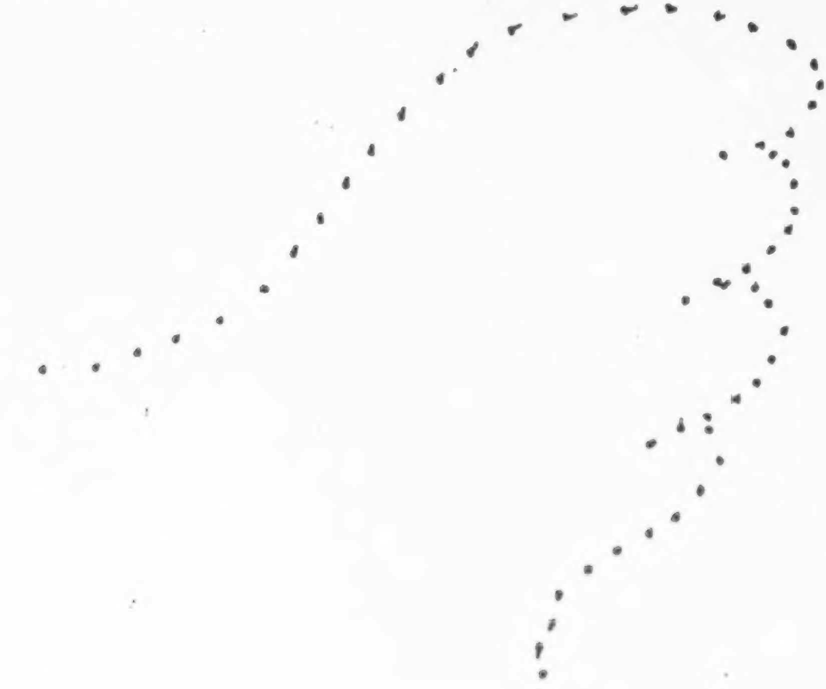
These could also be glued onto sticks and used as puppets.

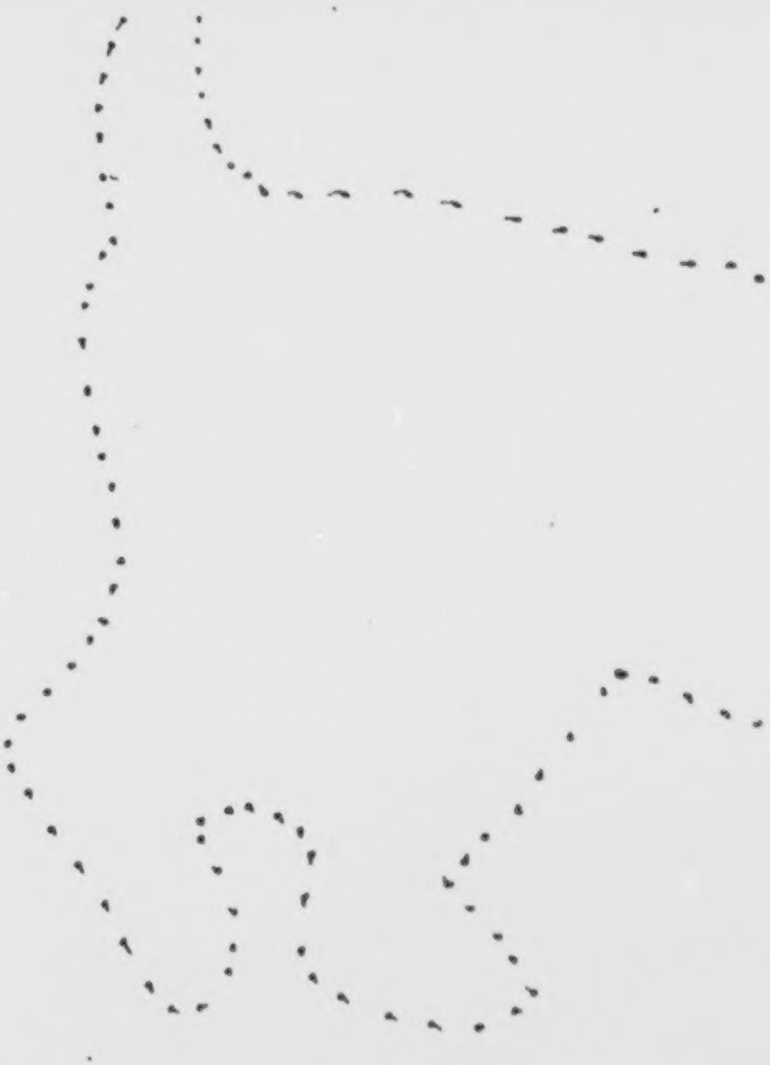
26

29

30







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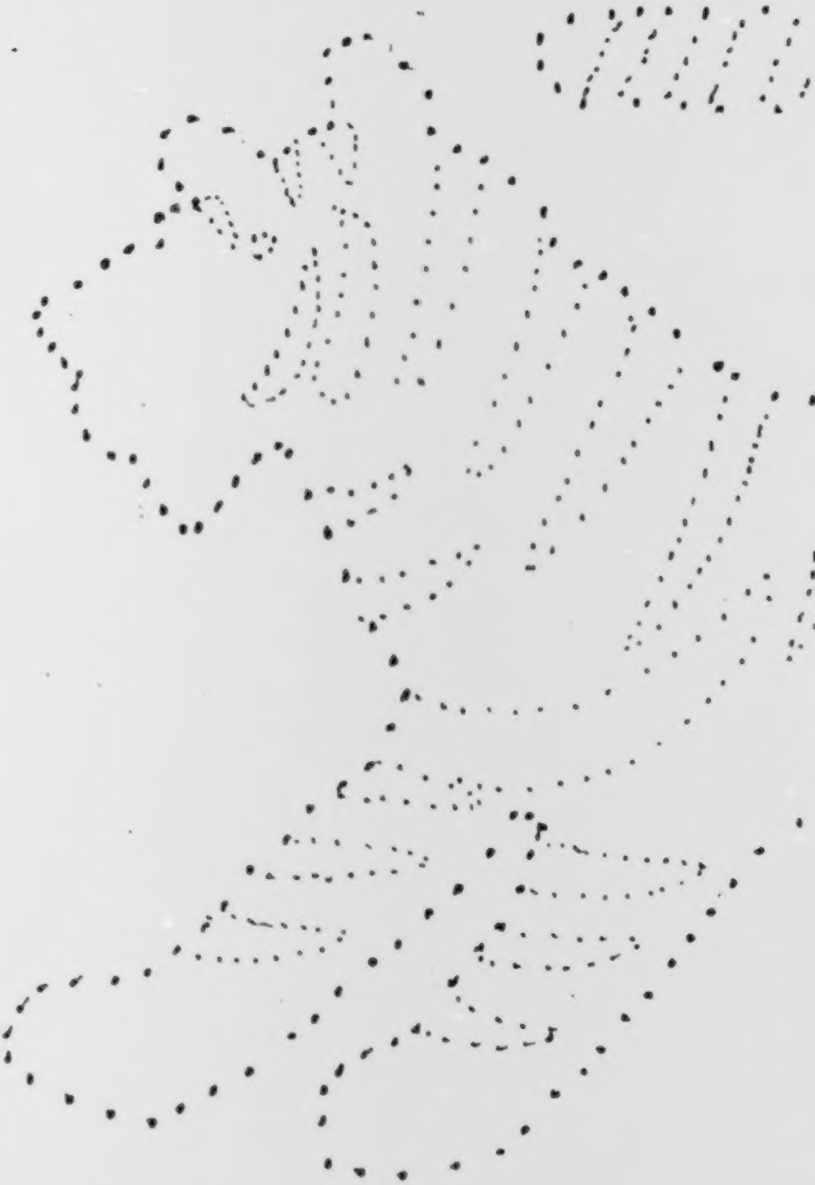
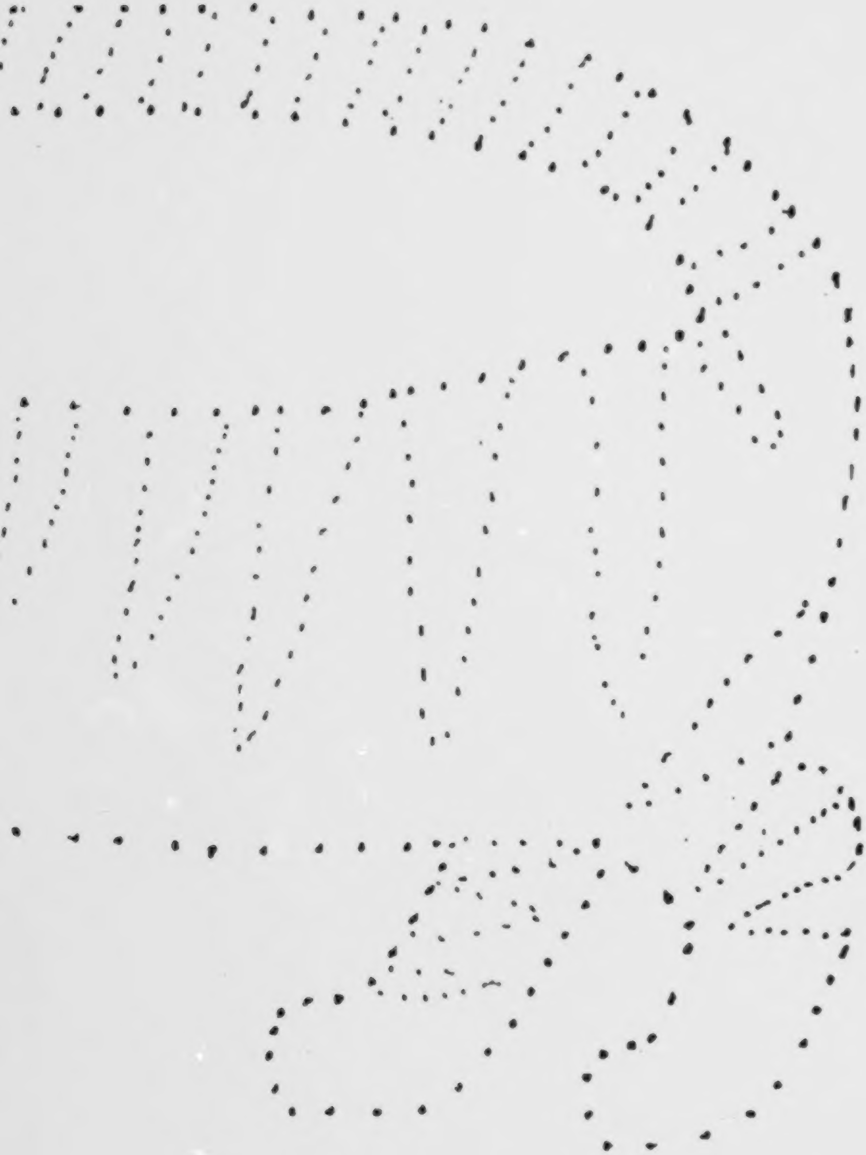




Eat Rice

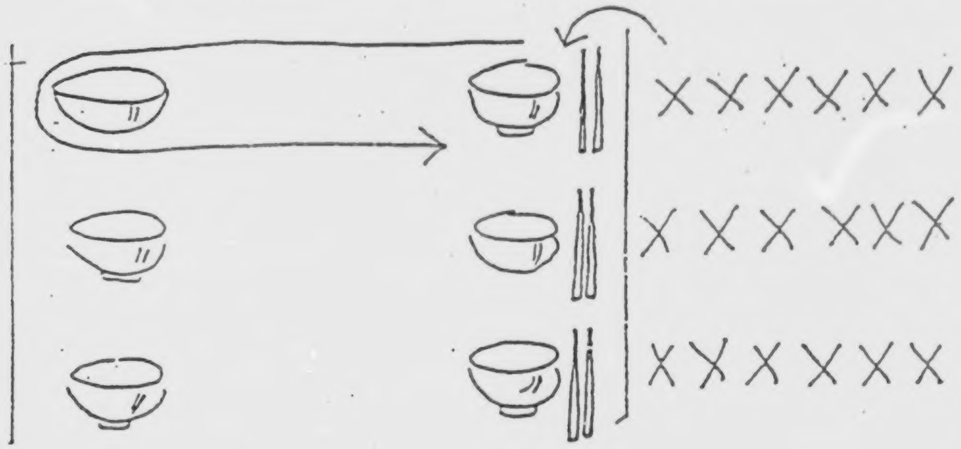
Introduction: Divide the class into groups.

Equipment needed: Two bowls per group, one pair of chopsticks per group, one bag of peanuts which symbolizes rice.

Number of players recommended: Entire class.

Method of playing:

Each group lines up in one straight line with each member behind the other. An empty bowl is placed immediately in front of each group. Approximately twenty feet away other bowls with peanuts are placed. The first member of each group is given a pair of chopsticks; he runs to the bowl containing peanuts, picks one up, returns and places it into the bowl in front of his group. If anyone drops the peanut on the way back, he must return to the bowl of peanuts and pick up another one and try again. When he has placed the peanut into the bowl, he hands the chopsticks to the next member of his group. The first group to finish wins.



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Chinese Numbers 1-12

The following chart gives the Cantonese pronunciation and characters for the numbers 1-12. A pronunciation key is included for your information.

Students can practice writing the characters in the boxes provided on the chart.

Pronunciation Key

yāt - yut
yih - yee
sàam - som
sei - say
nǵ - oon
luhk - loak
chāt - chut
baat - bot
gáu - gow
sahp - sop
sahp yāt- sop yut
sahp yih- sop yee

Tones In Cantonese

high falling	à
high rising	á
middle level	a, at
high level	ā, āt
low falling	àh
low rising	áh
low level	ah, aht

MINIATURE CHINESE NUMBER BOOK

Read: Haskins, Jim. *Count Your Way Through China.* Carolrhoda Books, Inc., Minneapolis, 1987. ISBN (0-87614-302-8)

Each painted Chinese character represents a number.
Numbers are painted with brushes or with pens and black ink.

1. Cut out the number cards 1 through 10.
2. Staple them onto the left-hand side, forming a miniature Chinese Number Book.
3. Practice writing the Chinese numbers with a paint brush dipped into black ink, forming the characters on white construction paper.

1	一	**yī**	2	二	**èr**
3	三	**sān**	4	四	**sì**
5	五	**wǔ**	6	六	**liù**
7	七	**qī**	8	八	**bā**
9	九	**jiǔ**	10	十	**shí**

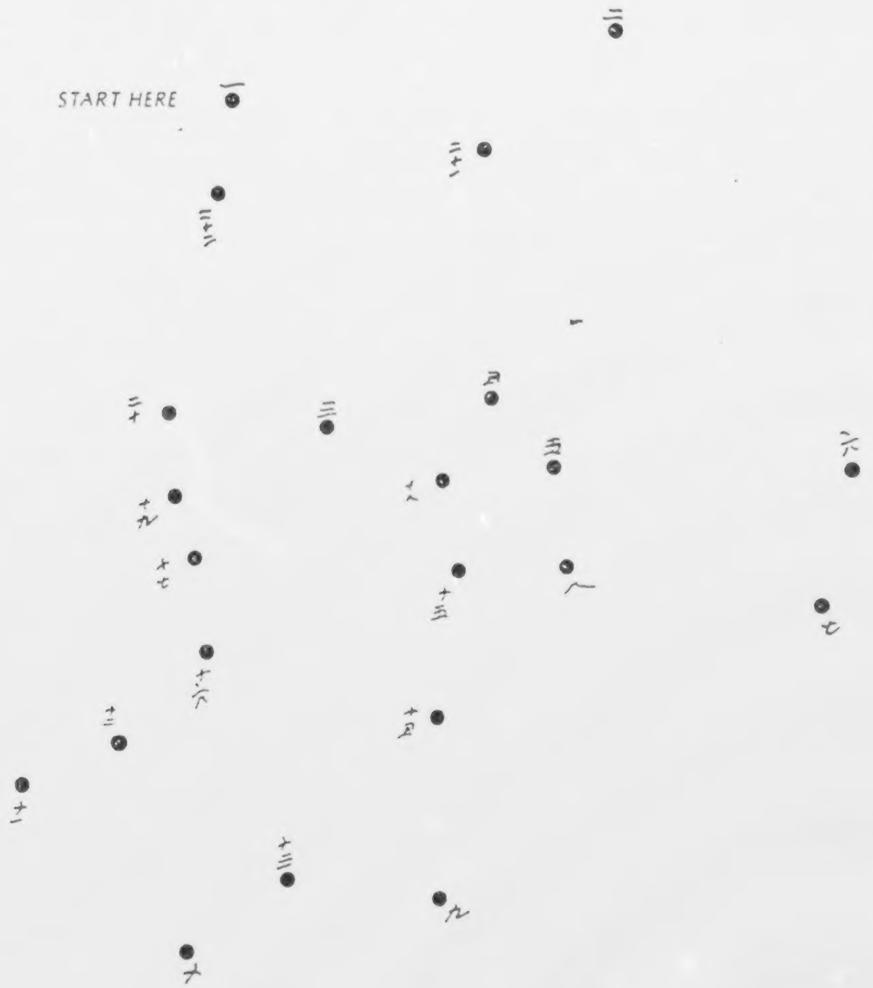
You can write from 1 to 100 in Chinese numerals.
HINT: Look at the characters for 1 to 10, 11, 20 and 21.
Use these numerals to help you fill in the rest of the boxes.

		11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81	91
1	一	十一	二十一							
2	二									
3	三									
4	四									
5	五									
6	六									
7	七									
8	八									
9	九									
10	十	二十								百

Traditionally, Chinese writing is done with a brush and ink, in a technique called calligraphy. But you can use felt pen or pencil.

Follow the Chinese numerals to connect the dots.

HINT: Use the number chart on page 2 if you need help finding the correct order for the numerals.

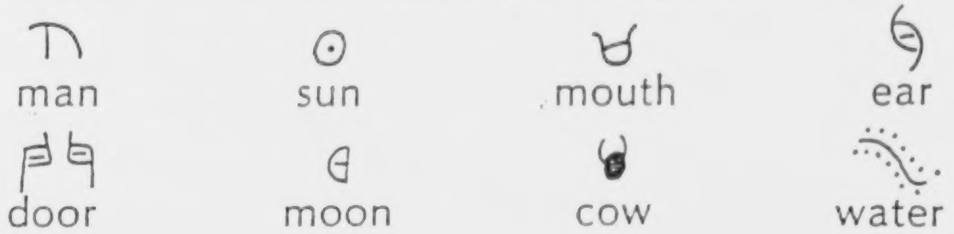

START HERE
一
二
三
四
五
六
七
八
九
十
十一
十二
十三
十四
十五
十六
十七
十八
十九
二十
二十一
二十二

When you finish, you will have drawn the Chinese character for "son"! Color it in if you wish.

CRACKING THE CODE:

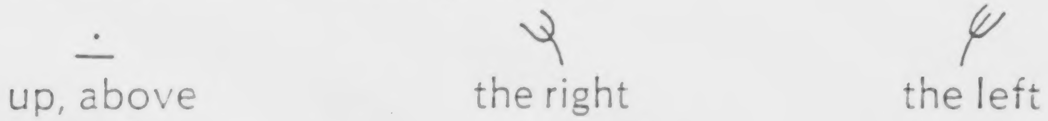
an exercise in logic and imagination

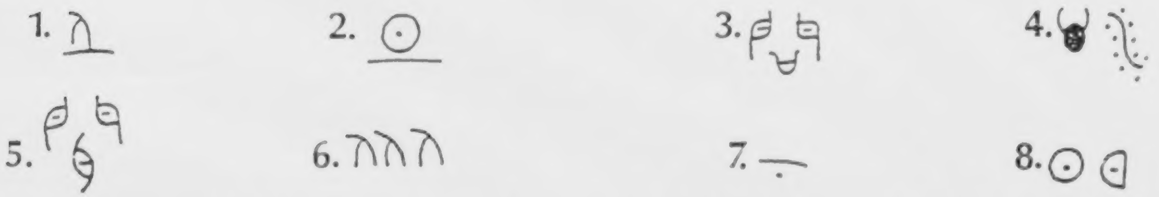
Imagine you are on an archaeological "dig" (expedition) in China, searching for artifacts of ancient societies. You have found some writings on old bones and carved tablets and have figured out what the words mean. The words you deciphered are:



One day, you discover some more bones with writing. You've never seen these words before. Can you use the words you deciphered earlier to help you figure out these new words?

HINT: Here are some helping ciphers:





The Chinese writing system is over 4000 years old. (Do you know how old written English is? Try to find out.) Written Chinese began as a pictographic language. People wrote by using pictures to stand for the things being written about (just like the first set of writings you "discovered".) They also used ideographs to stand for ideas or concepts, things less easily drawn. Today, Chinese characters may be simple symbols or combinations of symbols. Characters represent words, ideas and complete thoughts. Try to devise your own ideographs.

How do we write in English? We combine letters to build words. Are letters and Chinese characters the same? Letters stand for sounds. We combine letters to write the sounds of the names of things.

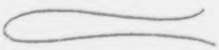
TIEN TSE

(Swallow)

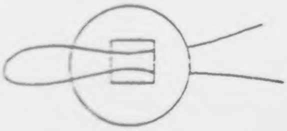
YOU NEED: a coin or disc about 2 - 4 inches in diameter with a hole in the center (you can use a washer from a hardware store or make your own from cardboard - cut several discs and glue them together)

pieces of yarn about 8 - 10 inches long

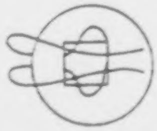
1. Fold each piece of yarn in half.



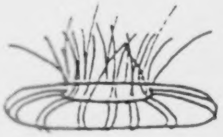
2. Pass the folded end of yarn through the hole in the disc.



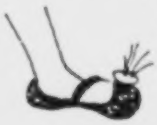
3. Next, wrap the cut ends around the disc and pass them through the folded end. Pull tight.



4. Repeat this step until the disc is covered with yarn.



5. Place the disc on the top of your foot and kick it up into the air. How many times can you kick the disc before Tien Tse touches the floor?



Chinese children invented this game to help them stay warm during the winters in northern China.

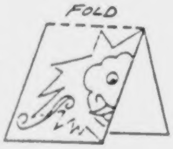
MAKE A DRAGON

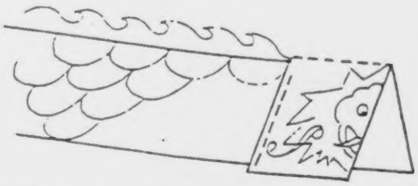
(Symbol of Good Luck)

The leader in parades for the Chinese New Year (which generally falls between Jan. 21 and Feb. 19) wears the head of the dragon. Others under the sheet-body form the many legs of the zig-zagging dragon.

YOU NEED: stiff paper such as poster board or cardboard (8 inches × 22 inches)
felt markers, stapler, scissors, glue
colored tissue paper, old sheet
the patterns which appear on the next 2 pages

1. Fold the cardboard as shown to form the head. Trace the pattern of the dragon's head (Fig. 1) onto the two sides.
2. Color the face of the dragon.





3. Staple the sheet to the back of the head.
4. Trace the scale pattern (Fig. 2) onto colored tissue paper. Cut out as many as you can. These will be used to cover the sheet-body.
5. Trace the spine pattern (Fig. 3) onto construction paper. Cut out as many as needed for the length of the sheet used.
6. Glue the spine to the top of the body and the scales to the remaining sheet.

46

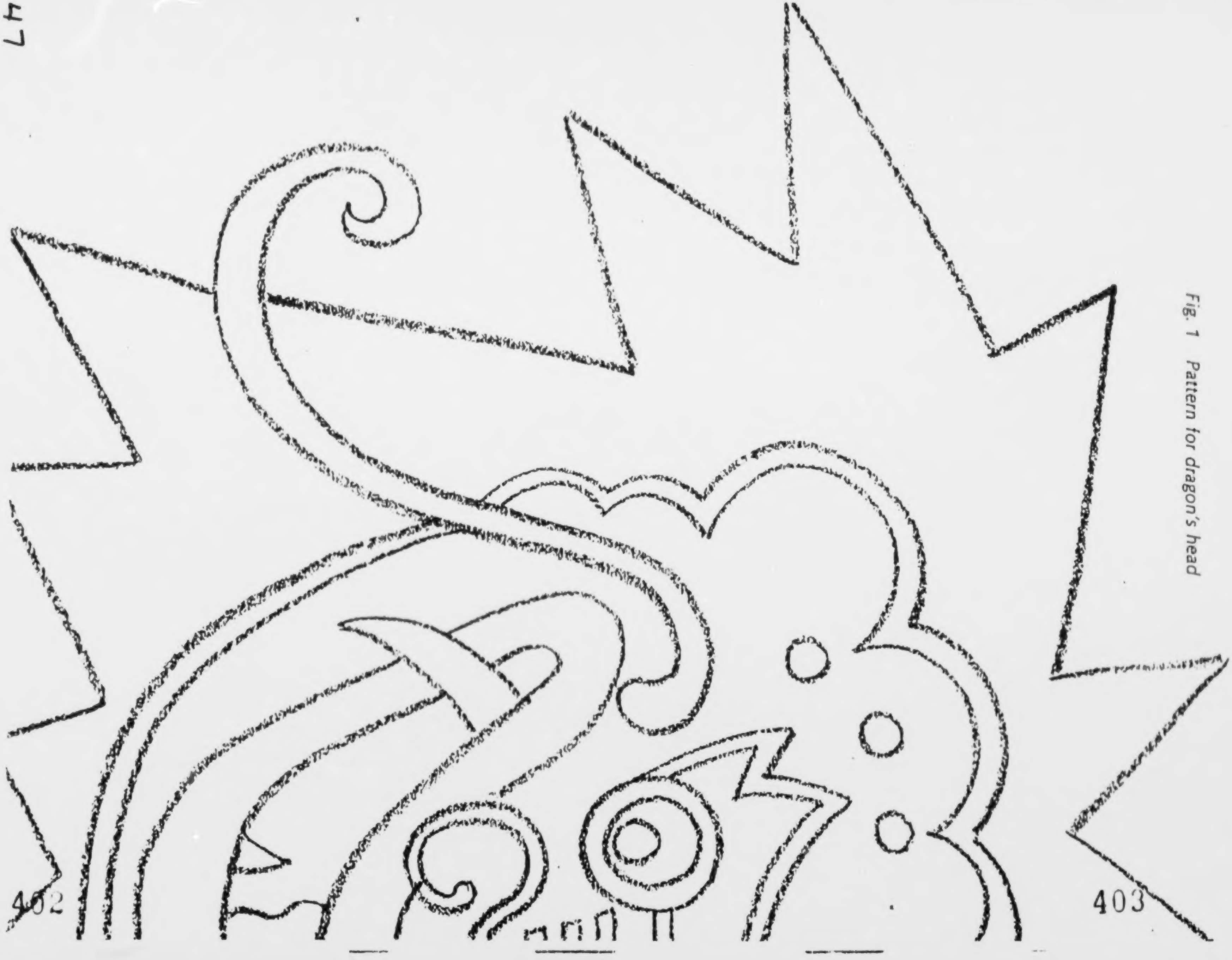


Fig. 1 *Pattern for dragon's head*

In Chinese culture, colors may represent different feelings and types of people. In Chinese opera, for example, the color(s) on the masks would let the audience know the type of character appearing on stage. You may want to think about these meanings of colors when you are coloring your dragon head mask.

RED - hot-blooded, very dramatic, loyal. Red is also used in ceremonies as a symbol for happiness and cheerfulness.

PURPLE - Purple is in the same family as red, but it is softer, so it is not as dramatic as red. It could be used for knights, as it indicates chivalry and loyalty.

BLACK - rough but dignified, justice (as in judges). It also can represent evil.

BLUE - stronger than red, more cultured, clever in strategies and manipulating.

YELLOW - many things are going on in the person's mind; s/he is planning but does not show it.

GREEN - is in the same family as blue; used for spirits.

WHITE - purity, mourning.

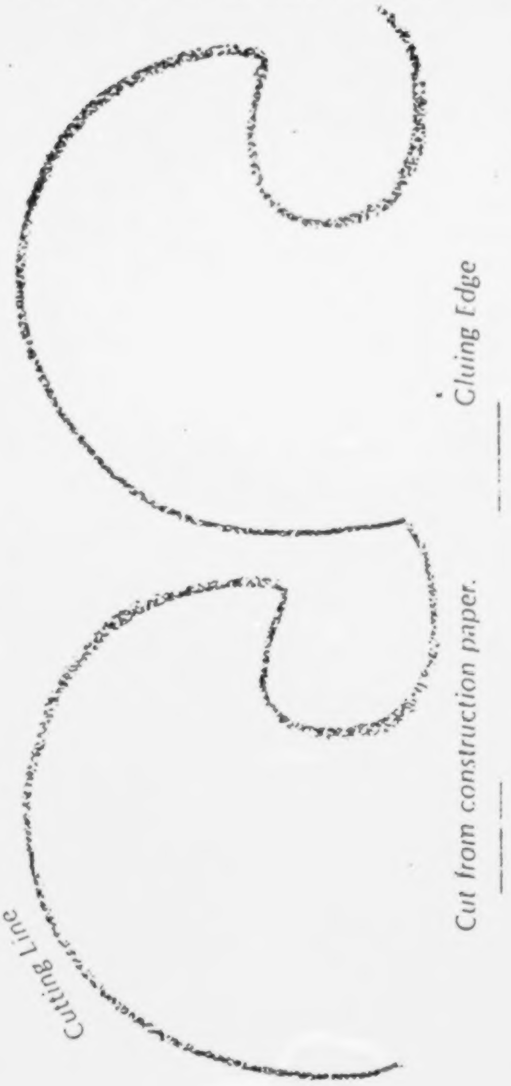


Fig. 3 Pattern for dragon's spine

Cut from construction paper.

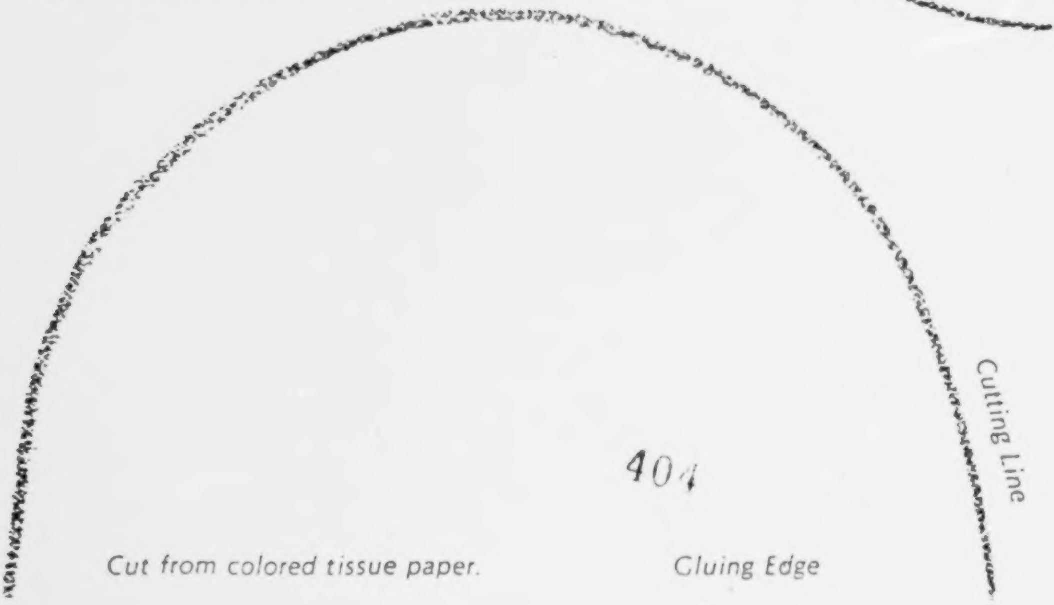
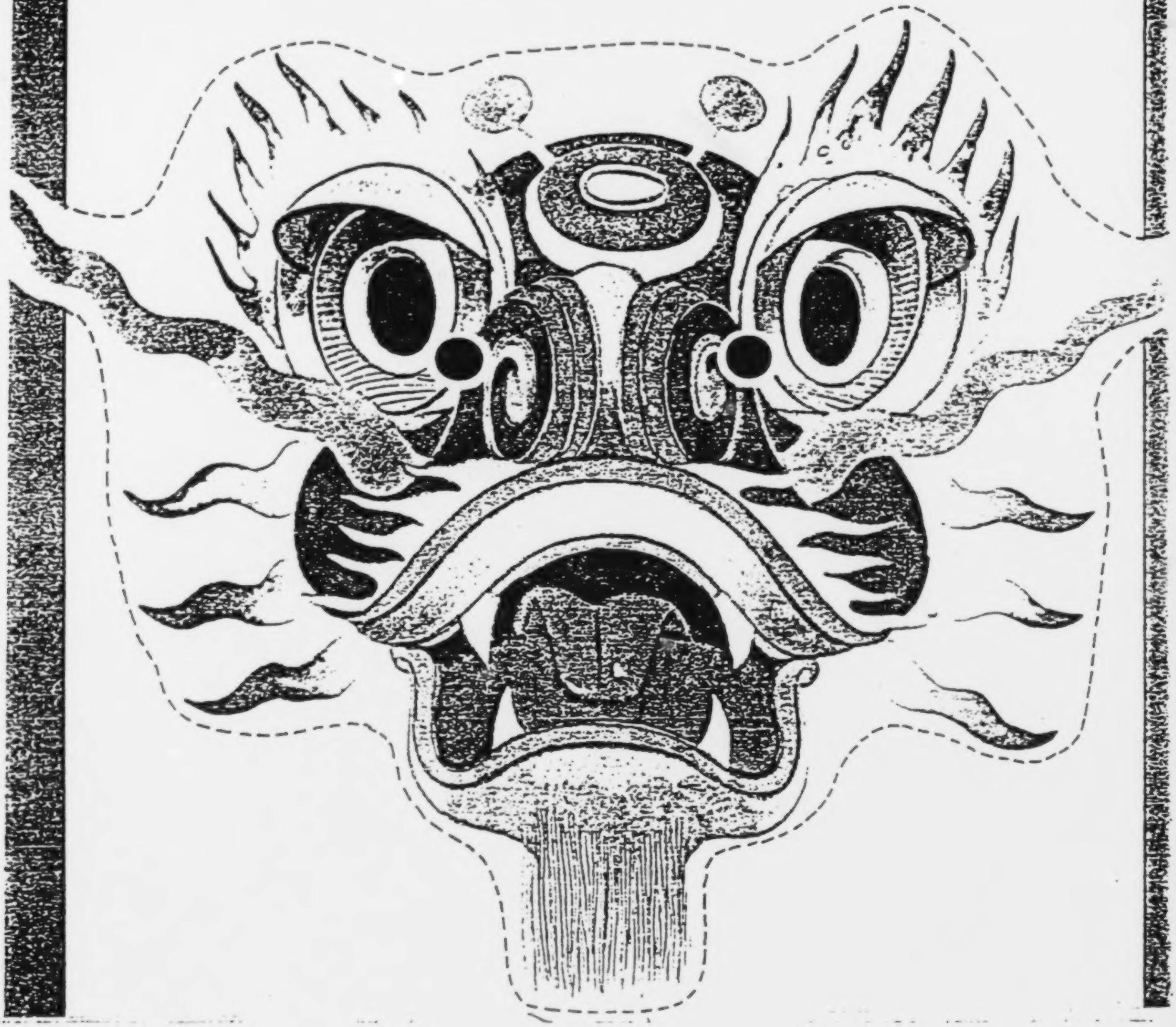


Fig. 2 Pattern for dragon's scale

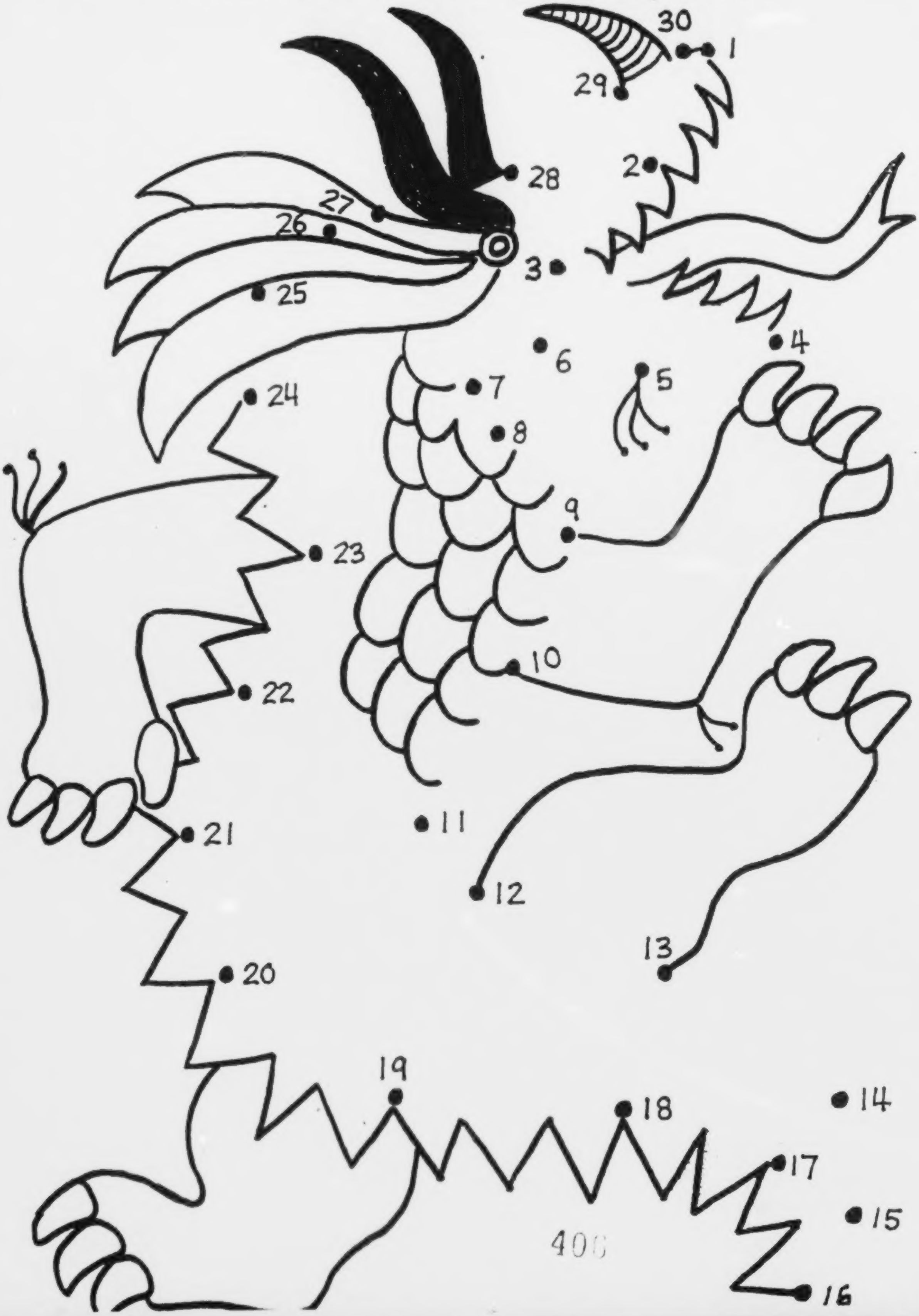
Cut from colored tissue paper.

Cut out this mask on the dotted lines. Paste it on a paper plate. Add streamers and paper horns if you wish. Have a grown-up poke eyeholes on the small black dots so that you can see when you hold the mask in front of your face. Make a parade of dragons in class to celebrate Chinese New Year.



Name ________

A Chinese Good Luck Symbol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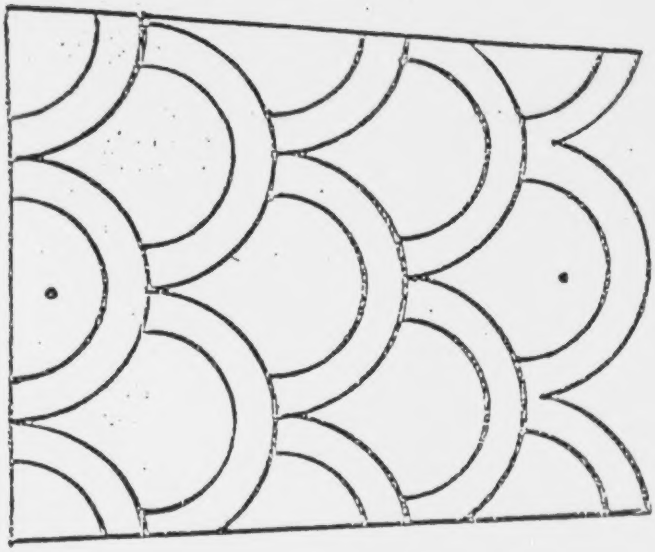
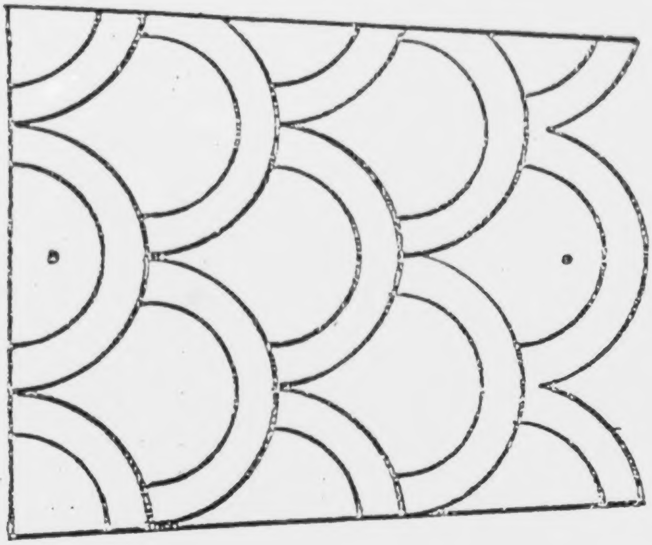
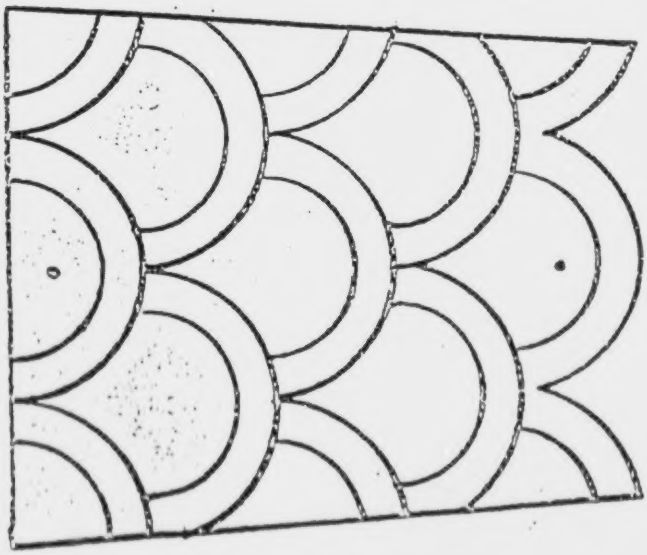
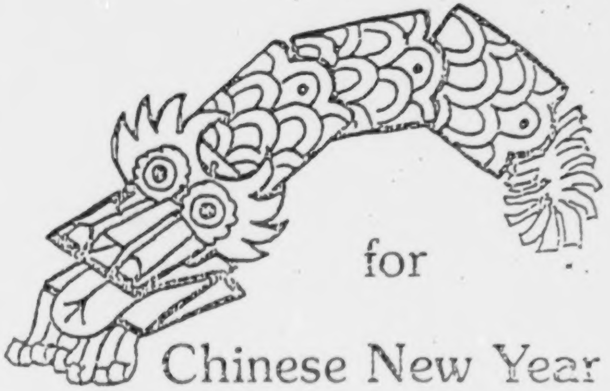






DRAGON PUPPET

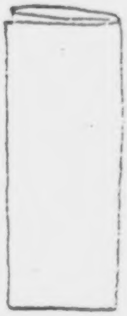


for

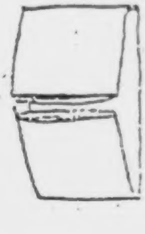
Chinese New Year

Ditto this page on yellow construction paper.

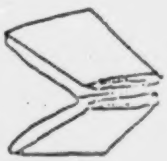
To make puppet head, fold a 9" x 12" sheet of yellow construction paper.



1. First into thirds lengthwise.

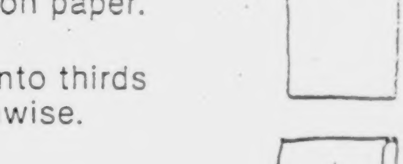


2. Fold open ends to meet at center.



3. Fold in half with open ends on the outside.

Join body sections to head and tail with brads.

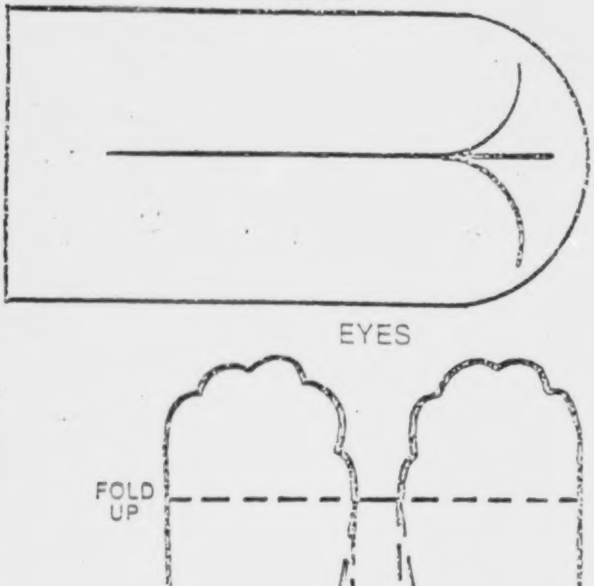


DRAGON PUPPET

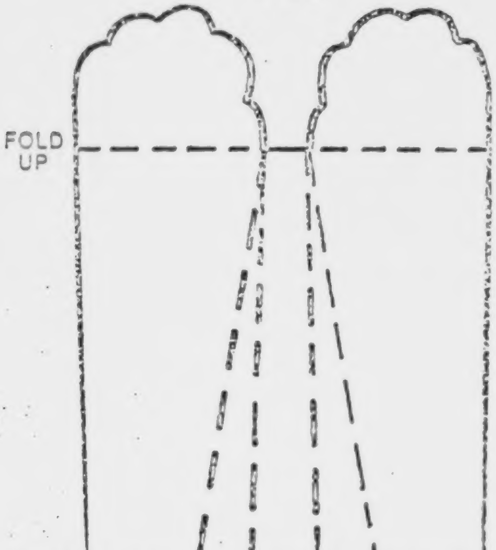
Copy THIS PAGE ONTO
RED CONSTRUCTION PAPER

One of the parts of the Chinese New Year or Yuan Tan (You-an Tahn) is the Festival of Lanterns. The parade is usually led by a huge dragon, symbol of goodness and strength. Made of wood and paper and sometimes 100 feet long, it is carried by 50 men and boys.

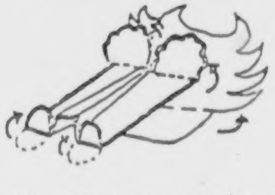
TONGUE



EYES

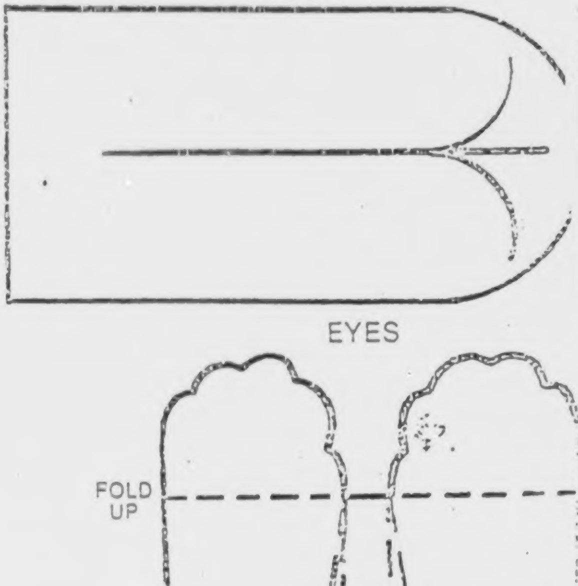


1. Cut out green horns, bear and tail. Fold and paste a shown on dragon sample.
2. Cut out red tongue and nose. Fold as shown belo and paste onto green horn Paste onto yellow puppet.

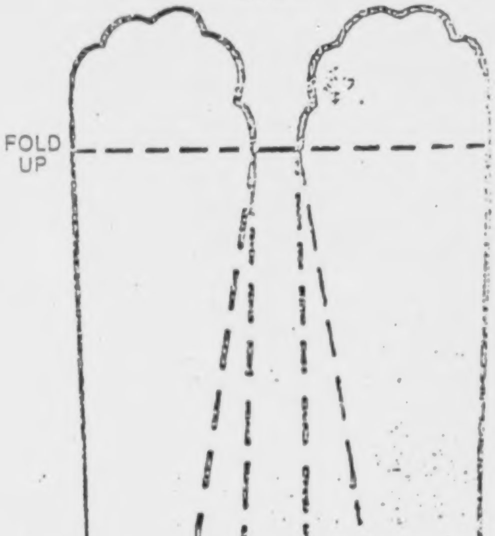


3. Paste tongue onto yellow puppet.

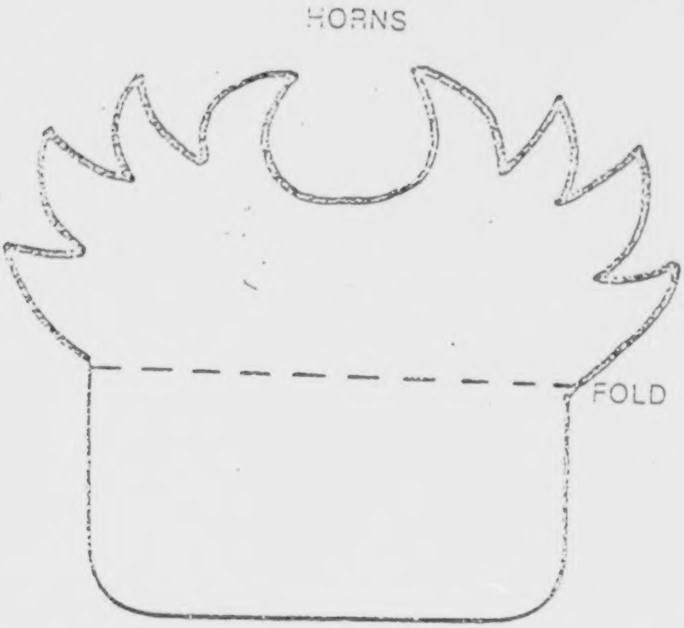
TONGUE



EYES



DRAGON PUPPET



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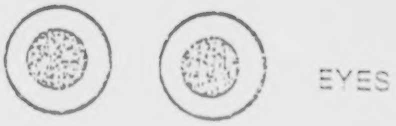
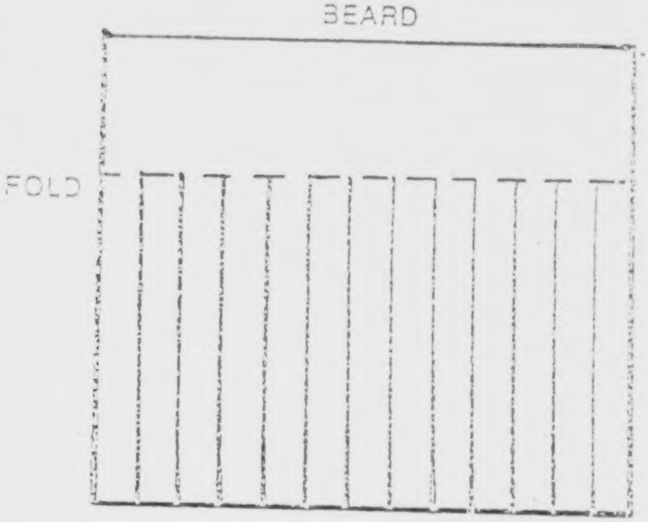
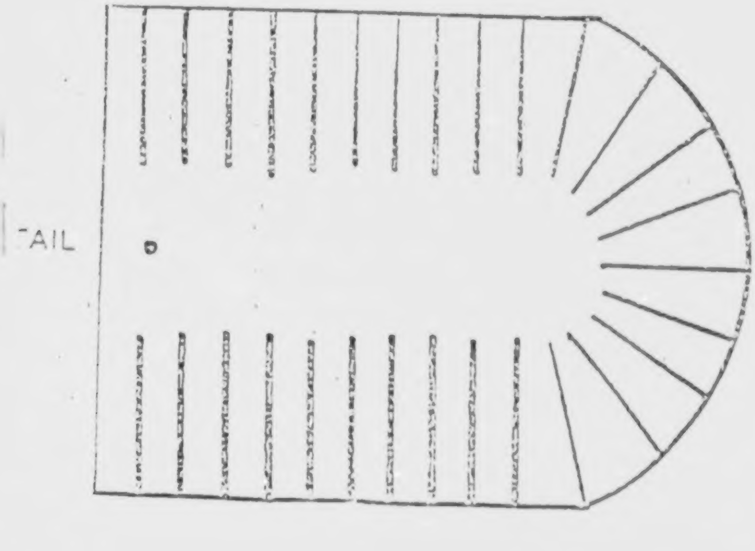




1. Cut out horns, fold on line, and assemble as shown on dragon sample.
2. Cut out eyes and paste on as shown on dragon sample.
3. Cut out beard, fold on line. Cut fringe to line, curl fringe on pencil and paste to dragon's chin.
4. Cut out tail, cut fringe, curl on pencil, attach to last body section with a brad.



Lion Mask
Top Half

see next page
for bottom half

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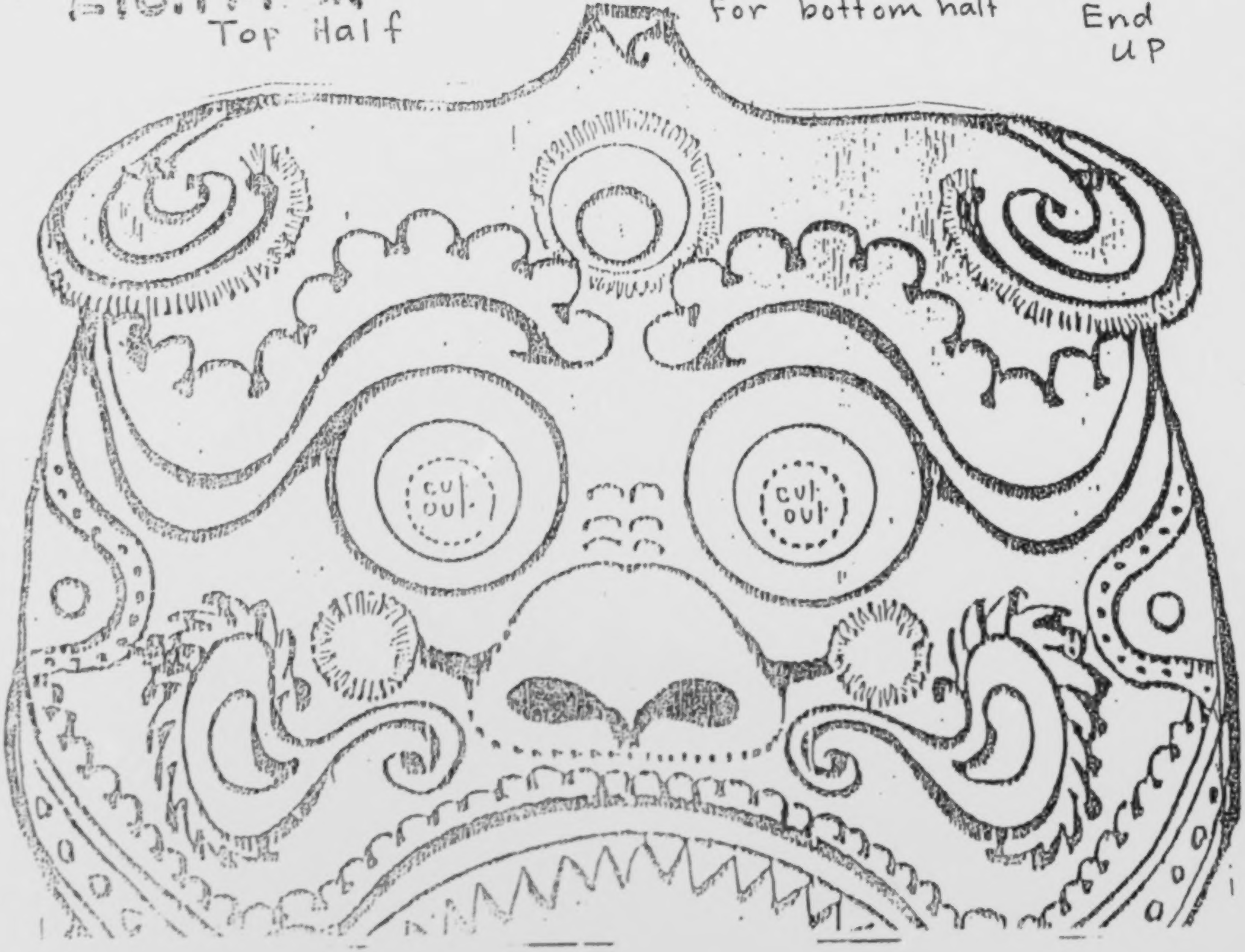
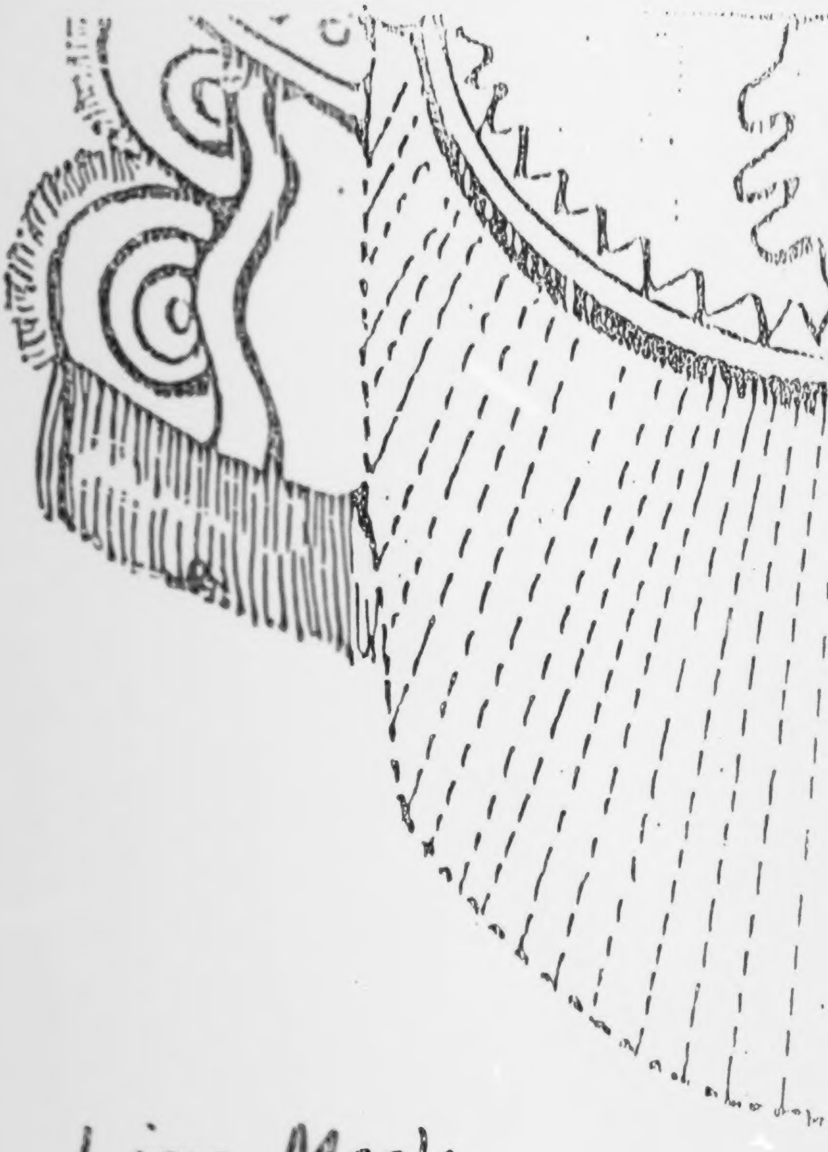
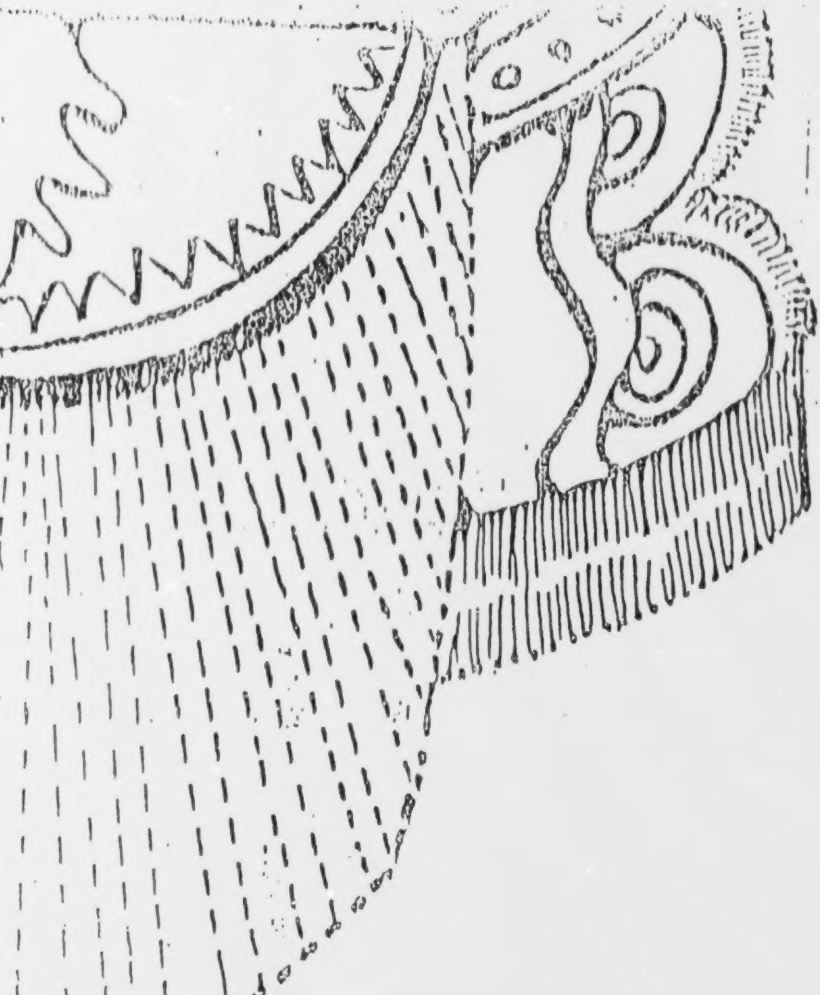

cut out
cut out



Lion Mask

Bottom half ↓

55



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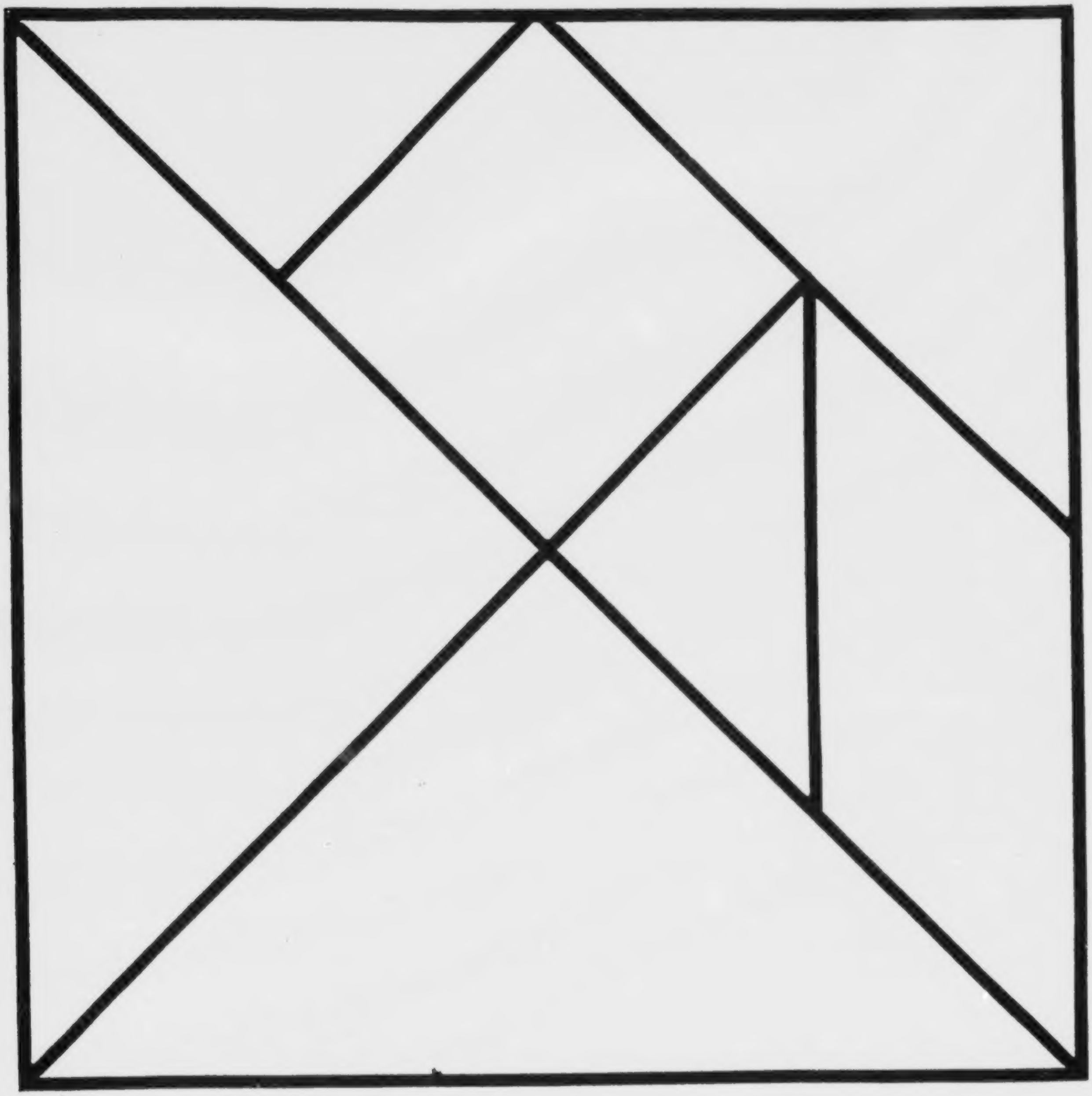
Chinese Tangram



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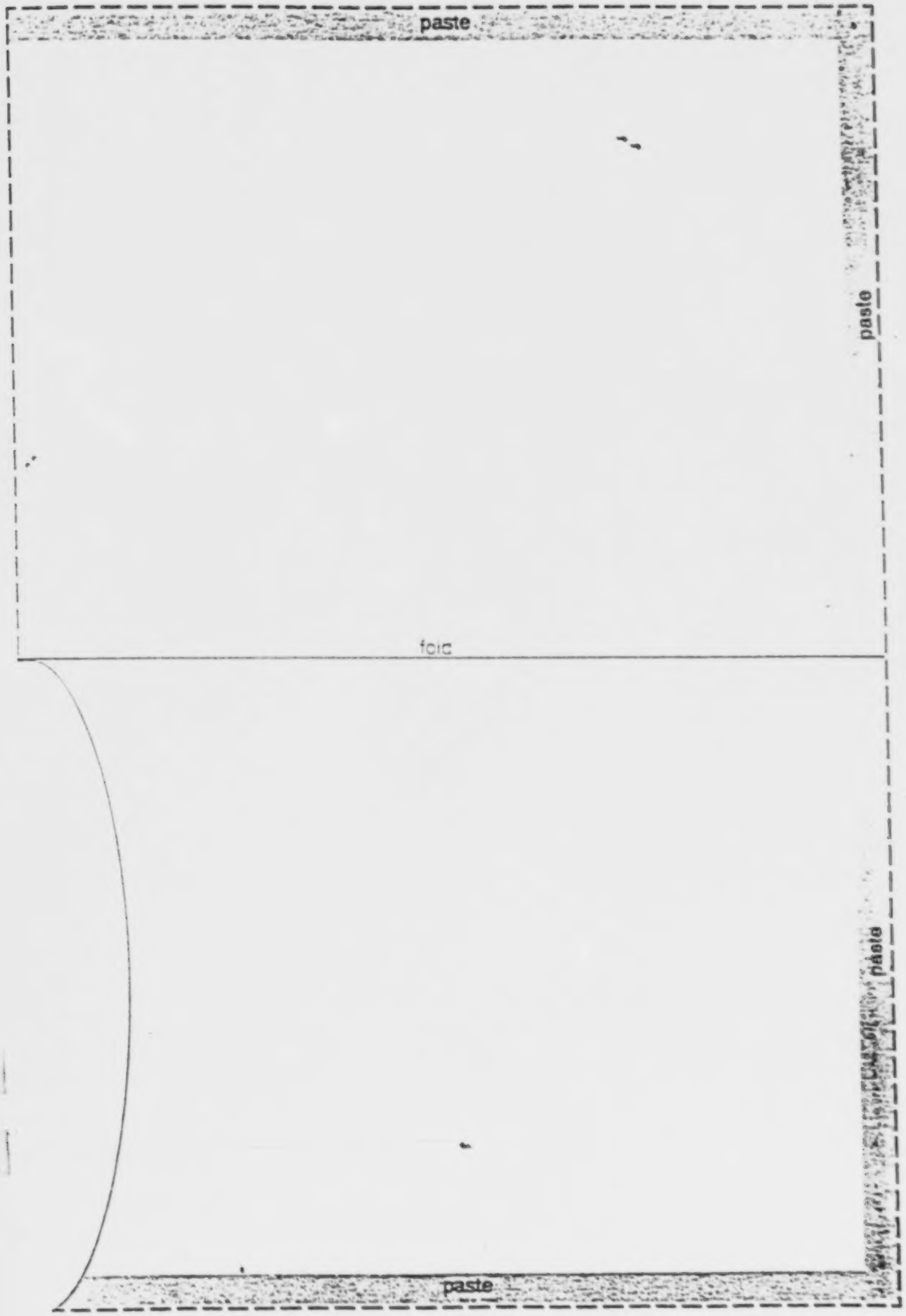
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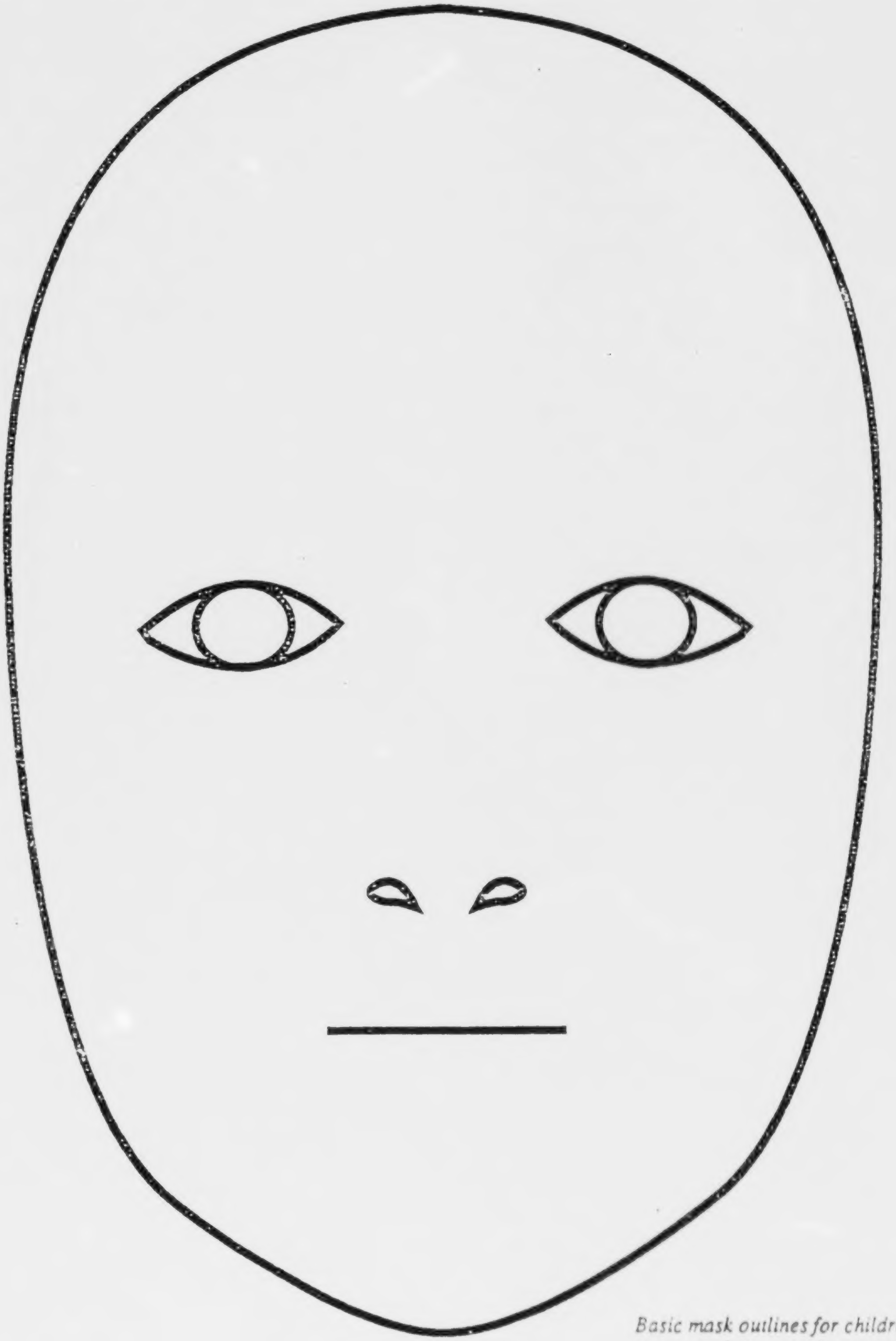
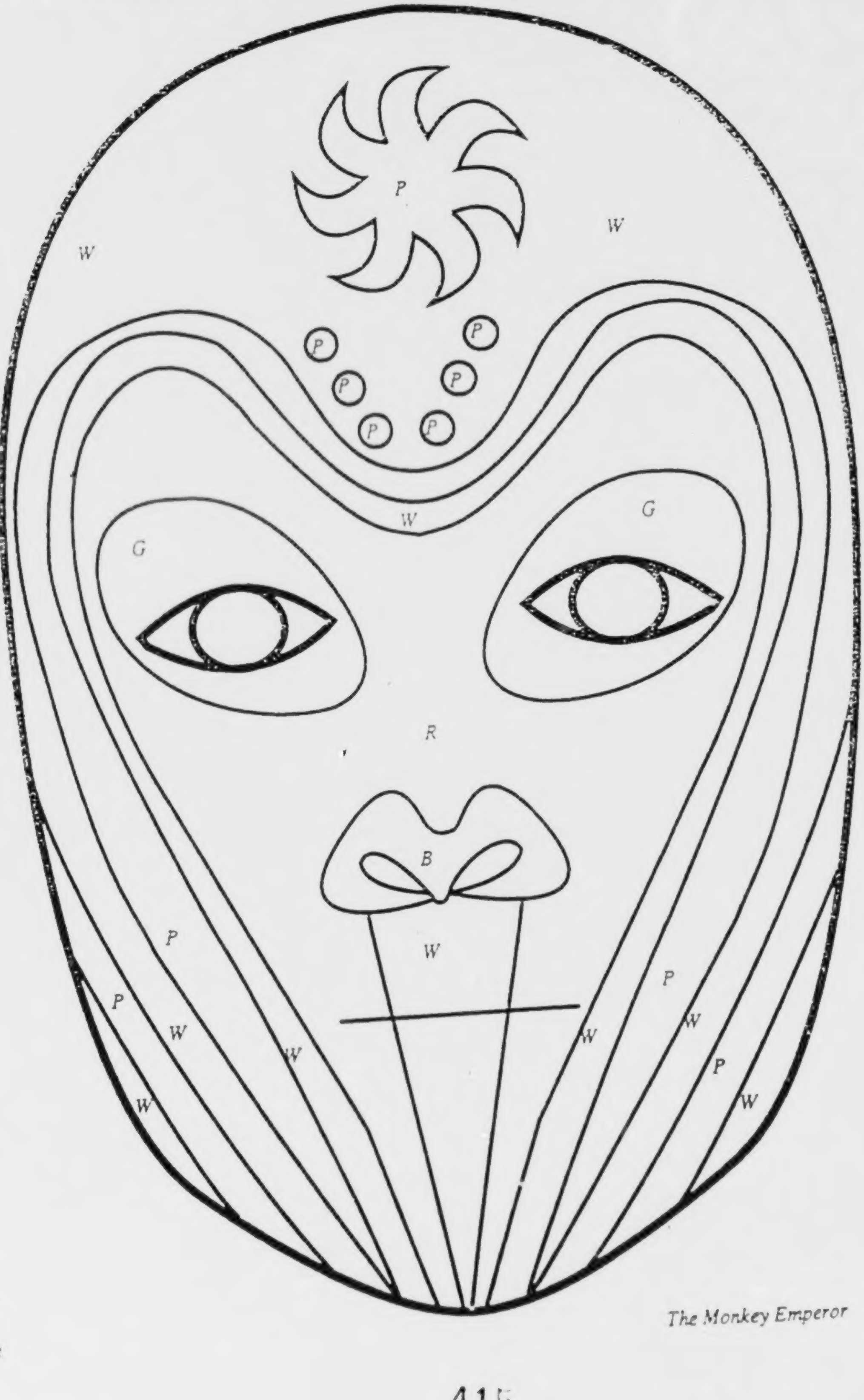


Basic mask outlines for children to use to create their own characters.

5'


P
W
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P
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W
G
G
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W
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W
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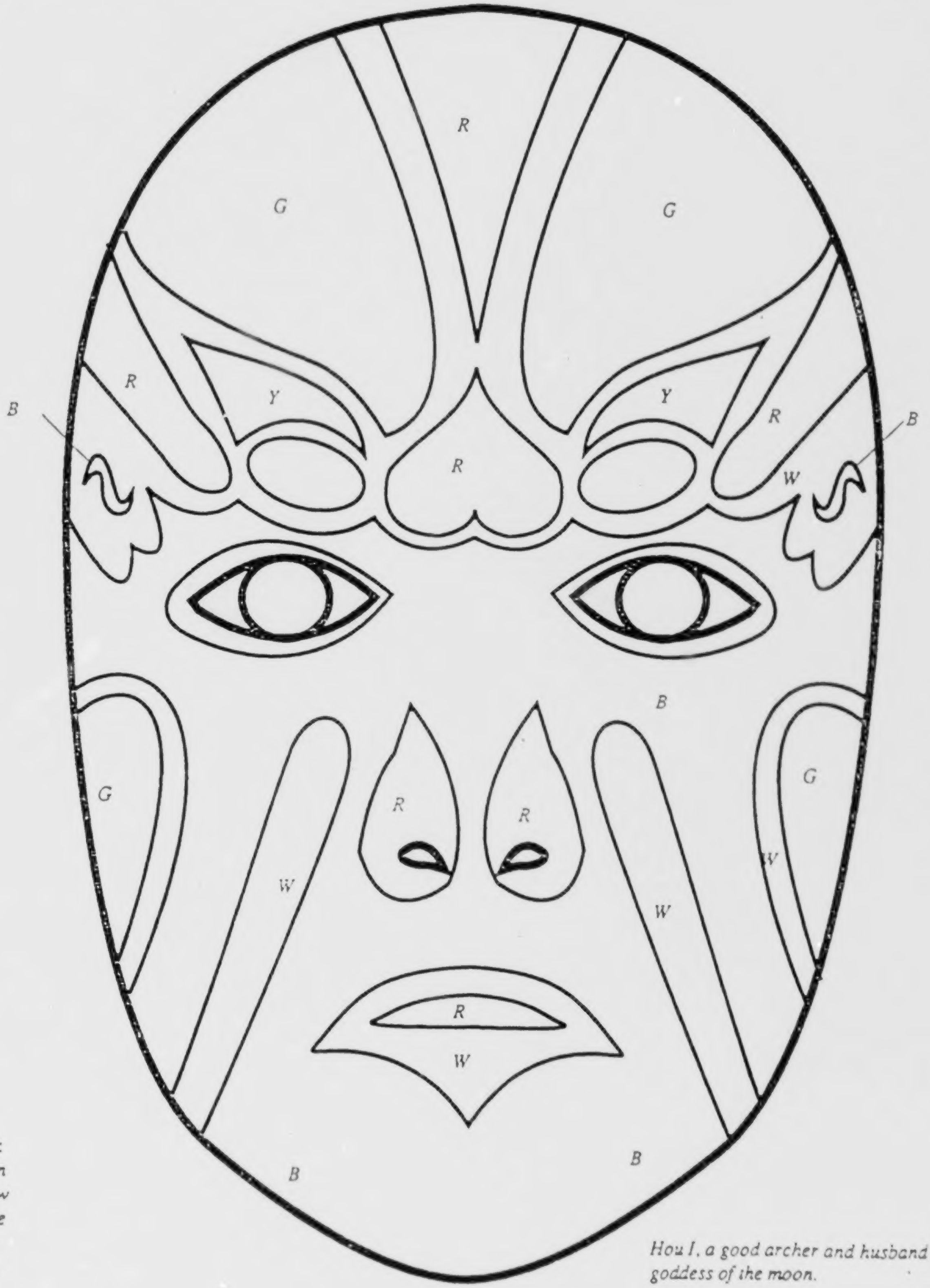
W

G = gold
R = red
W = white
B = black
P = purple

The Monkey Emperor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B
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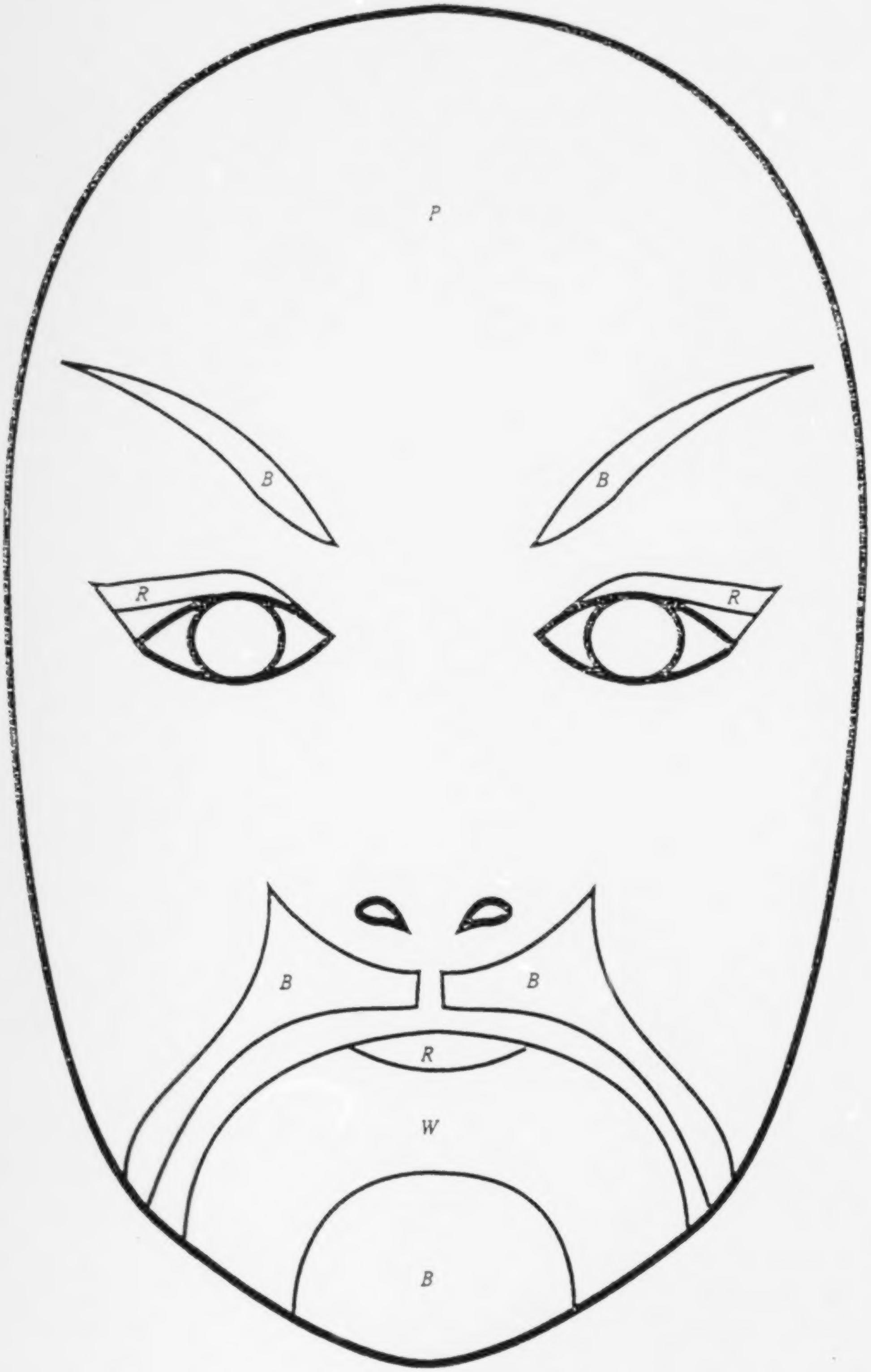
= black
= green
= yellow
= white
= red
= gold

Hou I, a good archer and husband of the goddess of the moon.


P
B
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R
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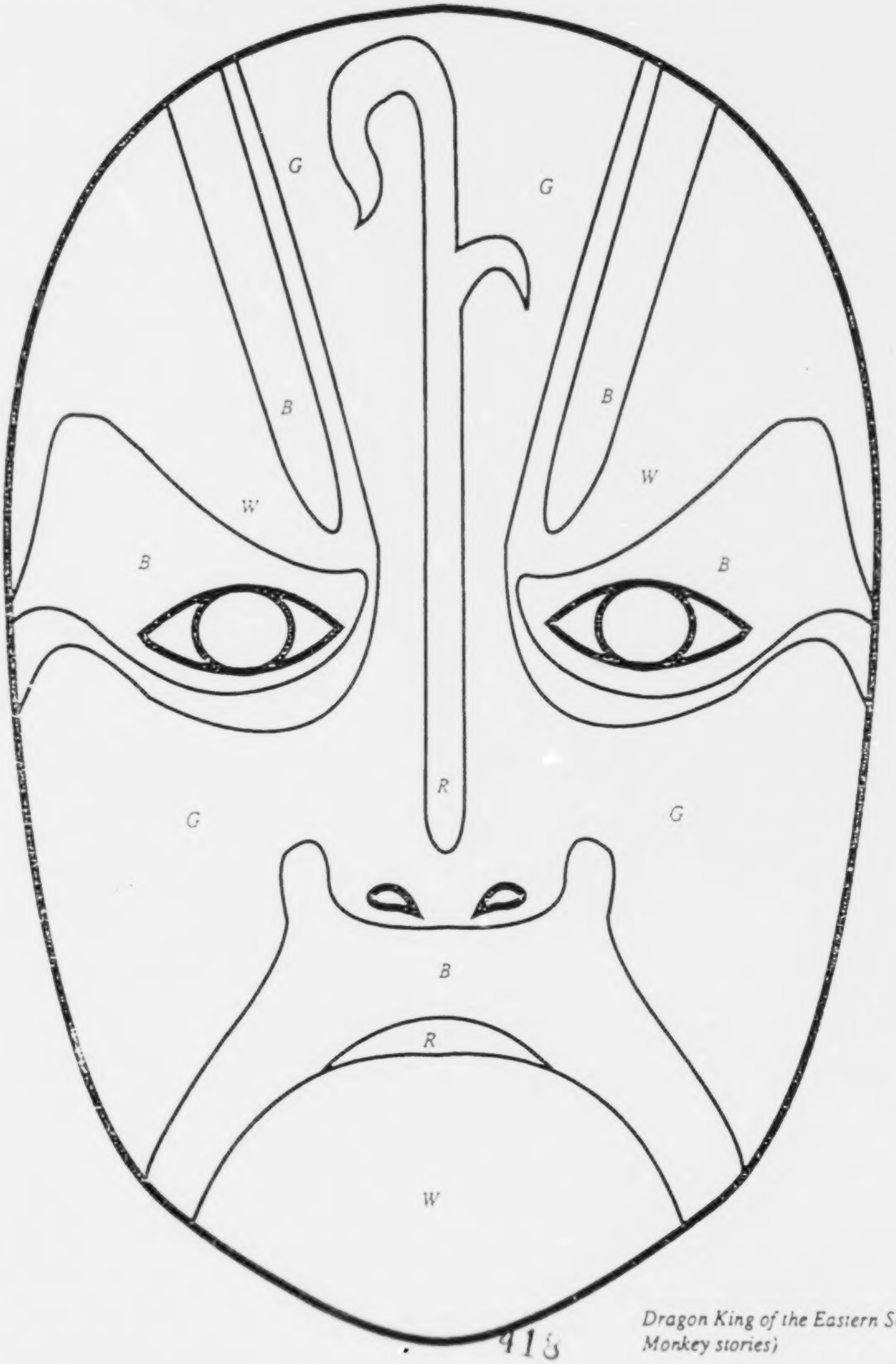
P = pink
B = black
W = white
R = red

Emperor Liu Pei


G
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= gold
= red
= black
= white

Dragon King of the Eastern Sea (from Monkey stories)

Suggested Items for the Cultural Box

Eating/Kitchen Items

Chinese wok	*chao cai guo*
bowl	*wǎn*
chopsticks	*kuài zǐ*
tea cups	*cha bei*
tea	*chá*
rice	fàn
beef	*niú roù*
dried lentils (bean sprouts)	*dou ya*
noodles	*miàn tiáo*
soft drink	qì shuǐ

Household Items

lanterns	*ti deng*
money envelope	ya sui quian
dollar	*yuan*
cents	máo yuan
fans	*feng shan*
clothing	*yi fu*
scrolls	*juan zhou*
silk cloth	*si yi fu*
stamps	*yóu piào*
newspapers	yǐng wén baò zhǐ

Writing/Reading/School Supplies

calligraphy brush	*mao bi*
ink	*muo shuǐ*
pencil	*qian bi*
abacus	*qu quio ban*
postcards	ming xin pīan
book	*shú*

Play Items

kites	*feng zheng*
Chinese tops	*tuo luo*
Mahjong	*ma jīang*
doll	*wáwa*
robot	*jīquirén*

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Heyer, Marilee. *The Weaving of a Dream: A Chinese Folktale.* (Grades 3-5) Viking, 1986. ISBN (0-670-80555-6) ($13.95)

Kendall, Carol. *The Wedding of the Rat Family.* (Grades 2-4) Macmillan, 1988. ISBN (0-689-50450-0) ($13.95)

Lee, Jeanne M., reteller. *Legend of the Li River: An Ancient Chinese Tale.* (Grades K-3) Henry Holt, 1983. ISBN (0-03-063523-3) ($11.95)

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Morris, Winifred. *The Magic Leaf.* (Grades K-3) Macmillan, 1987. ISBN (0-689-31358-6) ($13.95)

Morsel, Arlene. *Tikki Tikki Tembo.* (Grades K-2) Scholastic, 1968. ISBN (0-590-40312-5) ($2.95)

Wolkstein, Diane. *The Magic Wings: A Tale From China.* (Grades K-3) Dutton, 1983. ISBN (0-525-44275-8) ($3.95)

Yolen, Jane. *The Emperor and the Kite.* (Grades K-3) Putnam, 1988. ISBN (0-399-21499-2) ($13.95)

Primary-Intermediate

Hodges, Margaret. *The Voice of the Great Bell.* (Grades 2-5) Little, 1989. ISBN (0-316-36791-5) ($14.95)

Hume, Lotta Carswell. *Favorite Children's Stories From China and Tibet.* (Grades 3-6) Tuttle, 1962. ISBN (0-8048-0179-7) ($13.50)

Louie, Ai-Ling, reteller. *Yeh-Shen: A Cinderella Story From China.* (Grades 2-6) Putnam, 1982. ISBN (0-399-21594-8) ($4.95)

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Demi, adapt. *A Chinese Zoo: Fables and Proverbs.* (Grades 3-5) Harcourt, 1987. ISBN (0-15-217510-5)

Sadler, Catherine Edwards. *Heaven's Reward: Fairy Tales From China.* Macmillan, 1985. ISBN (0-689-31127-3) ($12.95)

Sans Souci, Robert D. *The Enchanted Tapestry: A Chinese Folktale.* (Grades 1-3) Dial, 1987. ISBN (0-8037-0306-6)

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Coerr, Eleanor. *Chang's Paper Pony.* (Grades 1-3) Harper, 1988. ISBN (0-06-21329-9) ($10.89)

Demi. *Liang and the Magic Paintbrush.* (Grades 2-4) Henry Holt, 1980. ISBN (0-8050-0801-2) ($3.95)

Flack, Marjorie. *The Story About Ping* (Grades Preschool-3) Penguin, 1933. ISBN (0-14-050241-6) ($3.95)

Lattimore, Eleanor F. *Little Pear.* (Grades K-3) Harcourt, 1968. ISBN (0-15-652799-5) ($3.95)

McCunn, Ruthanne Lum. *Pie-Biter.* (Grades 1-3) Design Enterprises, 1983. ISBN (0-932538-09-6) ($11.95)

Pittman, Helena Clare. *A Grain of Rice.* (Grades K-3) Hastings, 1986. ISBN (0-8038-9289-6) ($12.89)

Sendak, Maurice. *The Sign on Rosie's Door.* (Grades K-2) Harper, 1960. ISBN (0-06-025506-4) ($10.89)

Stock, Catherine. *Emma's Dragon Hunt.* (Grades 1-3) Lothrop, 1984. ISBN (0-688-02678-2) ($9.55)

Yolen, Jane. *The Seeing Stick.* (Grades K-3) Harper, 1977. ISBN (0-690-00596-2) ($13.89)

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Chrisman, Arthur B. *Shen of the Sea.* (Grades 4-6) Dutton, 1926. ISBN (0-525-39244-0) ($13.95)

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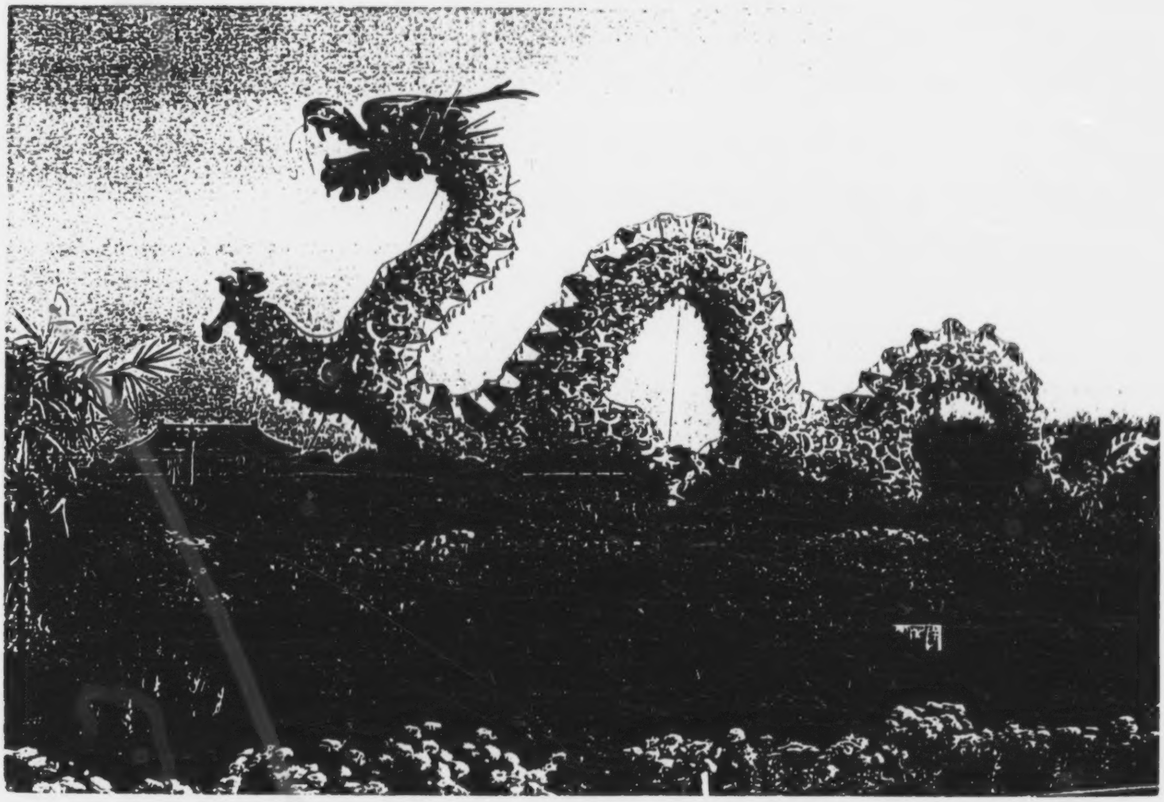
Zimelman, Nathan. *I Will Teach You of Peach Stone*. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1976

The Dragon in China



Sheila Karron
District 21
Brooklyn, NY
Fulbright 1997

Learning Activity: The Importance of the Dragon in China

I) Rationale:

Stories about dragons have played a part in Chinese culture for thousands of years. As early as the Shang Dynasty (c 1523-1122 B.C.), the dragon appeared as a symbol of supernatural power. The legend of the dragon may have originated from the time when early peoples found the fossilized remains of extinct animals that roamed China in ancient times.

About six to seven thousand years ago, the people in China did not feel strong enough to control the powers of nature. They believed that certain animals or plants possessed this strength. Totem poles emerged as a symbol of worship throughout China; as a means to prevent disasters. One tribe used the snake as their symbol, although they called it the "dragon." This tribe attributed their victories in battle to their protection from the "dragon".

The figure of the dragon was first found in pottery. It looked more like a snake. Gradually its appearance became more dragonlike, beginning with the change of the shape of the head. It was constantly being remodeled and magical powers were bestowed upon the dragon.

The image of the dragon can be seen in various areas of social and cultural life: religion, architecture, literature, painting, sculpture, handicrafts, recreation and gravesites. The dragon column can be seen in Shandong, the birthplace of Confucius. The 28 columns symbolize that Confucius was a "dragon in the mortal world." Folk festivals use replicas of dragons in boat races, lantern parades, and dragon dances. It is often the motif in embroidery and paper cuts.

An important Chinese belief is Fengshui. This determines where to build your house to make the Gods happy. The mountain should be in the back and the river in the front. The shape of the mountain represents the dragon's back. Living here would be a beneficial location. It is also believed that the dragon is in charge of rain, and performing the dragon dance will assure a good harvest.

Dragons are both respected and feared. Over time, they came to represent divine power, which could help or hurt humans. In the 21st century B.C., the dragon was considered the ancestor of the royal families and this further strengthened its dominant position in Chinese culture.

The dragon symbol is the sign of authority and is worn on the robes of the Imperial family and nobility. Dragons can be found in lakes, rivers, seas, and they also inhabit the heavens. There are 2 types- smooth and scaly. The Chinese dragon is wingless, and unlike his Western counterpart, he does not breathe fire.

Activity 3

Introduce the story "Chin Chiang and the Dragon's Dance." Discuss the picture on Page 6 and point out the dragon. Read pages 7-11 and discuss the adjectives splendid, fierce, and magnificent that describe the dragon. Have the children suggest other adjectives as they study the pictures on page 8. Point out the figurative language "Chin Chiang was so scared he wanted to melt into his shoes." Talk about Chin Chiang's feelings.

1. Expand the children's use of figurative language
2. Use pictures of animals to have the children elicit adjectives to describe the subjects
3. Use a dragon rexo to list adjectives (See Appendix)
4. Chin Chiang wanted to be a rabbit to run far away. What animal would you choose to escape an uncomfortable situation?
5. Do semantic mapping on feelings
6. Write cinquains about dragons (See Appendix)

Activity 4

Read pages 11-17 of "Chin Chiang and the Dragon Dance." Focus on the author's use of language styles: italics, similes, repetition of words. Simile: "Animal lanterns would glow like tiny stars tonight."

1. Make a story map to illustrate setting, main idea, story problem and possible solution
2. Make Chinese paper lanterns

Activity 5

Read pages 17-23. Discuss the festivities of New Year. Pigeons are set free from their cages, fire crackers exploding and the dragon parade are all part of the celebration.

1. Read any of the following "Sam and the Lucky Money," "Book of Chinese Festivals", or "Chinese New Year"
2. Do a lesson on figurative language. Use sentences from the text. "Darkness had crept down from the mountains.", "Flags of fire and falling moons burst into light.", "Chin Chiang stood still, his feet frozen to the ground."
3. Use a Venn diagram to compare Chin Chiang to Pu Yee
4. Talk about the invention of gunpowder and its use in firecrackers

Activity 6

Read the big book, "The Golden Dragon"

1. Define these words with a dictionary: courage, prosperity, celebration
2. Introduce these Chinese words bai- nein, lai see (red envelope)
3. Design red "good-luck" envelopes (See Appendix)
4. Make tri-fold story boards illustrating the beginning, middle and end of the story
5. Identify homonyms, (i.e. symbols, cymbals, bare, bear, plain, plane)
6. Use a Venn diagram to compare Chin Chiang to Lee Chang

Activity 7

Culminate the study of the dragon with a Chinese New Year celebration. Have the students make invitations for their families and decorate the room with the various art projects. Serve egg flower soup, rice and egg rolls. Encourage eating with chopsticks. End the party with a dragon parade. Use traditional Chinese music for the parade. State that the Year of the Dragon will be the year 2000.

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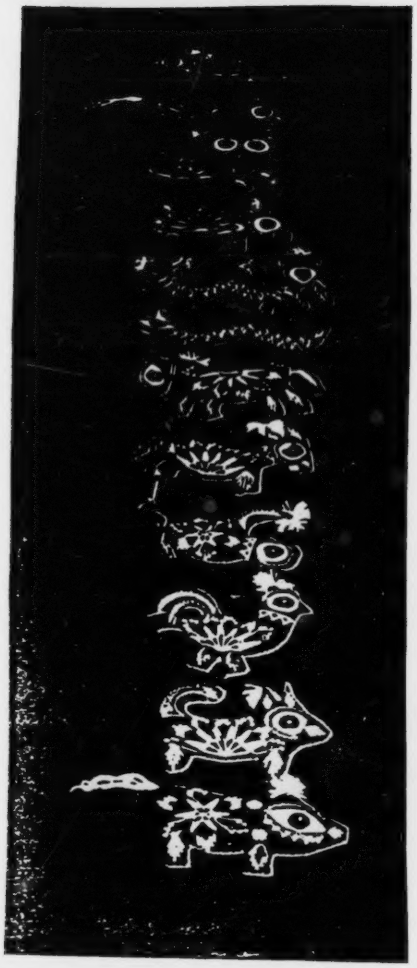
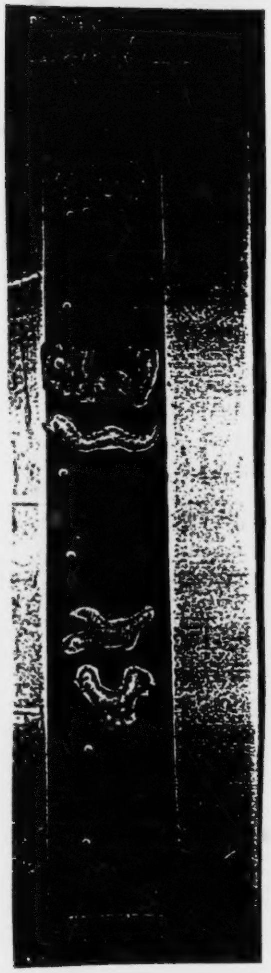
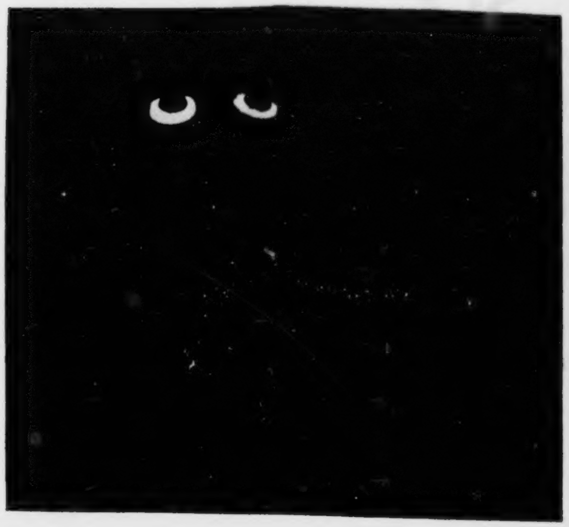
Appendix

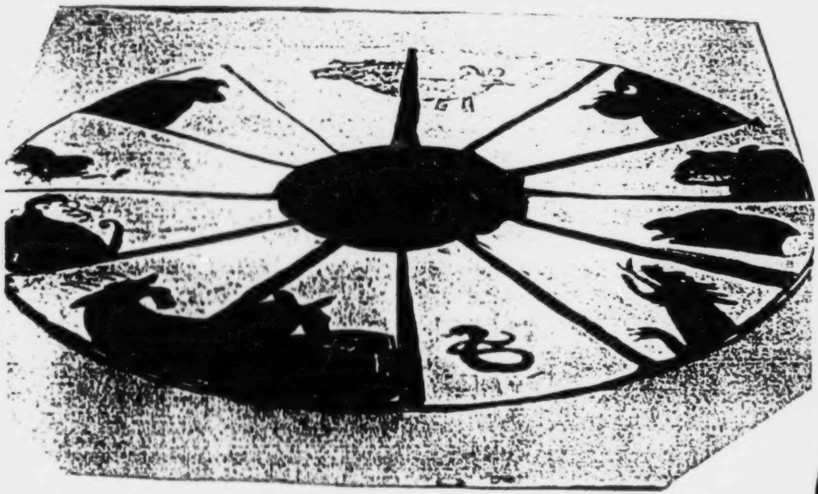
The Zodiac







The Year of the Tiger



The Zodiac Years of our Parents
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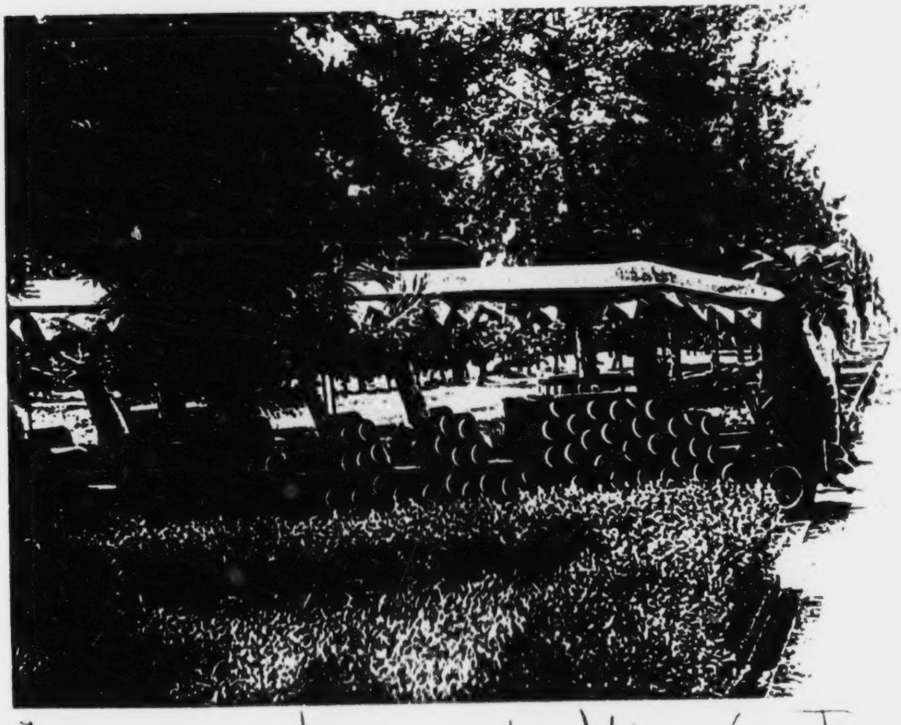
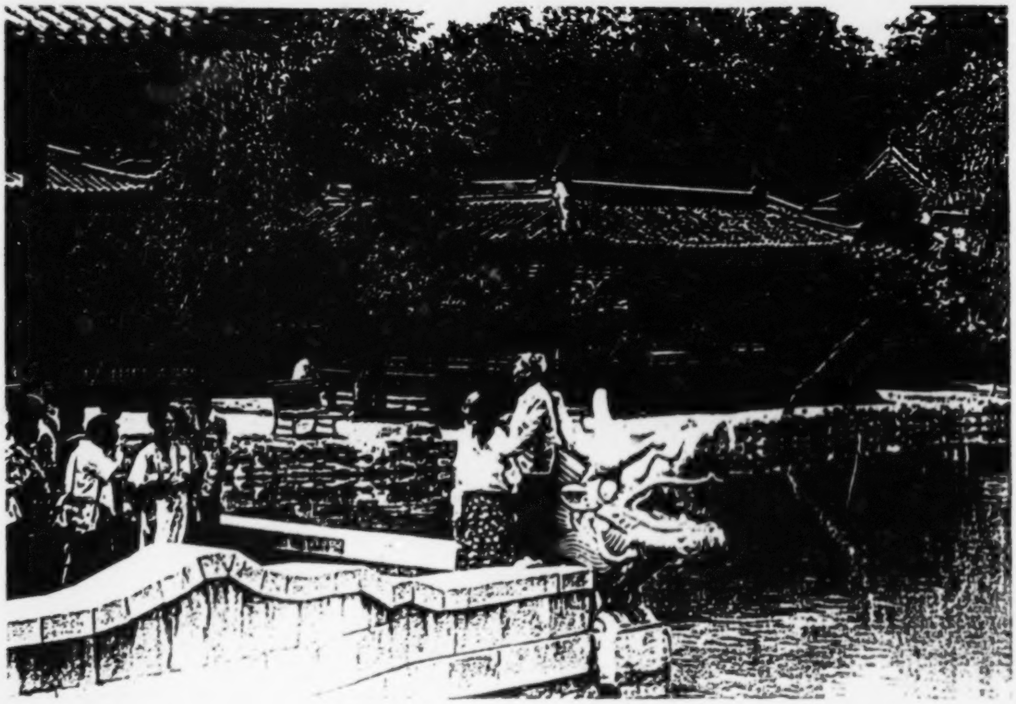
Dragon boat at the Summer
Palace in Beijing



Dragon bus at Ming's Tombs
in Beijing

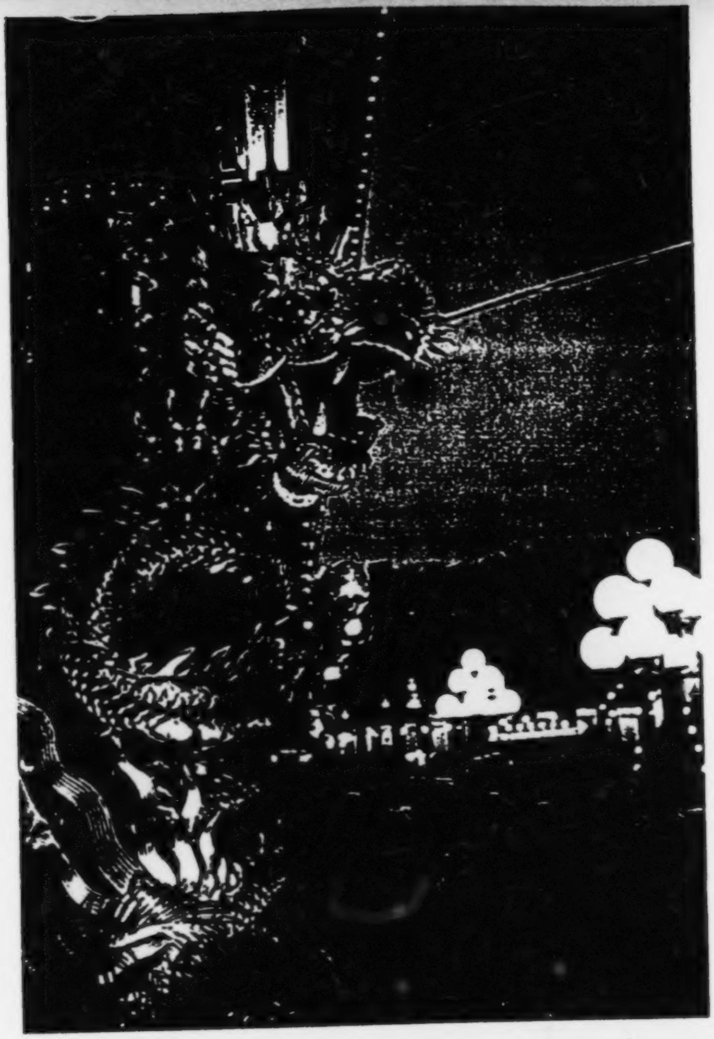
Dragon wall - Yu Gardens
Shanghai

Dragon exhibit - Shanghai Museum

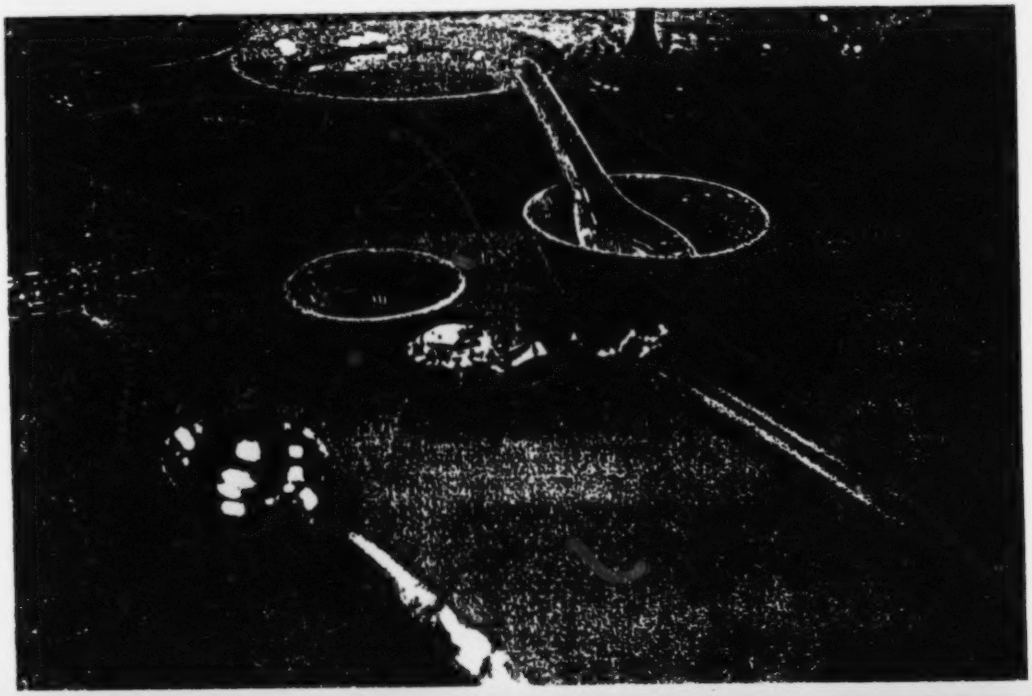


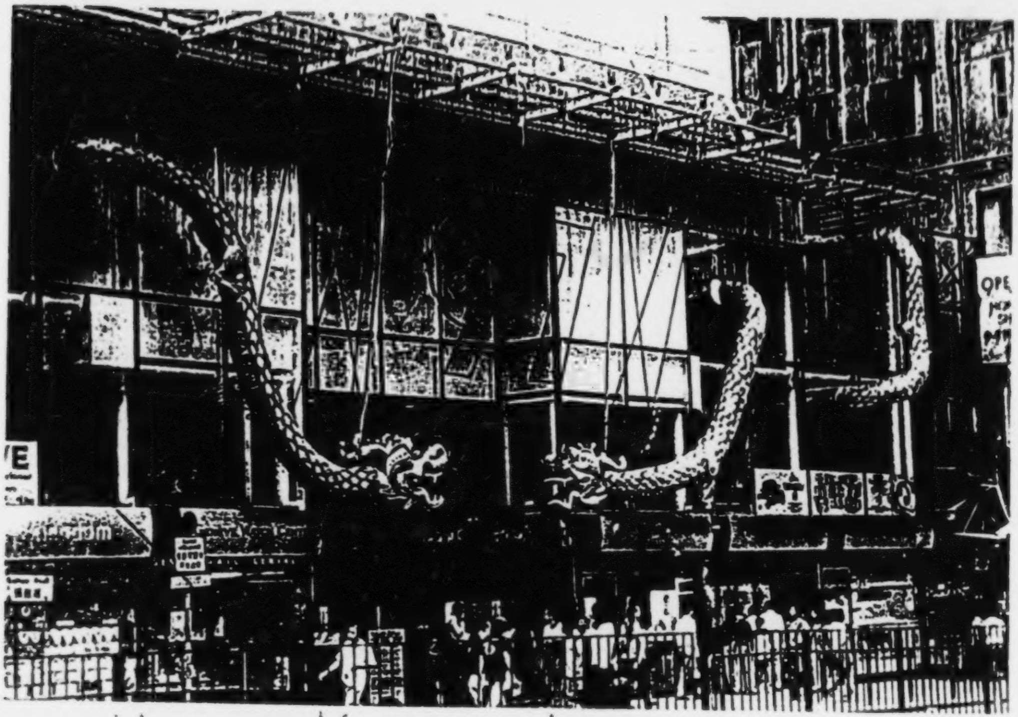
Dragon statue at Huaqing
Springs in Xi'an

Dragon decoration in Xi'an

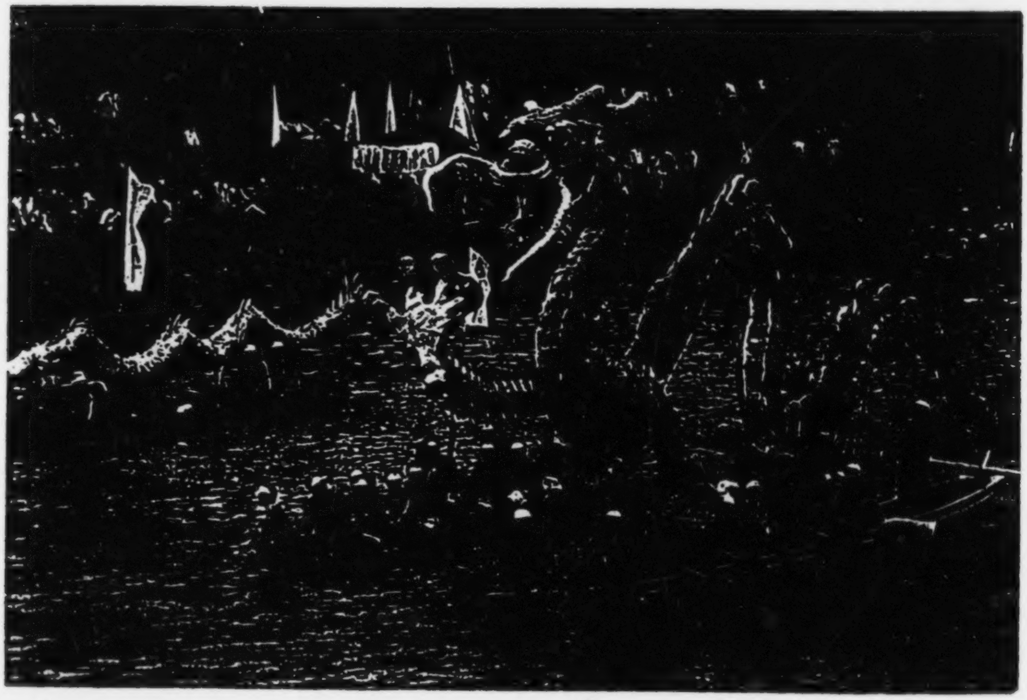


Dragon decoration and chopstick holder

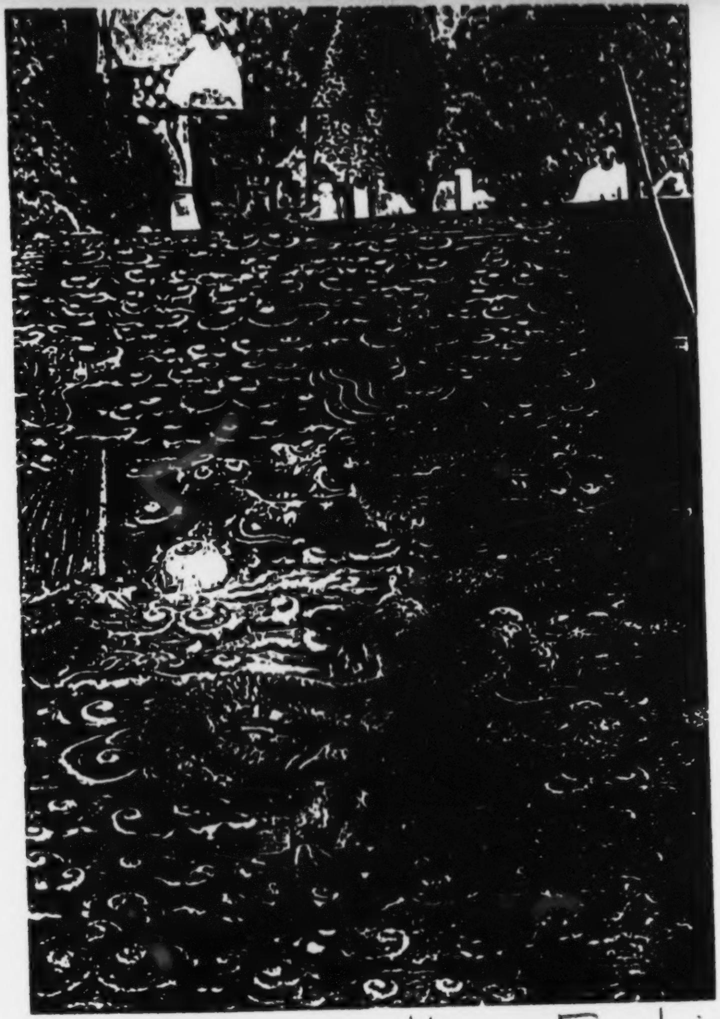




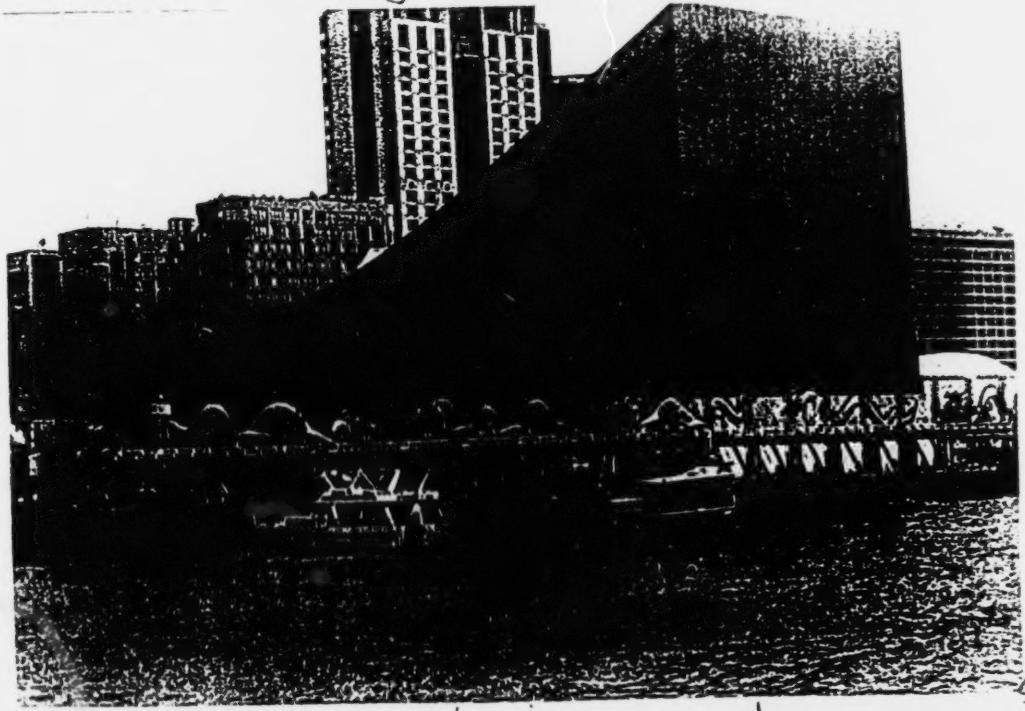
Hong Kong shopping center



Dragon boat Races



Stone carving in the Forbidden City



Shanghai port

The Hungry River Dragon

The Dragon Boat Festival honors Qu Yuan, China's earliest known poet. He served as a loyal minister to the king, but no one would listen to his advice on how to keep peace, and he was told to leave the kingdom forever. He became very sad and wrote a beautiful poem about his life and hopes while walking along the riverbank. That's the last anyone ever saw of him.

The people got into their boats to look for him in the river. They never found him, so they threw rice into the water for his soul to eat. But Qu Yuan didn't always have a chance to eat these offerings. This is the story that tells why.

There once was a fisherman who went to the river every day to fish. Each time he cast out his net, he sprinkled a handful of rice over the water to feed the river spirits.

One day he went to the river and tossed out his offering of rice. But he didn't catch a single fish. Instead, he heard someone shout,

"I am hungry!"

The next day, he threw out a few extra handfuls of rice. He started to fish but was startled again by a voice saying, "I am hungry!"

The third day he took a whole bag of rice and before casting out his net, threw all the grain into the river. Then he heard the voice again, only louder still, "I am hungry!" Suddenly, in full daylight, he caught sight of a man who called himself the poet Qu Yuan.

"What's wrong?" the fisherman cried, "Aren't you getting enough rice?"

"No!" Qu Yuan said. "A hungry dragon is eating all the rice. He has the eyes of a rabbit, the scales of a carp, the claws of a hawk, and the horns of a deer.

His voice is like the clanging of pots and pans, and when he's not eating he plays with a bright, gleaming pearl in the middle of his mouth. He's always following me around, and he's really quite a pest."

"What can I do?" the fisherman asked.

"Seal the rice with bamboo leaves and tie it together with different colored threads—green, red, yellow, white, and black," Qu Yuan instructed. "The colors will scare the dragon away."

The fisherman did as he was told, and sure enough the waters were still once more. He never heard from the soul of Qu Yuan again. And lucky for the fisherman, his nets were always full.

Today dumplings made from glutinous (sticky) rice are wrapped in leaves and tied with colored cords. They are eaten on the day of the Dragon Boat Festival to honor Qu Yuan. Little children also wear bracelets of five different colors as protection. After all, would you want a river dragon nibbling snacks out of your hand?

Dragon Boat Dumplings

Ingredients & Utensils

baking pan
sauce pan
mixing bowl
measuring cups and spoons
string—cotton twine
wok or big pot with lid
steamer
tongs

For the dumplings
2 cups glutinous rice flour
1/2 cup sugar
1/2 cup boiling water
2 tablespoons cold water
1 teaspoon banana extract
12 dried bamboo or cast iron leaves (available at Chinese groceries in neatly tied bundles)
vegetable oil for brushing leaves

For the sweet filling
1 cup canned sweetened red bean paste or melon seed or lotus seed paste. (A sweet, thick, firm paste made from mashed red beans.)

Step by Step

Make sure a grown-up has looked over the recipe and can help at the stove.

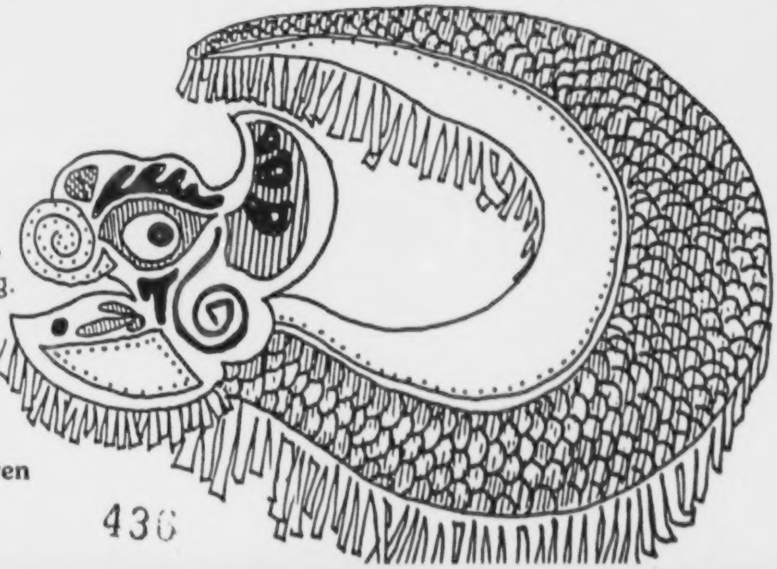
- Gather all ingredients and tools. Soak leaves in a pan of warm water until soft (1 hour for cast iron, 4 hours for bamboo).
- Put the rice flour in the mixing bowl. Bring to a boil in a sauce pan: 1/2 cup sugar in 1/2 cup of water. Add extract to liquid. Pour into flour, add 2 tablespoons of cold water, and mix with a fork into a squeezable dough. Knead (knuckling and punching) until smooth. Put it on a lightly floured clean surface and using your hands, roll out into a sausage shape. Cut into 12 pieces and roll each into a ball.
- Pat the leaves dry and brush with oil. Flatten the dough balls with your hands. Place a tablespoon of the paste into the center of the dough and wrap the dough around the filling, bringing up the edges to seal.
- Place near the corner end of a leaf and wrap the leaf around it so that nothing falls out. A four–sided shape looks nice. Tie with string.
- Steam the dumplings in a covered steamer for 15 to 20 minutes. Carefully take them out with tongs. Unwrap and eat (not the leaves!). Serve hot or cold. (Makes 12 tasty treats).

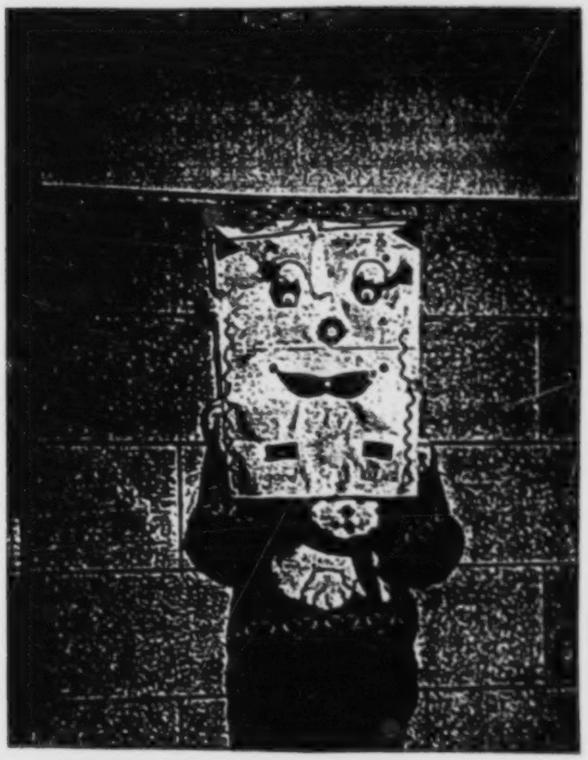
A GREAT BIG DRAGON

Sung to: "Little White Duck"

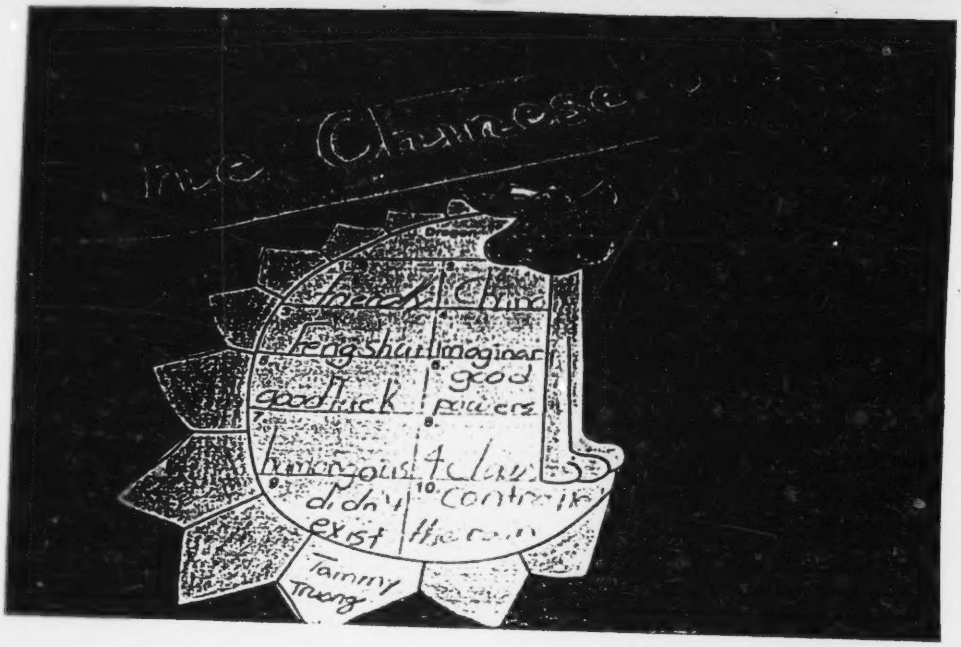
There's a great big dragon
Coming down our way,
A great big dragon,
On this holiday.
Let's grab our lanterns and follow along,
Dancing and waving as we sing our song.
There's a great big dragon
Coming down our way.
Hip, hip, hurray!

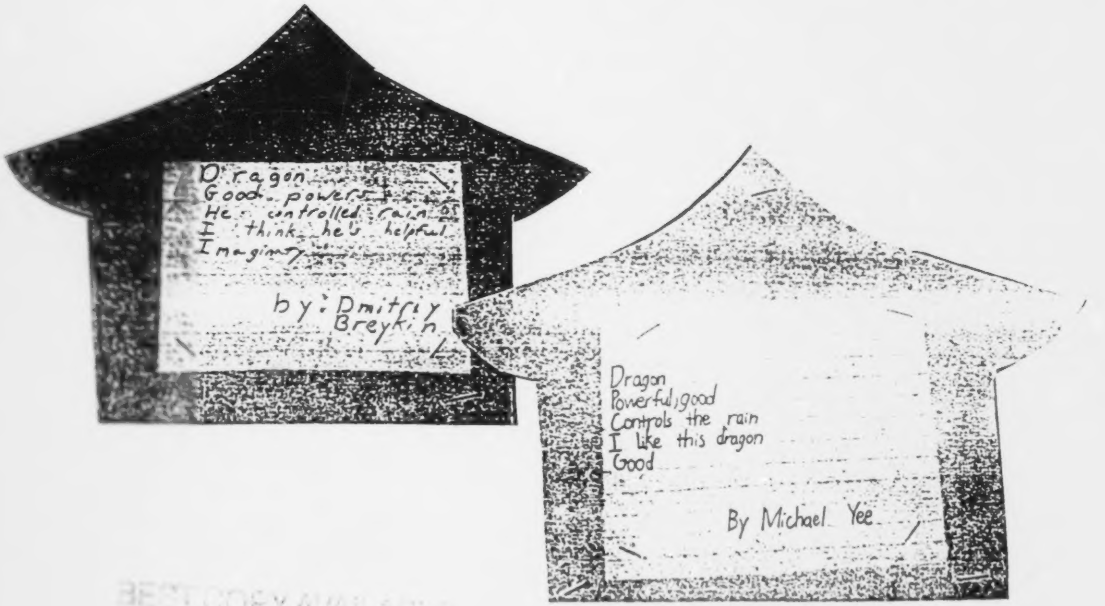
Jean Warren





Eastern and Western dragons

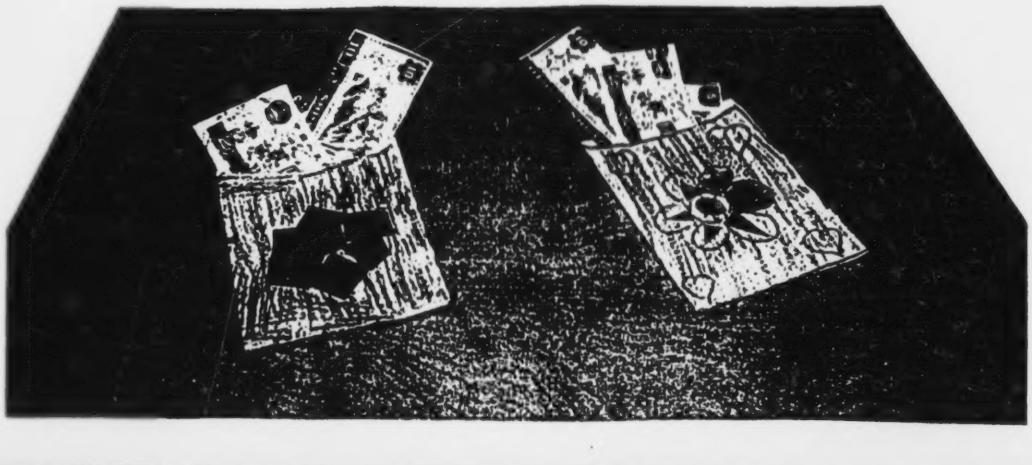

ne Chinese
1. friendly
2. China
3. feng shui
4. imaginary
5. good luck
6. good powers
7. humongous
8. 4 claws
9. didn't exist
10. controls the rain
Tammy Truong


Dragon
Good powers
He controlled rain
I think he's helpful
Imaginary

by: Dmitriy Breykin

Dragon
Powerful, good
Controls the rain
I like this dragon
Good

By Michael Yee



Karin Kopciak
Chinese Religion

From Many Into One- Chinese Religion

I. Topic/Rationale

This lesson is aimed at providing students with a comprehensive overview of the many different aspects of Chinese religion. It is meant to serve as a basis for helping Western students learn to look at Chinese religion as unique and different from their own experiences with religion. But this lesson is also meant to serve as a bridge between their own beliefs and Chinese beliefs. This topic is very abstract, through teacher direction for to students clarify their own belief systems, students will be able to explore belief systems that are very different from their own. Western students who come from a monotheistic background are often very confused by the pluralistic nature of Eastern religions. In order for real in-depth analysis to occur students must be conscious of their own beliefs and then non-judgementally compare and contrast them with Chinese beliefs. Ideally this lesson would serve as introduction to a more in depth study of Chinese religion.

II. Grade Level

Grades 8-12

III. Time Needed- 1-3 class periods

IV. **Goals/Essential Question**: What is the nature of Chinese religion?

Objectives:

- to explore the basic concepts of Chinese religion
- to categorize Chinese beliefs
- to draw conclusions about how Chinese religion effects Chinese society and values

V. Activities

Motivation:

Define the term worldview with students. Discuss how one's worldview shapes values, behaviors and relationships. Ask students to outline their own worldviews. Discuss the origin of their own worldviews. Examine how their worldviews effect and shape their lives. Then ask students to predict two ways that they think modern Chinese students' worldviews will be similar and two ways they think modern Chinese students worldviews will be different from their own worldviews. Ask students to write this list as they will check their predictions at the end of this lesson.

Developing and Ensuring Understanding (Activities):

1. Instruct students to read the Resource Sheet: "Chinese Religion: From Many Into One".

Options:

2. As students read, have them underline or highlight main ideas from the reading.

Actively Involving the Learner

3. Round-Robin Activity: Set up 5 stations around the class that students will visit in small groups, and then rotate through each station:

a. **The Tao**- examine sayings of Lao-Tzu
b. **Yin and Yang**- what forces need to be balanced to achieve harmony? Read information. Create art work- draw, or make a collage to show how they balance opposing forces in their lives.
c. **The Gods**-use cartoon from *The Eight Immortals*, complete accompanying Story Map
d. **Human Connectivity to the Universe**- analyze Chinese landscape paintings
e. **The Family**- examine Confucianism through a reading and web activity

Assessment

As a class review the information covered in each station to be sure students found correct responses at each station. Choose student leaders from different groups to lead the assessment portion of the lesson.

Conclusion

Closure: Go back to the Motivation, direct students to check their predictions. Were they accurate? Ask students to name the similarities and differences that they have seen in their worldviews and in the worldviews of the Chinese. Conduct a discussion about how students' worldviews effect their behaviors. Ask students to explain how Chinese worldviews effect behaviors and social interactions in China.

V. References/Materials

Wood, Diane Marston. "Ideas for Effective High School Instruction", *Education About Asia*, Vol. 2, #1, Spring 1997.

Overmyer, Daniel L. Religions of China , Harper, San Francisco, 1986.

Thompson, Laurence. Chinese Religion: An Introduction. Dickenson Publishing Company, California, 1969.

Lesson Materials

Reading, "Chinese Religion- From Many Into One"
Resource Sheets:
1. "Chinese Modes of Thought - Round Robin Assignments" - for use at all 5 stations
2. Sayings of Lao Tzu, "Selections From the Tao De Jhing"
3. Yin and Yang worksheet- prepared by Katie Egan
4. Cartoon story from the *Eight Immortals*, selected from the Asiapac cartoon series
5. Story Map- can be used with the cartoon story
6. Reading on Chinese landscape paintings
7. Confucianism reading, web is on the Resource Sheet #1 worksheet

Chinese Religion- From Many Into One

What do you think are life's biggest questions? Have you ever thought about why and how the universe was formed? Have you ever struggled over knowing what is the "right" thing to do in a difficult situation? That is what makes us human. Religion seeks to provide answers for those types of questions. The answers provided differ from one culture to the next and understanding these beliefs can provide a window for us into the soul of a distant people. How do you think Chinese religious beliefs may be similar to your own? How do you think their religious beliefs may differ from your own?

First of all, we must discuss the nature of Chinese religion, then we will investigate its many different ideas and beliefs. But how can one say Chinese religion, as if there is one religion in China? There are many religions that are practiced by the Chinese, the most popular ones being Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. But in order to really understand the Chinese worldview, one must remember the words of Diana Marston Wood who says "that despite a variety of religious expression throughout Chinese history, e.g. Taoism and Confucianism, these two belief systems are intricately connected to being Chinese." Therefore, what needs to be achieved is an understanding of the basic components of what it means to be Chinese. The Chinese have aligned their religions to fit their worldview. As you read think about:

- What are the basic beliefs of the Chinese?
- How does each aspect of Chinese religion provide answers to life's biggest questions and offer guidance in human relationships?

We will now examine five different aspects of Chinese religion, The Tao, Yin and Yang, the Gods, Human Connectivity to the Universe, and The Family.

The Tao

Taoism, pronounced Daoism, is a mystical view that attempts to explain the unexplainable. The Tao teaches that "everything in the world is produced by the cosmic Way (or Tao), which also provides harmony and balance." (D.L. Overmyer). Taoists believe that the universe is sacred, and cannot be improved upon. People are happiest when they live by the flow of nature, and all problems stem from trying to manipulate the order of the universe. The Tao has no shape and is beyond definition. It is the source of all life, and is the basis of how the world is organized, yet it takes no action. A path of non-action is advocated by Taoists.

Think about how your world is organized. What big questions is the Tao addressing?

Yin and Yang

In order for the Tao to flow freely in the universe, there must be a balance between Yin and Yang, which can be defined as the polarity between good and evil, light and dark, male and female. Yin is the dark, weak, female force, while Yang represents male, light and strong characteristics. These concepts are not meant to only be opposites, but they represent how the flow of nature operates. As the sun rises, the moon sets, when the spring comes, the winter goes.

These ideas are expressed in how the Chinese organize their houses, work places and relationships. Balance is the main objective, not dominance or submission. Many Chinese people today still use the ancient practice of geomancy, called Feng-Shui (fung-shway), to create balance in their physical surroundings. They use a system that describes the best ways to keep energy, chi'i, flowing throughout their lives. They believe that each of the four directions hold different qualities, and where doors and windows are located effects how energy can flow. Balance between the forces of nature is the main goal, people should be neither too strong nor too weak, houses should be neither too open nor too cluttered. In order for the Tao to flow, the forces of Yin and Yang should be in perfect balance.

The Gods

The Chinese are polytheistic, meaning that they worship many gods. Chinese gods are derived from a variety of sources, some are believed to have actually been real people who performed miraculous acts. Others are based on natural phenomena, for example, rain gods, harvest gods, etc. Some Chinese gods are "imported" deities adopted from India when the Chinese incorporated Buddhism into their worldview. Chinese practices are dependent on individuals and their particular locations and circumstances, Laurence Thompson reminds us that even though there are hundreds of Chinese gods, "in the actual religious life of the people at any one time or place there is a fairly limited number of gods." (p.54, in Chinese Religion: An Introduction)

Human Connectivity to the Universe

The Chinese believe that people are completely connected to the universe, and that "humans are important only as they exist within a larger universe." Chinese people value the group and harmony between people, one person is a part of the whole- the whole being the more important of the two, therefore individuals are expected to bend to the wishes of the majority.

This belief can be seen in the Tao as well. Nature can flow when the parts succumb to the natural order of the universe. Yin and Yang can be balanced when humans have achieved connection with the universe. Chinese medicine incorporates these beliefs. If a person is sick, it is believed that there is a blockage in their energy, chi'i, flow. A Chinese doctor looks at the whole person, not just one isolated symptom, to address a health issue in a holistic way. The Chinese worldview emphasizes how the universe as a whole is more important than its parts.

The Family

The most important unit in Chinese society is the family. Rules of conduct are carefully prescribed by Confucius. But the value of family as the basis for societal harmony and balance in the universe can be said to pre-date Confucianism. The Chinese are concerned with both living and dead family members. They are expected to observe strict rules of interaction based on age, gender and family status. The Chinese also pay homage to their dead ancestors, they believe that they must respect their family members who have passed away by offering them sacrifices and taking careful care of their burial sites.

We can gain insight into the Chinese worldview by examining the way they eat. Think about a family dinner in your home, everyone probably has their own plate and their own individual serving. When the Chinese eat as a family, many large dishes of food are put on the table. Each person has a small plate and chopsticks. Each person serves themselves from each of the different dishes. There are no portions that are designated for individuals, the emphasis is on the group, and on everyone getting along. "The achievement of family harmony must be in accord with the balance between Yin and Yang forces: only through the fulfillment of all of these objectives will one find the Tao or the Way." (p.19 Diana Marston Wood)

RS #

Name

Date

Chinese Modes of Thought- Round Robin Assignments

I. THE TAO: Journal Entry
Write a journal entry as if you were a Taoist monk. What would be important to you? What would you be pondering? What are your beliefs? What might be an activity you would enjoy, or an activity that you would refrain from?

II. YIN YANG : Collage and Explanation. Create a collage that illustrates how and what you attempt to balance in your life. Think about the principles of Yin and Yang, and how they influence beliefs and actions. After you finish your collage, write an explanation of it below. Be sure to tell how you illustrated the principles of Yin and Yang.

III. THE GODS: Read a story about the one of The Eight Immortals, Chinese Taoist gods. Complete the accompanying story map to outline the story.

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Name

Date

IV. HUMAN CONNECTIVITY TO THE UNIVERSE: Examine pictures carefully. Then answer the following questions:

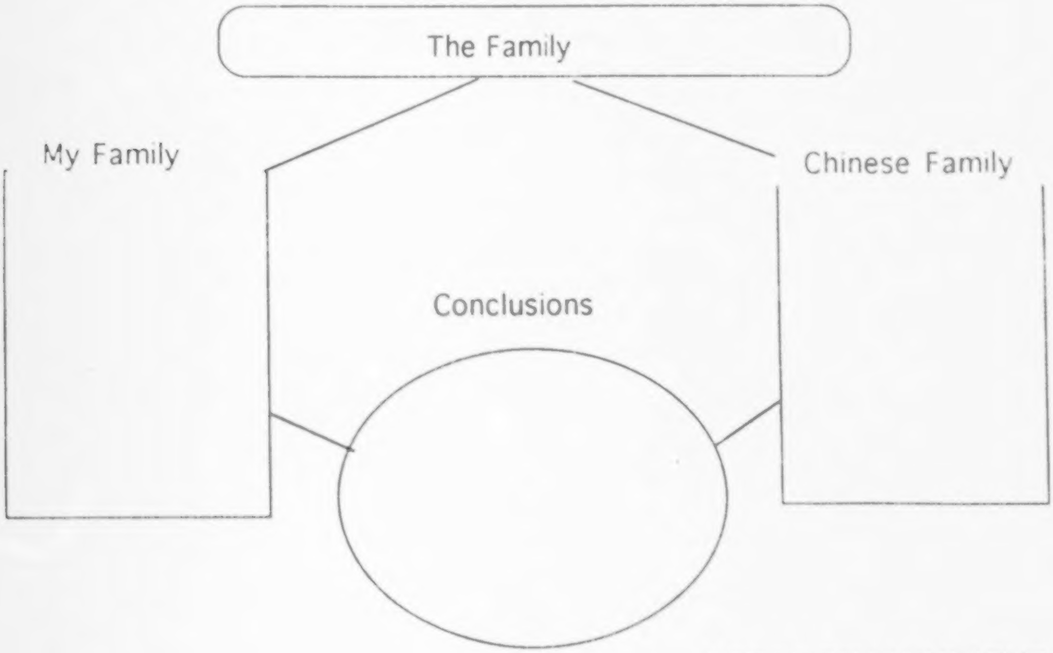
1. Describe the art work. Is it very realistic or more abstract?

2. What do the pictures emphasize?

3. What seems less important in the pictures?

4. What conclusions can you draw about this art work and how it represents the ideas of human connectivity to the universe?

V. THE FAMILY: Examine some of Confucius' ideas. Pay close attention to his ideas about the family. How does the Chinese family compare to your family? Is it similar or different? Below describe your family and how your family has influenced your worldview. then compare it with the Chinese family. Describe the Chinese family and how it is similar and/or different from your family. Fill in the web below:



Resource Sheet ~~#124-1~~ #2

SELECTIONS FROM THE TAO DE JHING, NUMBER 3

Laozi, a contemporary of Confucius, was keeper of the Imperial Archives in Lyang in the 6th century B.C. According to legend, he was convinced before his death to write his beliefs. The result was the *Tao De Jhing*, which has been a major influence in Chinese thought and culture for over 2,500 years. Read the following selections from the *Tao De Jhing*. Then as a group, analyze the selections using the questions listed after the selections.

EIGHT

The highest good is like water.
Water gives life to the ten thousand things and does not strive.
It follows in places men reject and so is like the Tao.

In dwelling, be close to the land.
In meditation, go deep in the heart.
In dealing with others, be gentle and kind.
In speech, be true.
In ruling, be just.
In business, be competent.
In action, watch the timing.

No fight; No blame.

THIRTEEN

Accept disgrace willingly.
Accept misfortune as the human condition.

What do you mean by "Accept disgrace willingly"?
Accept being important.
Do not be concerned with loss or gain
This is called "Accepting disgrace willingly."

What do you mean by "Accept misfortune as the human condition"?
Misfortune comes from having a body.
Without a body, how could there be misfortune?

Surrender yourself humbly; then you can be trusted to care for all things.
Love the world as your own self; then you can truly care for all things.

RS #3

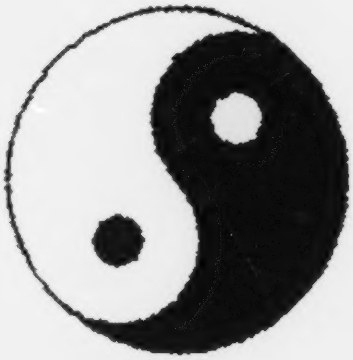
YIN AND YANG

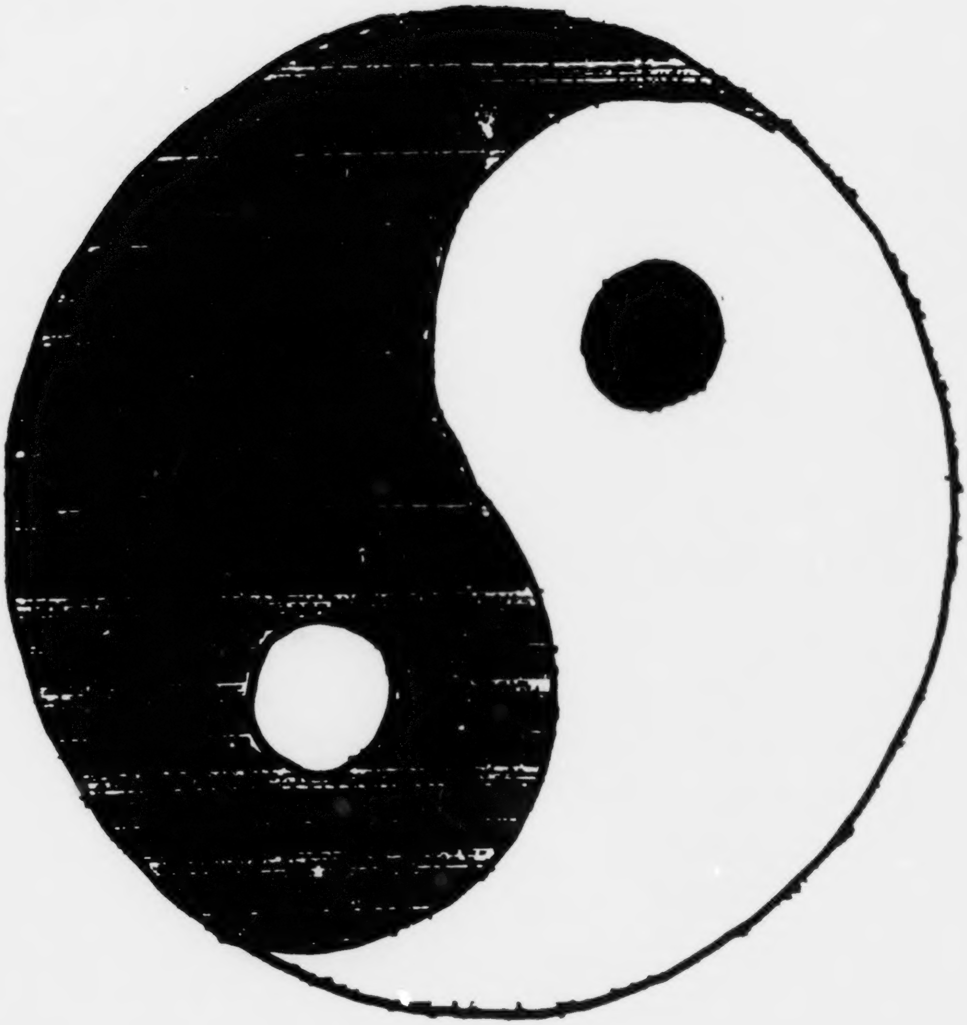
The twin concepts of the yin and yang come from ancient China. These two symbols represent the natural principle of balance. The outer circle represents "everything," while the black and white shapes within the circle represent the interaction of two energies, called "yin" (black) and "yang" (white). They are not completely black or completely white, just as things in life are not completely black or completely white, and they cannot exist without each other.

The Yin, the black part, is symbolic of many things. First and foremost, it represents the female. The yin also represents darkness, passivity, downward, cold, contracting, weak, and dull. The Yang, the white part, is the opposite of the yin. Therefore, the yang represents masculinity, bright, active, upward, hot, sun, expanding, strong, heaven, and the dragon. The Chinese believed that within every human being there existed yin and yang, therefore, within each individual existed these characteristics. It was important to keep a balance, therefore one should not have too much of either characteristic. For example, it was not good to be a weak person; rather you should be weak at times and strong at times.

Although the Chinese believed in balance it was no accident that the yin was symbolic of the female. This emphasized the deep rooted belief that women were inferior to men. From the time of birth, a girl knew what her worth was, little. Girls were not celebrated, but rather seen as a burden. This explains why the yin, the symbol of the female, also symbolized mostly negative qualities. It is interesting to note, that although the yin and yang represented balance in ones life, it was thought to be dangerous to have too much yin; while too much yang was acceptable.

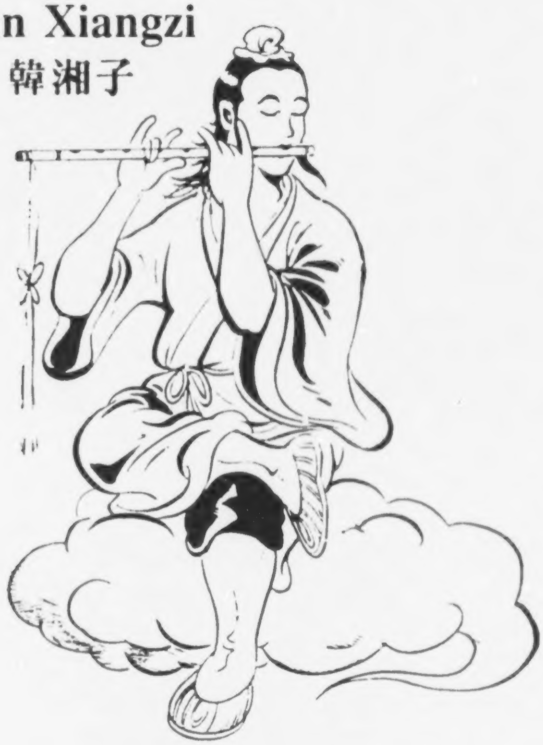
As time went on, the yin and yang was associated less with gender roles and more with the Taoist belief in balance. Today, most people view the yin and yang as spiritual symbols of having balance in ones life. Although these symbols are thousands of years old, they are more recognized today than ever.



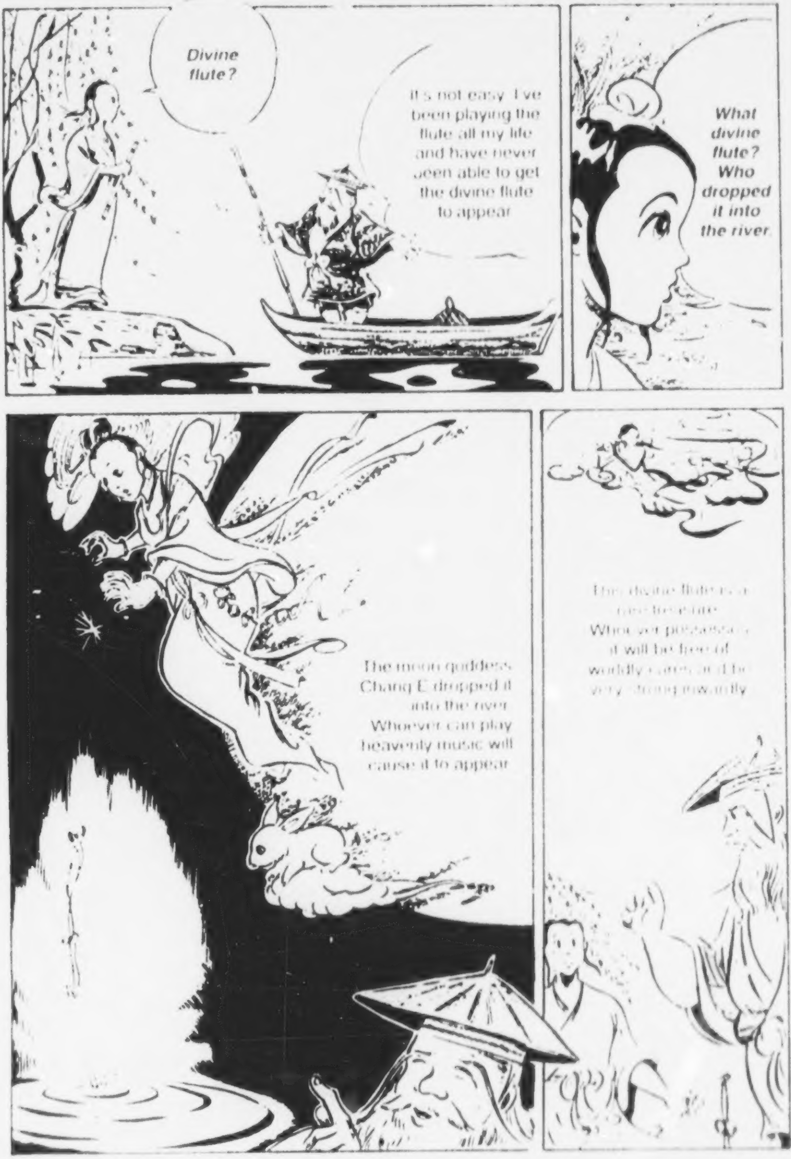


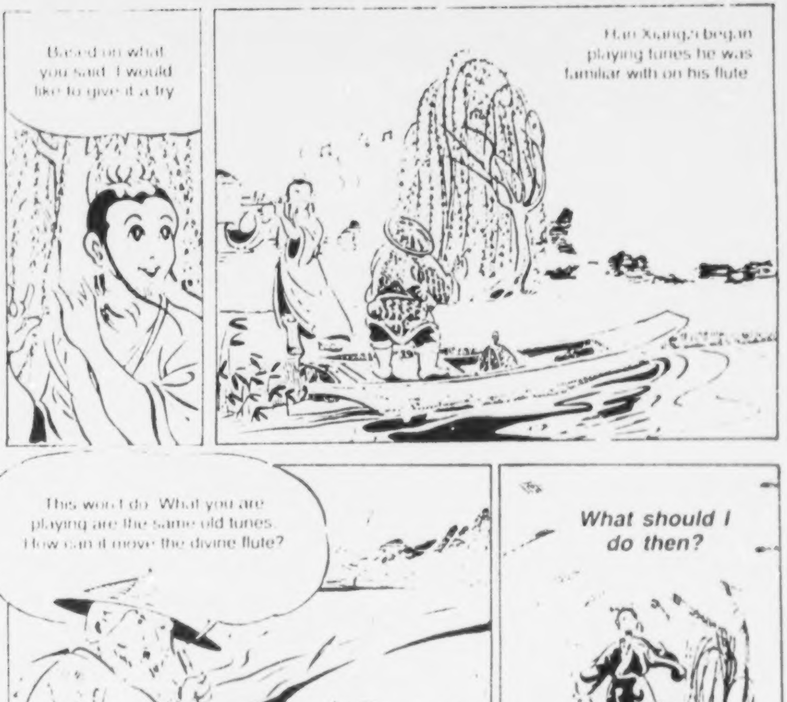
RS#4

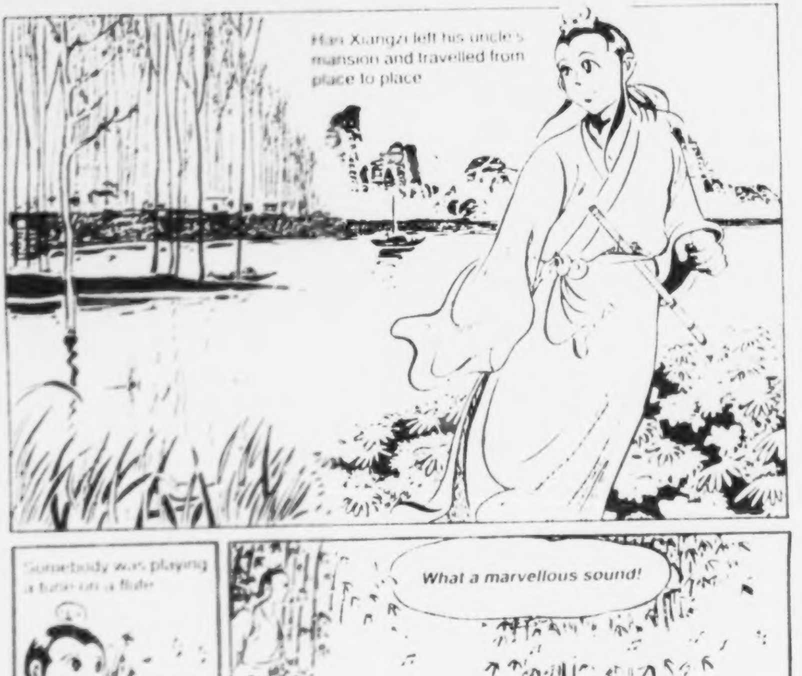
Han Xiangzi
韓湘子

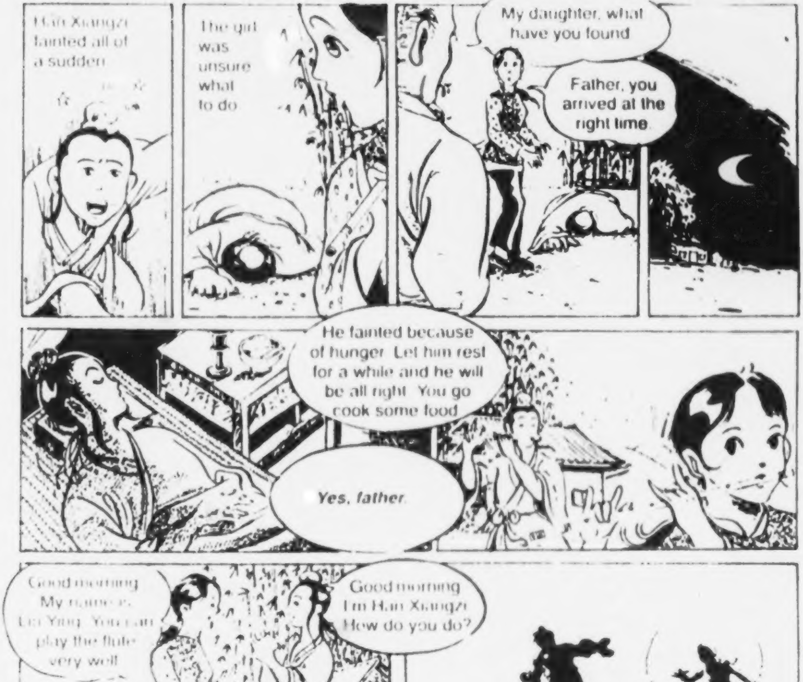


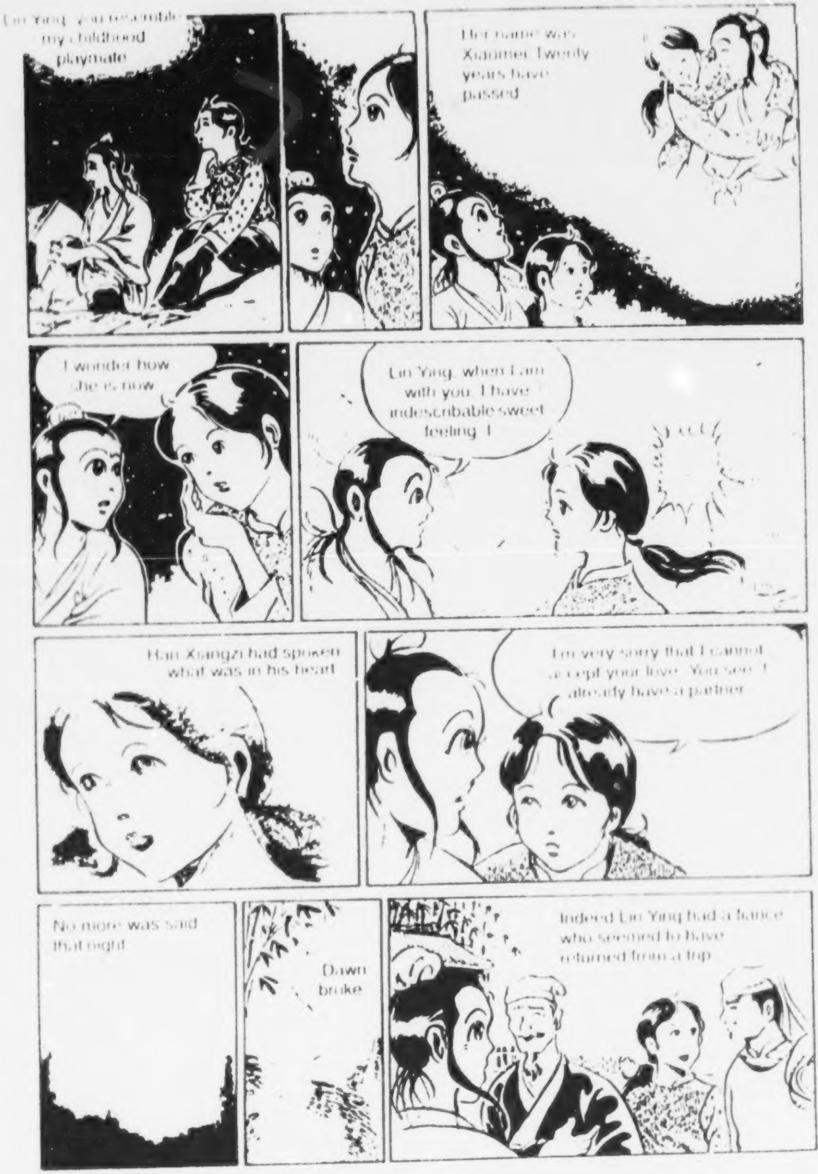
He is said to be a nephew of the famous Tang dynasty scholar Han Yu. His emblem is the flute. A lover of solitude, he represents the ideal of a contented person dwelling in natural places. He did not know the value of money and, if given any, used to scatter it on the ground. Han Xiangzi is the patron saint of musicians.

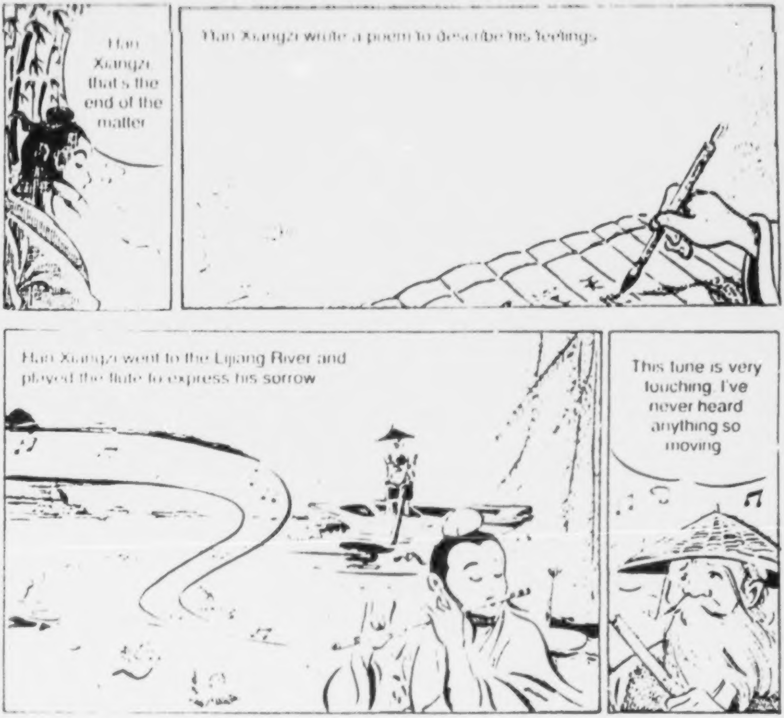

Divine flute?
It's not easy. I've been playing the flute all my life and have never been able to get the divine flute to appear.
What divine flute? Who dropped it into the river.
The moon goddess Chang E dropped it into the river. Whoever can play heavenly music will cause it to appear.
The divine flute is a rare treasure. Whoever possesses it will be free of worldly cares and be very strong inwardly.

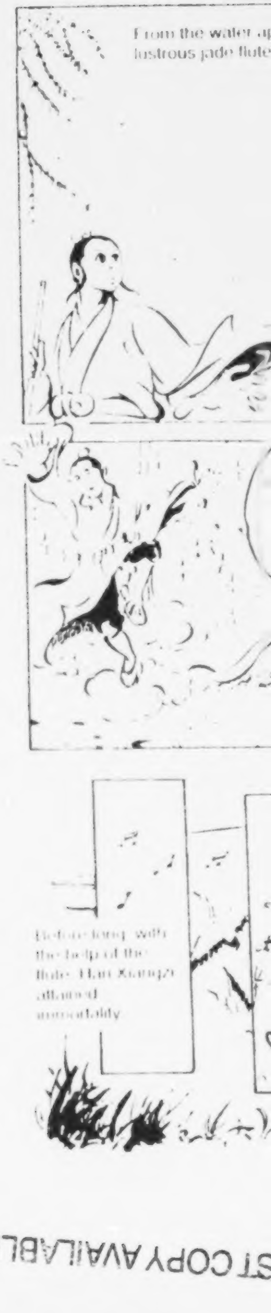

Based on what you said, I would like to give it a try
Han Xiangzi began playing tunes he was familiar with on his flute
This won't do. What you are playing are the same old tunes. How can it move the divine flute?
What should I do then?
You should travel to look for a really good teacher first.

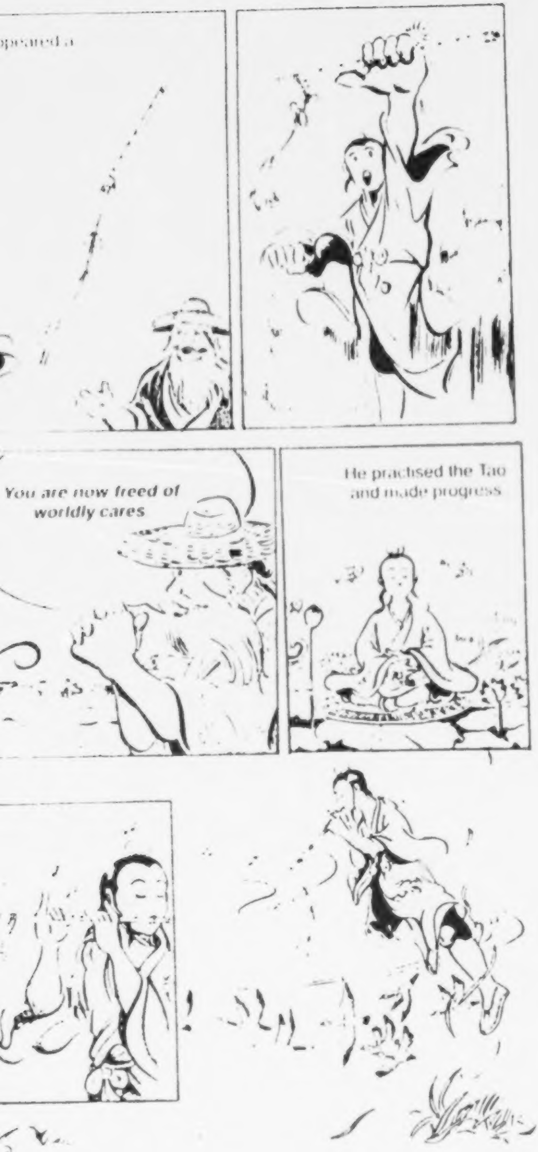

Han Xiangzi left his uncle's mansion and travelled from place to place
Somebody was playing a tune on a flute
What a marvellous sound!
He went to trace the source of the music.
He saw a girl who was so absorbed in playing the flute that she did not notice him
So she's the musician.


Han Xiangzi fainted all of a sudden
The girl was unsure what to do
My daughter, what have you found
Father, you arrived at the right time.
He fainted because of hunger. Let him rest for a while and he will be all right. You go cook some food
Yes, father.
Good morning My name is Lin Ying. You can play the flute very well
Good morning I'm Han Xiangzi How do you do?
During that time Han Xiangzi developed feelings for Lin Ying
The two young people got along very well Han Xiangzi stayed with the Lin family for half a month


Lin Ying, you resemble my childhood playmate
Her name was Xiaomei. Twenty years have passed
I wonder how she is now
Lin Ying, when I am with you, I have indescribable sweet feeling. !
Han Xiangzi had spoken what was in his heart
I'm very sorry that I cannot accept your love. You see, I already have a partner
No more was said that night
Dawn broke
Indeed Lin Ying had a fiance who seemed to have returned from a trip


Han Xiangzi that's the end of the matter
Han Xiangzi wrote a poem to describe his feelings
Han Xiangzi went to the Lijiang River and played the flute to express his sorrow
This tune is very touching. I've never heard anything so moving
The divine flute is appearing!


From the water ap
lustrous jade flute
Before long, with the help of the flute, Han Xiangzi attained immortality.


ppeared a
You are now freed of worldly cares
He practised the Tao and made progress

RS#5

Name ______________

Story Map

The setting/main characters - ____

____

Statement of the problem - ____

____

Event 1 - ____

____

Event 2 - ____

____

Event 3 - ____

____

Event 4 - ____

____

Statement of the solution - ____

____

Story Theme (What is the story *really* about?) - ______________________

____

Values brought out in the story - ___________________________________

____

RS #6

Reading seventeen

Taoist Attitudes in Painting and Poetry

Whereas Confucianism was primarily concerned with man's relationship to other men within society, Taoism emphasized man's relationship to his environment and to the nature of the world around him. The Taoist sense of impermanency, of passing time, and of harmony with Nature has contributed in making Chinese values and attitudes quite different from those found in other cultures. Consequently, Taoist ideas have had a great impact on Chinese painting and poetry.

The Taoist View of Nature*

Here our concern is with an attitude to nature which, though it admits of no theology, no pantheon, and no church, is nevertheless essentially religious in quality. In this attitude concerning man's position in the total universe—for that is what it really is—we find the mainspring for much of China's literature and art. From the famous poet T'ao Ch'ien (372-427), for example, there is the following:

I built my hut in a zone of human
habitation,
Yet near me there sounds no noise
of horse or coach.
Would you know how that is possible?
A heart that is distant creates a wilderness
round it.
I pluck chrysanthemums under the eastern
hedge.
Then gaze long at the distant summer hills.
The mountain air is fresh at the dusk of day:
The flying birds two by two return.
In these things there lies a deep meaning;
Yet when we would express it, words suddenly
fail us.

And here is a shorter poem by Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819), one of the literary giants of the T'ang dynasty (618-906):

A hundred mountains and no bird,
A thousand paths without a footprint;
A little boat, a bamboo cloak,
An old man fishing in the cold river-snow.

---

* Derk Bodde, *China's Cultural Tradition* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1965).

During the Sung dynasty (960-1279), when Chinese painting reached its apogee, the art critic Kuo Hsi (born *ca.* 1020) wrote a famous *Essay on Landscape Painting* in which he began:

> Why does a virtuous man take delight in landscapes? It is for these reasons: that in a rustic retreat he may nourish his nature; that amid the carefree play of streams and rocks, he may take delight; that he may constantly meet in the country fishermen, woodcutters, and hermits, and see the soaring of the cranes, and hear the crying of the monkeys. The din of the dusty world and the locked-in-ness of human habitations are what human nature habitually abhors; while, on the contrary, haze, mist, and the haunting spirits of the mountains are what human nature seeks, and yet can rarely find. . . .
>
> Having no access to the landscapes, the lover of forest and stream, the friend of mist and haze, enjoys them only in his dreams. How delightful then to have a landscape painted by a skilled hand! Without leaving the room, at once he finds himself among the streams and ravines; the cries of the birds and monkeys are faintly audible to his senses; light on the hills and reflection on the water, glittering, dazzle his eyes. Does not such a scene satisfy his mind and captivate his heart? That is why the world values the true significance of the painting of mountains.

Throughout Chinese poetry and painting we find this same awareness of the beauty and mystery of Nature—always, however, a Nature in which man holds an integral but not assertive place. Never, on the one hand, are the mountains, rivers, and forest of the great Chinese landscape painters mere decorative backdrops for man and his activities, as so often in preromantic Western art; equally never, on the other hand, do they consist simply of empty and seemingly uninhabited wildernesses. Always they are peopled by human figures, tiny yet distinct: a fisherman in his boat, a woodcutter, a cowherd, a recluse sitting in contemplation on a rock. So too in the paintings of animals, birds, insects, and plants, in which the Chinese excel: always these creatures must be shown *alive* and in their natural surroundings; never as the string of slaughtered game, the platter of plucked fruit, the bowl of cut flowers so beloved by the Western painter of still life.

With this Chinese attitude toward nature it is instructive to compare the attitudes found in the premodern West. Concerning the Greeks and Romans we are told by Irving Babbitt, for example:

> Nature interests them as a rule less for its own sake than as a background for human action; and when they are concerned primarily with nature, it is a nature that has been acted on by man. They have a positive shrinking from wild and uncultivated nature.

Concerning the Middle Ages:

> No man who knows the facts would assert for a moment that the man of the Middle Ages was incapable of looking on nature with other feelings than those of ascetic distrust. It is none the less true that the man of the Middle Ages often saw in nature not merely something alien but a positive temptation and peril of the spirit. In his attitude towards nature as in other respects Petrarch [1304-74] is usually accounted the first modern. He did what no man of the mediaeval period is supposed to have done before him, or indeed what scarcely any man of classical antiquity did: he ascended a mountain out of sheer curiosity and simply to enjoy the view.

Name:
Date:

RS#7

THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE FAMILY

Chinese children want very much to please their parents. They know they can please them by behaving well. They have learned never to disagree with their parents in public. At home, however, they may discuss things with them. Then parents try to decide what is best for the whole family. Children are taught to always obey their parents. That is how they show their love and respect for them. Being a good son or daughter is the most important duty.

Parents also have duties. First, they must take good care of their children. They must also set a good example for their children. If children misbehave, the parents are blamed. Bad behavior from a child shows that the parents have not taught good behavior. Parents try very hard to teach children the right ways to think and act.

Parents do not have to give orders all the time. Children know they have certain duties. They must be pleasant. They must not fight or quarrel. They must do good work in school every day. They must try to stay healthy. Children know that they must not get too tired. If they do, they might not be able to obey all the parents' teachings. They might become angry, sleepy in class, or even become sick. To prevent these things, children go to bed after their duties are finished and they are tired.

Children know they must learn to get along with all members of the family. By learning how to behave toward them, they learn how to behave toward all people. When the Chinese use the word "family," they often mean all their relatives, even members who are now dead.

Children know a great deal about their families and their history. Families often choose a special goal for the family. A common choice is stability. Each member of the family should be strong and reliable. Each generation is given a special neame. All of the children in one generation are given this special name as one of their names.

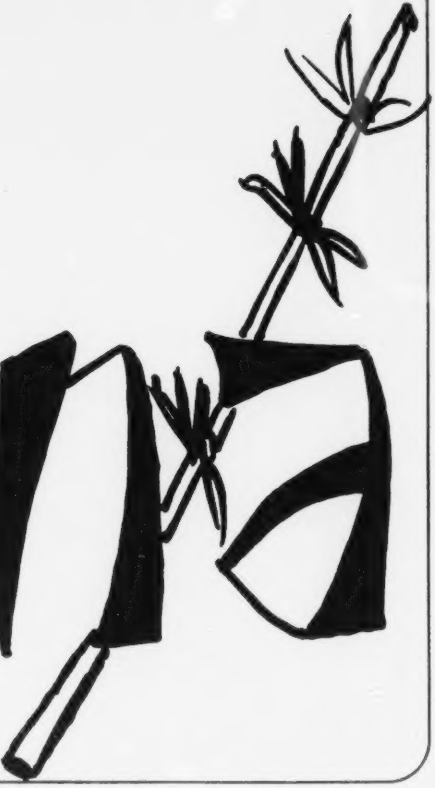
Families have hundreds of members. Each family member helps children learn to behave properly. When under the care of relatives, children are cared for as if their relatives were their parents. Children respect and obey relatives as if they were their own parents. All relatives think of themselves as belonging to one great family. Some of the family members are alive, but most of them are no longer living. The dead are not forgotten, and are respected.

If any member of the family does something wrong, it will bring shame to everyone in the family. Children who do not do well in school feel shame. The shame is shared by the entire family. People say that if children do not do well, it is because parents failed to teach them to be good students. Teachers are almost as important as parents. If a school rule is broken and a student is punished, it brings shame to the whole family.

These ideas control the behavior of children and the life of Chinese families. The ideas are traditional, because they have been used in China for many years.

Adapted from Four World Views, Allyn & Bacon, pp. 16-23.

A Travel Through Time in China



10 Supplemental / Interdisciplinary Activities
Level: 2nd / 3rd grade

Written by: Ms. Eileen Lang
2nd Grade Teacher
Grace Christian Academy -Tinian
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

The Great Wall of Contents

Dynasty	*Learning Activity*
Qin Dynasty 221-207 B.C.	Great Wall & Terra cotta Warriors
Han Dynasty 207 B.C.- A.D.220	Paper Making
Tang Dynasty 618-907 A.D.	Three Color Pottery
Five Dynasties 907-960 A.D.	Footbinding
Qing (Manchu) Dynasty 1644-1911 A.D.	Beijing Opera
Modern Day 1911-1998 A.D.	Made in China Math Mapping China

Teacher Helps

China Assesment Folder Activity

Student Homework Record Sheets

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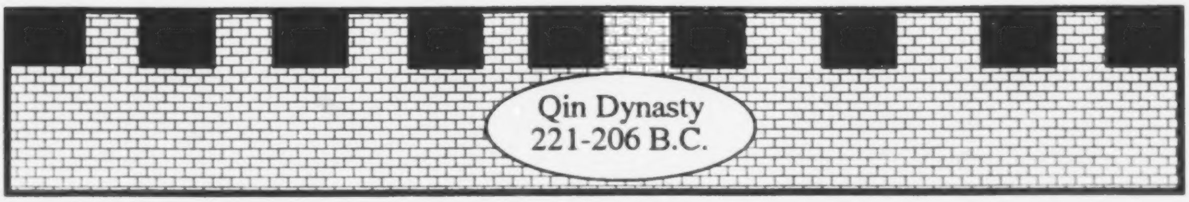
tivity you will do, cut out and build a Great Wall bulletin board.

Comprehension skills

Name: ____________________



Terra cotta Warrior Times

READ THE FOLLOWING NEWS STORY ABOUT THE TERRA COTTA WARRIORS THEN ANSWER THE QUESTIONS IN COMPLETE SENTENCES:

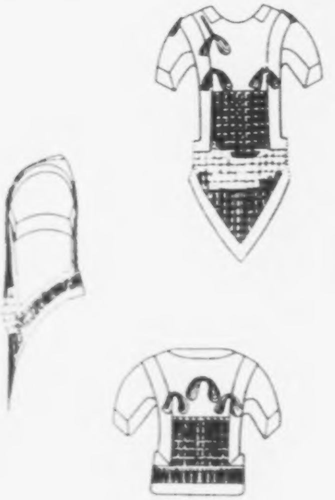
In the Shaanxi Province near the city of Xi'an a large army of terra cotta warriors has been discovered. More than 7,000 warriors have been unearthed. They were discovered in 1974 by a local farmer who was digging a well.

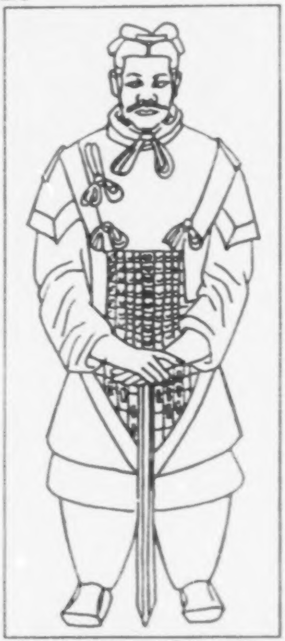
Along with the warriors there are horses, chariots, and bronze weapons.

The warriors are part of a vast underground burial site of China's first Emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi who lived from 259-206 B.C. Although he searched to find a way to be immortal he ordered them to be made to prepare for his afterlife.

Emperor Qin is credited for having begun the Great Wall of China, road systems, unifying the currency and Chinese characters of his land.

The discovery of this amazing site was immediately named the eighth wonder of the world.





1. WHERE were the terra cotta warriors found?

____

2. WHO found the warriors? ____________________

____

3. WHY are the warriors there? ____________________

____

4. WHAT else was discovered? ____________________

____

5. WHEN did the first Emperor live? ________

____

6. NAME three things that Emperor Qin did during his reign. ____________________

____

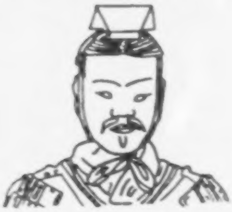
____

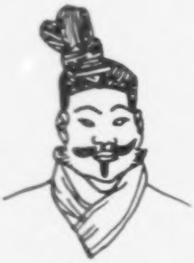
Name:______________________________

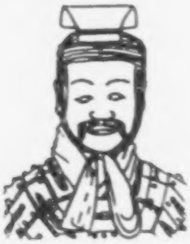
Qin Dynasty
221-207 B.C.

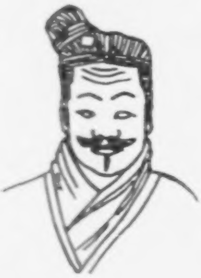
A Warrior Match

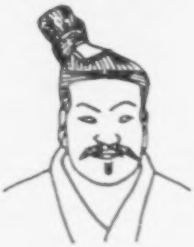
1.Match the terra cotta warrior faces
2.Color them to how you thought they looked back in the time of Emperor Qin.

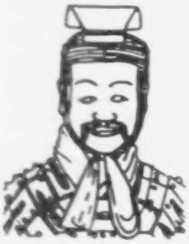


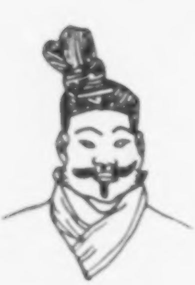


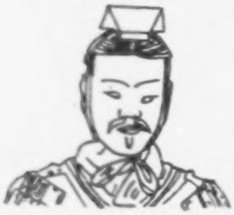




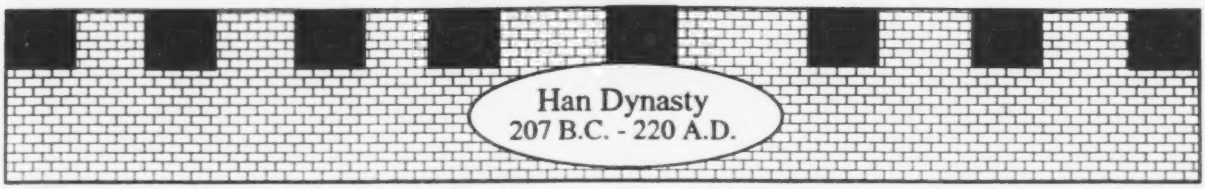








Paper Making



Objectives:
1. Learn when paper making was first invented and the technique involved
2. Make paper in your classroom

Supplies:
1. A large tub/dishpan/five gallon bucket to soak the paper
2. A stack of old newspapers, scrap paper, etc.
   (torn in small pieces and soaked overnight in the tub)
3. Paper towels
4. A blender or a mixer and bowl
5. A sponge
6. A mold and deckle
7. A recipe for making paper*

Background:
Paper making was invented during the Han Dynasty. Before this people would write on silk floss material or bamboo strips connect together with ropes. These methods were either expensive or too heavy and inconvenient. The first paper was made from bark, worn out fishing nets, rags, and linen. After paper making was developed the culture flourished even more. Paper making was inexpensive and less time consuming than other methods. The writings and art of the Han Dynasty was able to spread across the country and into other parts of the world. Thus, China's influence in the world grew.

Activity:
1. Introduce the background material- you can show different kinds of paper if desired- (copy, parchment, watercolor, construction, poster board, cardboard, ...)
2. Introduce the paper making art project
3. Make paper following the directions

Conclusion:
Use paper for art activities, or making Chinese Characters with black paint, or making a card, ... the ideas are only limited by their imagination.

*** Paper Making Directions can be found in :**
Adventures in Art Art & Craft Experiences for 7-14 Year-Olds by: Susan Milord
A Williamson Kids Can! Book Pub. by: Williamson Publishing Charlotte, VT c 1990

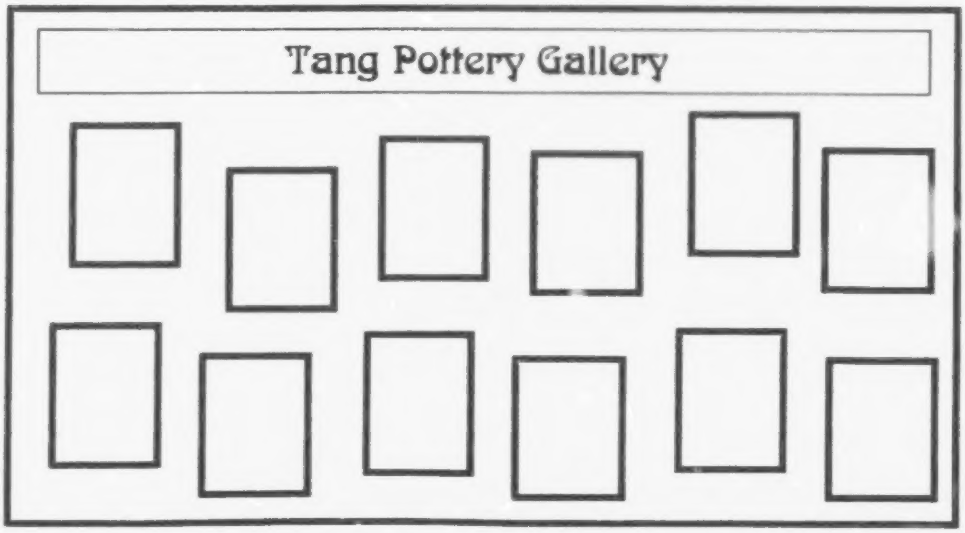
Tang Dynasty Pottery Lesson

Background:
Tang Dynasty- (618-907 A.D.) The capital was Chang'an now modern day Xi'an. They conquered Central Asia and Korea and invented gunpowder. Roads were built and canals extended. Caravans and seaports connected the Tang Dynasty to the rest of the world. Inns were built for travelers. Because of the safety and convience of these changes culture was then able to flourish and grow. Music and dance became more highly developed. The Tang Dynasty was also the first to use three colors in the glazing of their pottery pieces. They used yellow, green, and a brownish-orange color.

Supplies needed:
Several colors of tissue paper, cut in small squares
White school glue thinned with water
Small paint brushes to apply the glue- or use fingers
Photocopy student paper on white construction paper- or make a pattern and have students trace it onto construction paper.

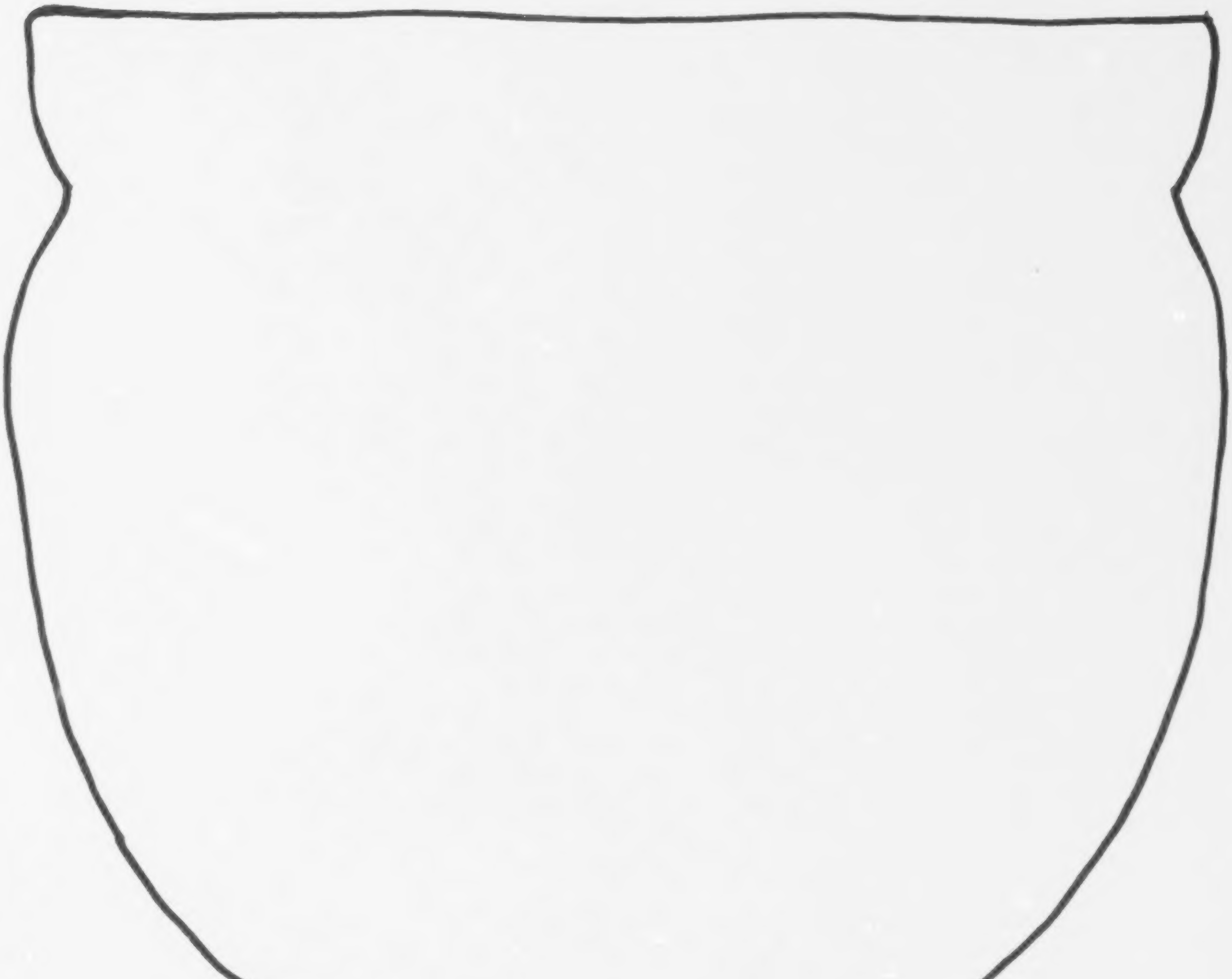
Lesson:
1. Ask students to think of their favorite three colors: What are they? write them down
2. Have them imagine all their dishes in their house being the three chosen colors
3. Introduce and discuss the Tang Dynasty background information
4. Pass out their supplies- have each student pick his/her three colors of tissue paper squares
5. Glue them on the pottery pattern. When it is dry the glue will make it look shiny like a glaze.
6. Frame them with tag board or construction paper frames and hang on a bulletin board display
7. Hang a Great Wall Block on the wall with the Tang Dynasty info. (if you're doing this part)

Other ideas:
*Make pottery using clay or modeling dough etc. and display
*Bring in glazed pottery for the students to see.



Tang Dynasty Pottery

The Tang Dynasty was the first dynasty to use three colors of glaze in their pottery.
Using the outline of the pottery to create your own three color pottery.
Follow the directions your teacher will give you.



The Much Too Tiny Shoes Lesson Plan

Supplies:
Photocopy Teacher copy for yourself to read to them
Photocopy student copy (make the copies double sided one page)
Many different kinds of shoes- real or pictures
Crayons, pencils, colored pencils

Objectives:
Through the use of a story students will learn about an old custom in China that was made illegal in this century.

Opener:
1. Ask students:
    What kind of shoes do you wear?
    What are your favorite shoes?
    Why do we wear shoes?
    What size shoes do you wear?
    What do you do with your shoes when they are too small to wear?
2. Show them pictures of shoes or actual shoes from other countries (if you have some)

Lesson:
1. Read them your copy of the story ask questions:
    What happened in the story?
    What would you have done?
2. Have them draw inside illustrations on their copy and color

Conclusion:
Sometimes it takes courage to change something you think is wrong.

Other Ideas:
* Make a shoe shaped class book and put the stories inside
* Display books in a learning center filled with shoes and other ideas or in class library
* Measure their feet and make a class foot graph
* Make foot prints on paper using their feet and having them step in tempera paint and then onto paper
* Have them design unique shoes of their own
* Gather all their old shoes that are much too tiny for them but still good and donate them to a shelter or charity work in your area.
* Write stories about their favorite pair of shoes
* Practice counting by pairs of shoes- counting by 2's or multiplying by two's
* Dicuss who makes laws in our country, how we can make good laws and bad ones
* Take a vote to make a good law in your classroom to teach / introduce democracy- all the people decide

Hundreds of years passed and still they wore much too tiny shoes. All the baby girls, little girls and women had much too tiny feet. One day many brave people got together and said this is a bad law. They said no more. We must change this law. Much too tiny shoes hurt. Much too tiny shoes cause pain. Shoes should not be much too tiny anymore. All baby girls, little girls, and women may now wear shoes that fit just right. And they did.

The End!

The Much

Too Tiny
ShoeS

Written & Illustrated By

Eileen F. Lang

During the years of the Five Dynasties in China the rulers wanted all the girls to have much too tiny feet. They made a law. All the girls had to wear much too tiny shoes. From then on the baby girls wore much too tiny shoes, the little girls wore much too tiny shoes and the grown up women wore much too tiny shoes. The shoes were called bound foot shoes.

07-960
A.D.

Beginning when a baby girl was born her feet were put into much too tiny shoes. They would smoosh and scrunch and crunch their feet into the much too tiny shoes. They shoes hurt, they were much too tiny. They could not run, they could not play. They stayed at home and carefully and slowly walked around. As the little girls grew every part of them grew, except their feet. All of their lives the girls had to wear much too tiny shoes.

Beijing Opera Masks Lesson Plan

Art /History

Objective:
Through the use of art, gain awareness and music/art appreciation of another culture's opera.

Background information:
The opera began as street drama and grew from there. The dance movements and techniques of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) are similar to the opera of today. It became more developed during the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty (1271-1368) and later the Ming Dynasty (1386-1644). Late in the 18th and 19th century styles came together even more. Since then it has grown and changed until we have what we do today, the Beijing Opera.

The Beijing Opera is a mixture of singing, dancing, speaking, mime, and acrobatics. It is colorful and dramatic. The faces are painted with bright colors and costuming is highly decorative. There are many characters including scholars, warriors, soldiers, heroes, demons, family members-aunts, uncles, mothers, fathers, and a comedian clown figure. These are all distinguished by costuming and make-up. There are only a few props that are used. Facial expression and gestures are symbolic and hold much meaning.

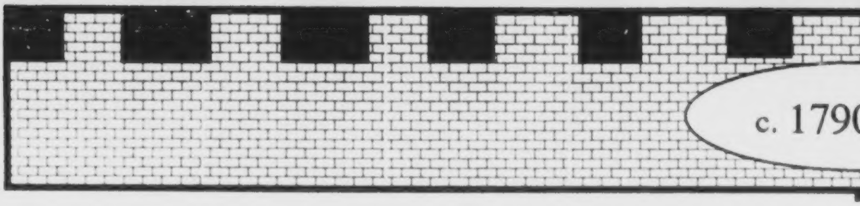
The music is live. The instruments are mostly percussion-there are bells, cymbals, and drums although there is also two stringed fiddles and four stringed guitars. There is no written music and the conductor is called a time clapper.

The story lines are from ancient legends, fairly tales, disasters, natural and otherwise.

Supplies needed:
Copy Beijing masks worksheet for each student
Teacher copy of large mask colored to show students
Paper plates (one for each student)
Oil pastel chalk
Yarn-for beards
Crayons, colored pencils
Wide craft sticks (one for each student)
Glue
Scissors

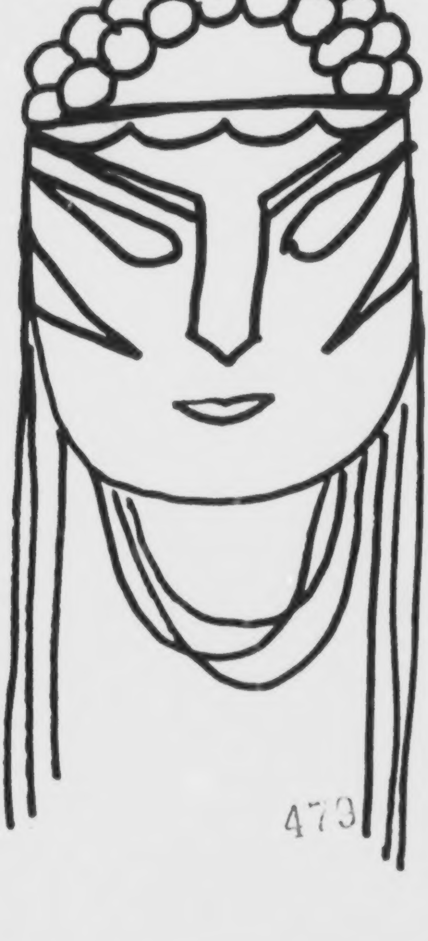
Activity:
1. Ask students if they have ever been to the opera or heard opera music before
2. Intro. Beijing Opera using the picture and background inf.
3. If possible obtain a copy of music from the opera, play it for your students (Encarta 98 CD-Rom has some sample music)
4. Pass out student copies and give instructions
5. After completing the paper, pass out paper plates and supplies-have students copy the mask they drew onto the paper plate. cut out eyes if wanted
6. Color with oil pastels chalk- the texture resembles the make up used in the opera. Add yarn for beards, glue sticks on for handles let dry.

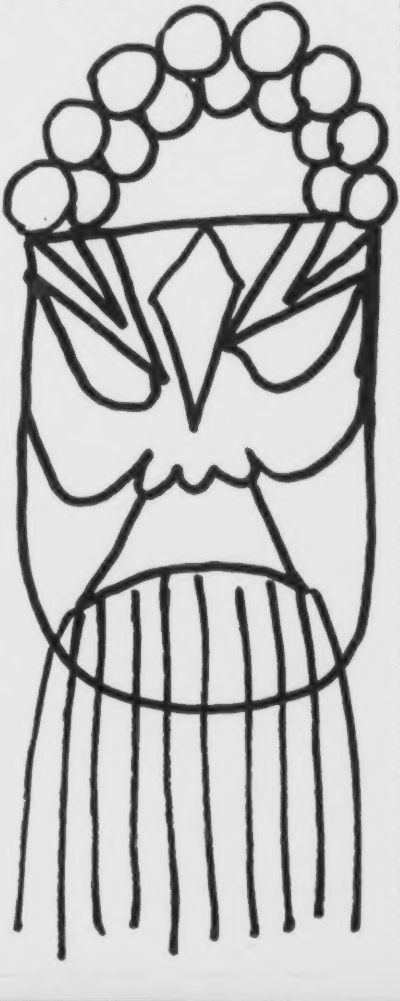
Follow up / Extra Activities:
Write a play or act out your favorite fairy tale with your students using the masks.


c. 1790

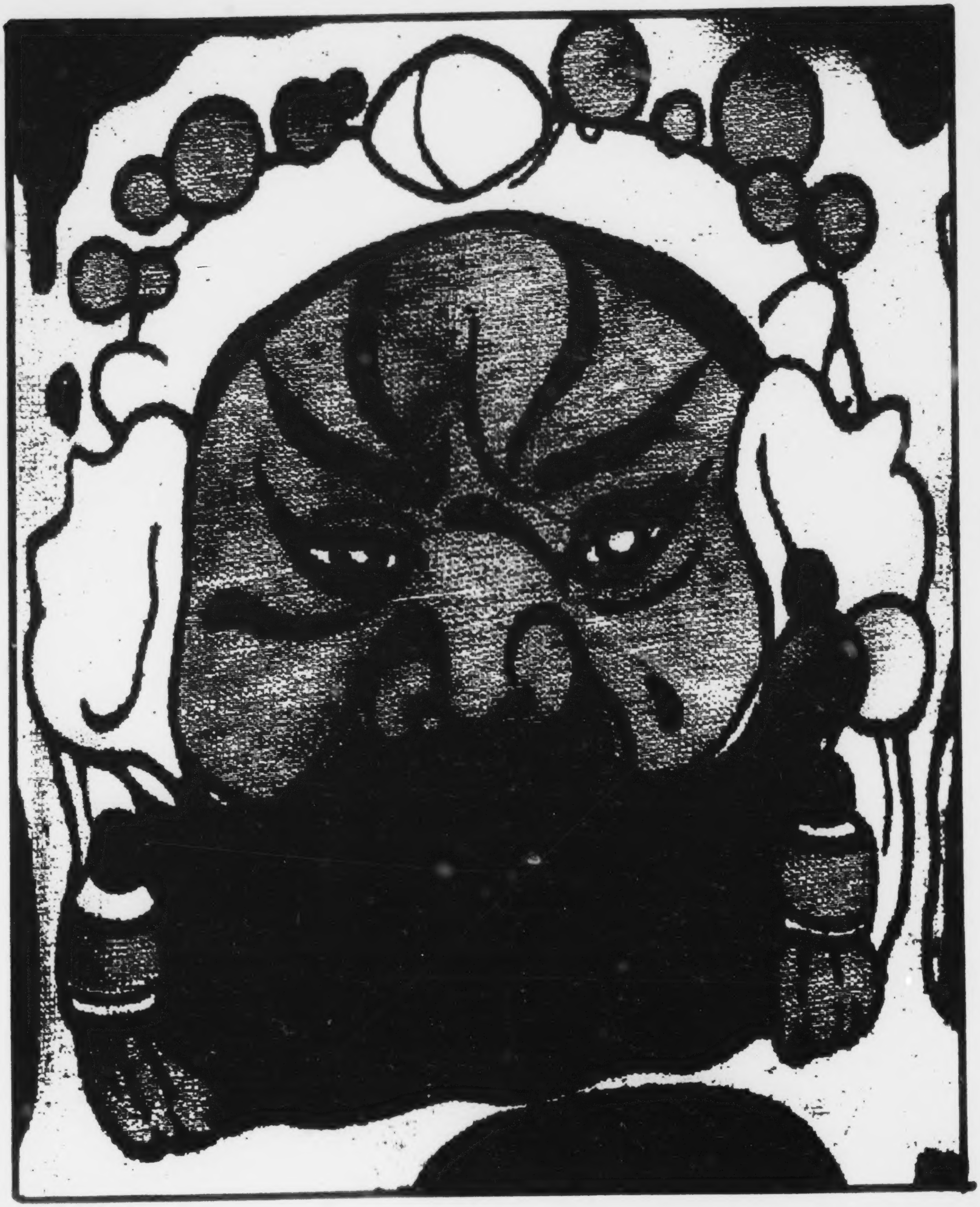
Ahhhhhhhhh,
It's the Beijing Opera!

Color these Opera Masks with the brightest colors you have





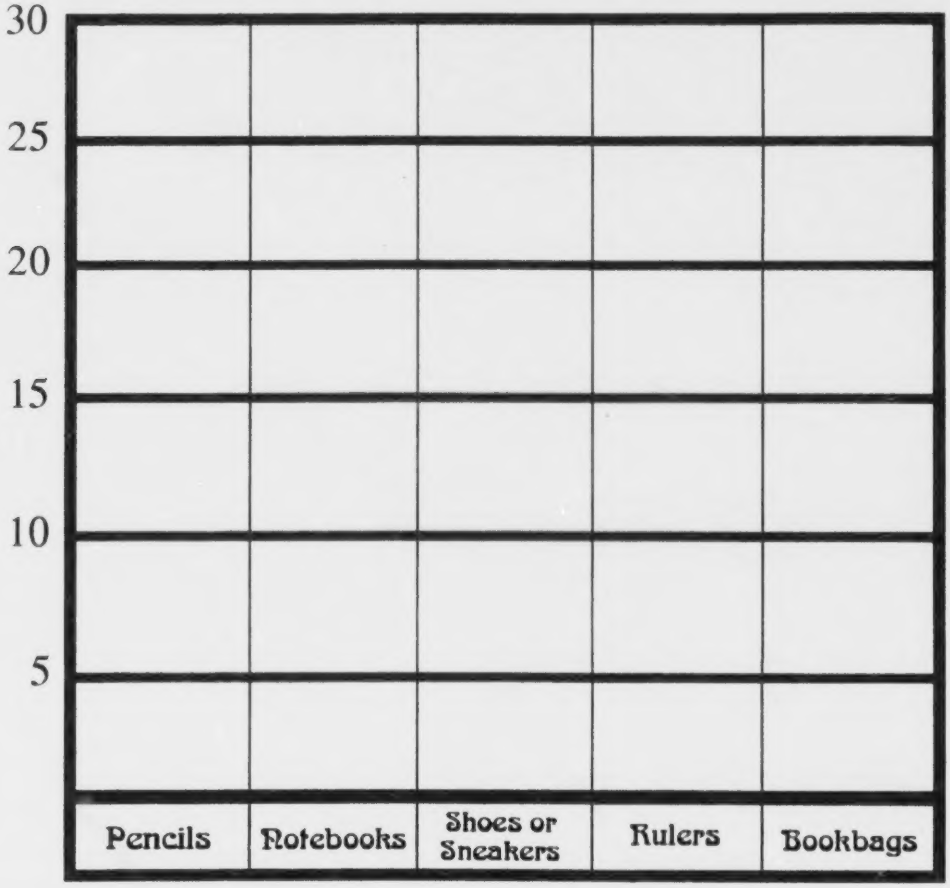
Draw a opera mask of your own!



Name: ______________________________

Made in China Math

Today many, many items in our homes and classrooms are *Made in China*. Take a survery of your friends in class. Graph your results. Find out how many of each item below came from China. You'll be surprised with what you discover!



1. How many items does each block represent? ______
2. Which item was there the most of? ________
3. Which item was the least? __________
4. How many items are there in all? _________
5. What is the difference between the most and the least?

____

****

Extra Fun

How many items in your home are from China?_____

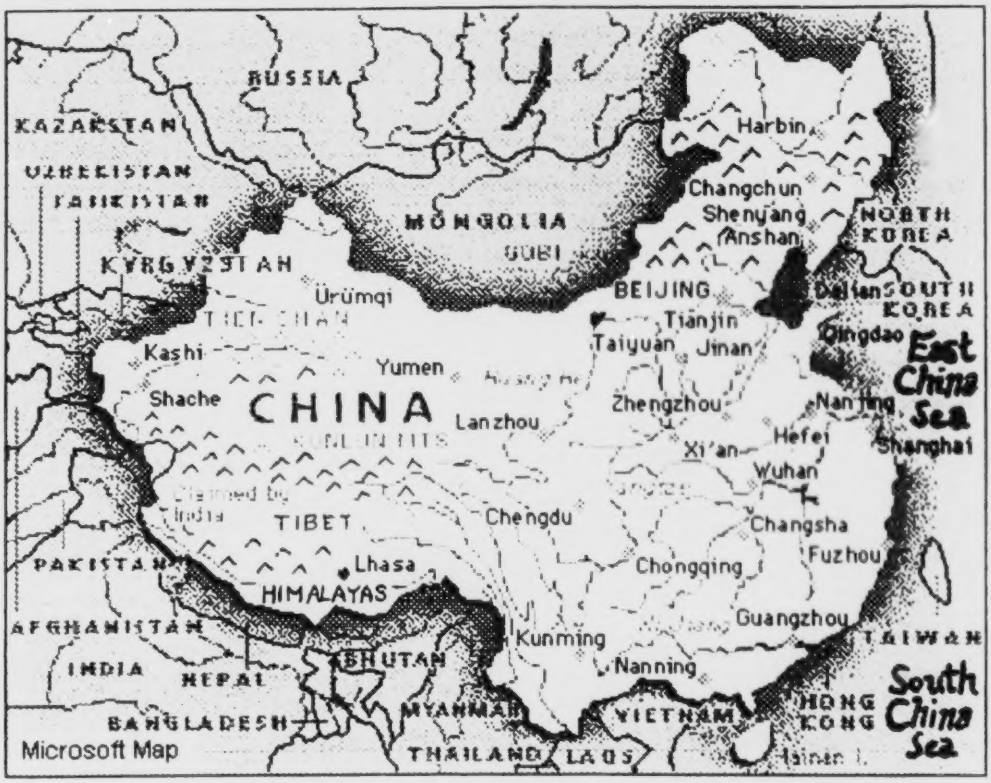
Draw a picture of your favorite item on the back.

****

* Mapping Skills/Following Directions

Name: ______________________________

Use the map of China below and answer all the questions. You need crayons or colored pencils.


RUSSIA
KAZAKSTAN
UZBEKISTAN
TAJIKISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
MONGOLIA
GOBI
Harbin
Changchun
Shenyang
Anshan
NORTH KOREA
BEIJING
Tianjin
Dalian
SOUTH KOREA
Qingdao
East China Sea
Ürümqi
TIEN SHAN
Kashi
Yumen
Taiyuan
Jinan
Shache
CHINA
Lanzhou
Zhengzhou
Nanjing
Shanghai
Xi'an
Hefei
Wuhan
KUNLUN MTS
Claimed by India
TIBET
Chengdu
Changsha
PAKISTAN
Lhasa
HIMALAYAS
Chongqing
Fuzhou
AFGHANISTAN
Guangzhou
TAIWAN
Kunming
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
Nanning
MYANMAR
VIETNAM
HONG KONG
South China Sea
BANGLADESH
Microsoft Map
THAILAND
LAOS
Hainan I.

1. Beijing is the capital of China. Circle Beijing in red.

2. The Himalayas are the tallest mountains in the world, find them and color them brown.

3. Color all the other mountains a different color brown.

4. Find the ***East China Sea*** and the ***South China Sea***, color them both blue.

5. What city is the farthest north on this map? ____________________

6. Tianjin is a port city. This is a place where ships can come in and bring supplies and things to sell and take things to other countries. Find this city and circle it orange.

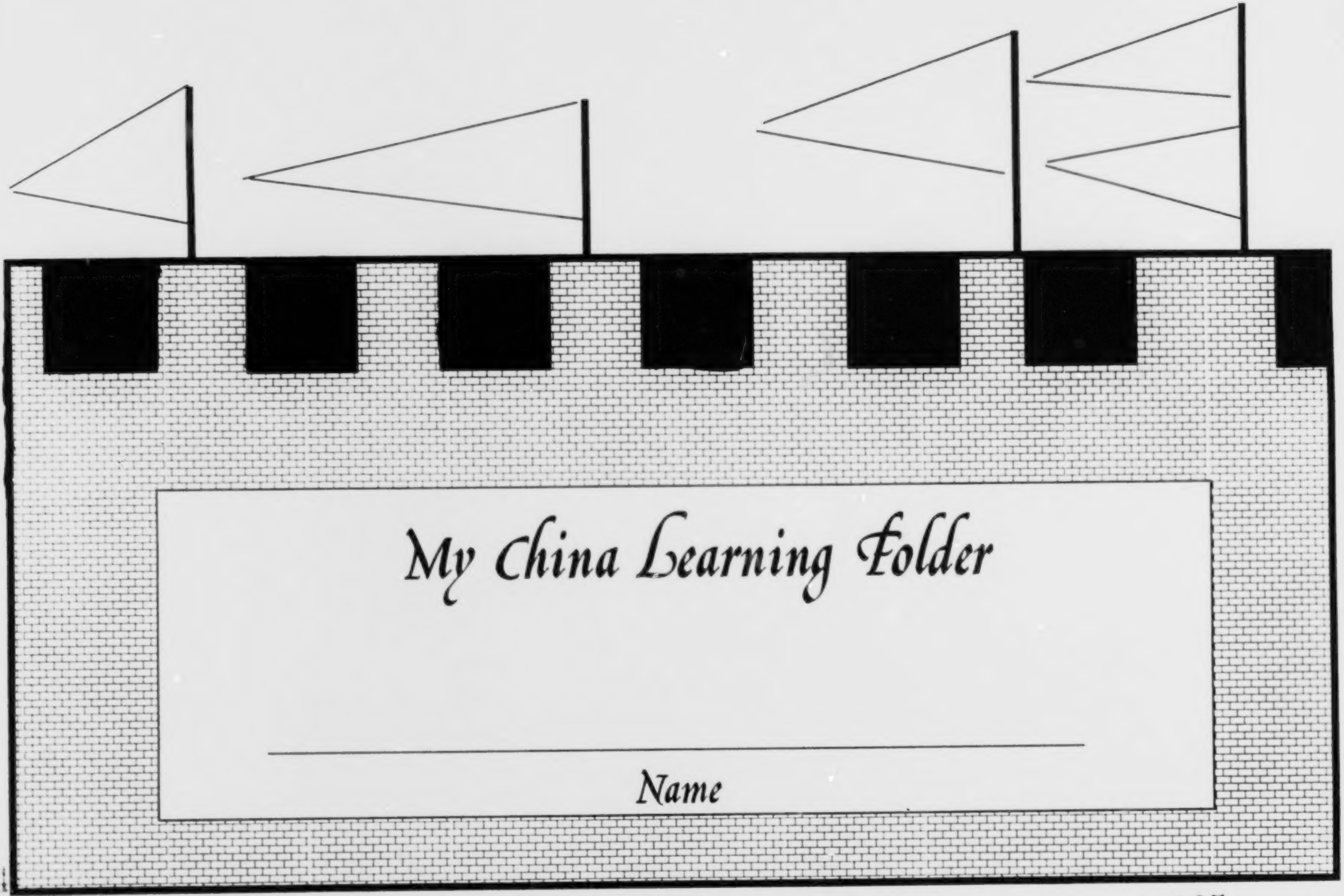
7. ***Xi'an*** (she on) is an ancient capital of china, the terracotta warriors are there, put an arrow over the name with a silver or gold crayon. ⬅

8. ***Yangtze*** is an important river in China, follow the river lines using a blue crayon.

9. ***Shanghai*** has an important banking area, $$$ draw a green rectangle around Shanghai.

10. Pick any city in China. What's it's name? ____________________

Is it in the North, South, East, West, or the Central part of China? _______________

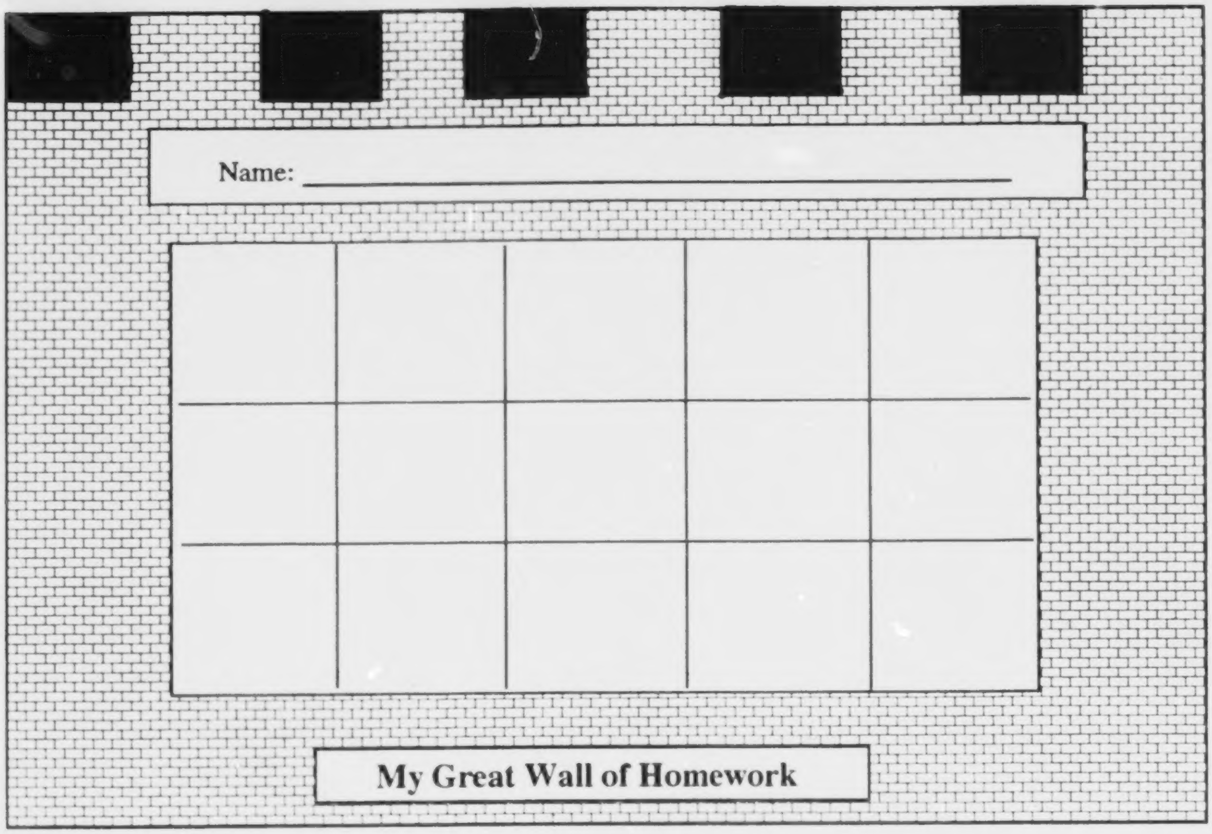


My China Learning Folder

____

Name

Directions: Cut out, glue to folder, color flags, write your name. Keep all your China activities inside.



Name: ______________________________________

My Great Wall of Homework

Fulbright-Hays Summer Program

China Curriculum Project

District Mentorship
September-June 1998

A series of workshops and consultation
for students/teachers and the community

Anita Linn
Fulbright-Hays Mentor

Fulbright - Hays Curriculum Project

As stated in my original project application for the Fulbright-Hays Award, I planned on working as a mentor teacher on China for the 1997-98 school year with the Santa Barbara Elementary School District.

In cooperation with District officials, a series of workshops was planned and executed for teachers and the community. During the workshops, quality fiction and non-fiction books, teaching ideas, and curriculum materials on China were introduced. Individual consultation with teachers and students and a year-long China studly program at McKinley School were also part of the the project.

A complete annotated bibliography of highly recommended books on China and Asia for children grades K-8 is included with Workshop 4 materials.

Anita Linn
January 1998
Santa Barbara, California

Workshop 1
Folklore of China and Asia

McKinley School Library
Oct. 23, 1997
Anita Linn, Mentor

1. Introduction

2. Fulbright-Hays Seminars

3. Chinese history, very briefly

4. Folklore and folktale books and media resources

5. Evaluation/ book selection

Workshop 1
Folklore of China and Asia for Children

Information on how to apply for a Fulbright Scholarship for teachers.

Fullbright-Hays Seminars Abroad--what are they?
Sponsored by the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961, this federal program is administered by the U.S. Dept. of Education to, " help qualified U.S. educators of the social sciences and humanities enhance their international understanding and increase their knowledge of the people and culture of another country through study abroad. Upon their return, participants are expected to share their broadened knowledge and understanding of the host country (ies) with students, colleagues, members of civic and professional organizations and the public in their respective communities."

What do you do on a seminar trip?
After a pre-departure orientation in the U.S., participants (groups are around 16 teachers, with a scholar escort) travel by plane and land around the country of study. Participants go to historical sites, American embassies, private homes, museums, churches, and other areas of importance to the study of the country; during the seminar, daily lectures are presented by University professors in the country.

What are my responsibilities as a participant?
During the trip, participants attend all seminars and visits with the group, and are expected to be good representatives of the U.S. in the seminar country. After the trip, participants prepare a curriculum project to be submitted to the U.S. Dept. of Education or their designee for publication by ERIC on the internet.

How long are the trips?
4-5 weeks, including the predeparture orientation.

What are the countries for elementary teachers in 1998?
Brazil, India, Israel and Jordan, and Japan (a moderate language proficiency is required for this trip). In alternating years, trips are often available to elementary teachers to China, South Africa and other countries.

What must I do to apply?
First, obtain an application brochure from the U.S. Dept. of Education.
In addition to the 8 page application, 3 letters of recommendation are required
Second, be sure to have your application in by the deadline. This year's deadline is November 3, 1997.

Fulbright-Hays Seminars

Call for Info:

(202) 401-9775

or write:

U.S. Dept. of Education
Office of postsecondary Ed.
Center for International Ed -
Fulbright Hays
Washington, D.C.
20202-5332

Need help? Call Anita @
9660760 (home)
966-5496 (McKinley)

Chinese History, very briefly

Cradle of Civilization:

1.7 million years ago-- early man
21 century B.C. early civilizations
6 - 7,000 years ago -- agriculture
4,000 years ago -- recorded history begins

Dynasties:

Xia (shiá)

Shaung 16 century BC - II century BC

- Superstitious-- "dragon bones"
- everything controlled by God
- 4,500 written characters
- bronze metallurgy

Zhou (3 first dynasties--original ideas, institutions, and systems of China originated in this period)

- 551 BC Kung Fuzi

Qin (chin) or Han 221 BC

- great unification period
- Great Wall
- burnt books and buried scholars
- expeditionary

Sui 581-618 AD

- wiped out landlords and returned land to peasants

  - economics and arts flourished
- Tang (tong)
  - official exam system
  - people chosen by ability
- Song (sung) 960 - 1279
  - trade developed
  - 1127- 1279 destroyed by Mongols
  - free thought and religion
- Ming (meeng) 1368 - 1644
  - Mongols executed thousands
  - few people survived normal lifespan
  - imperial greed
- Qing (Cheeng) 1644 - 1912
  - Manchu from northeast
  - hated the Han because they (Han) were regarded as barbarians
  - people unfairly punished

Revolution 1912

Workshop 1Bibliography
Folklore of China and Asia for Children

Anita Linn, Library Media Teacher, McKinley School
China and Asia Studies Mentor
October 23, 1997

Folktales and folklore

Chin, Charlie. China's Bravest Girl--The Legend of Hua Mu Lan. Emeryville, California: Children's Book Press, 1993. Legend of Hua Mu Lan who goes to war disguised as a man to save the family honor and becomes a great general.

Climo, Shirley. The Korean Cinderella. New York: Harper Collins, 1993. In this version of Cinderella set in ancient Korea, Pear Blossom, a stepchild, eventually comes to be chosen by the magistrate to be his wife.

Davison, Katherine. Moon Magic--Stories from Asia. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, 1994. Ancient fables about the moon from Siberia, Japan, Korea and Burma.

Demi. The Empty Pot. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990. When Ping admits that he is the only child in China unable to grow a flower from the seeds distributed by the Emperor, he is rewarded for his honesty.

Demi. Liang and the Magic Paintbrush. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1980. A poor boy who longs to paint is given a magic brush that brings to life whatever he pictures. A READING RAINBOW BOOK.

Demi. The Magic Boat. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990. When honest Chang is tricked out of his magic boat, he and his friends venture to win it back from wicked Ying and the greedy Emperor.

Demi. One Grain of Rice--a Mathematical Folktale. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. A reward of one grain of rice doubles day by day into millions of grains of rice when a selfish raja is outwitted by a clever village girl.

Heyer, Marilee. Weaving of a Dream. New York: Viking Kestrel, 1986. When the beautiful tapestry woven by a poor woman is stolen by fairies, her three sons set out on a magical journey to retrieve it. A retelling of a traditional Chinese tale.

Lattimore, Deborah Nourse. Arabian Nights--Three Tales. New York: Harper Collins, 1995. A retelling of three Arabian nights tales: Aladdin, The Queen of the Serpents, and The Lost City of Ubar.

Lobel. Arnold. Ming-Lo Moves the Mountain. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 1982. A wise man tells Ming-Lo how to move the mountain away from his home.

Louie, Ai-Ling Louie. Yeh-Shen--a Cinderella story from China. New York: Philomel , 1982. A young Chinese girl overcomes the wickedness of her stepsister and stepmother to become the bride of a prince.

Miller, Moira. The Moon Dragon. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers, 1989. Ling Pu, the most boastful man in all of China, claims that he can build a kite that will take him to the moon.

Mistral. Silvia. La Cenicenta china. Trillas.

Otsuka. Yuzo. Suho and the White Horse. New York: Viking Press, 1967. Relates how the tragic parting of a boy and his horse led to the creation of the horsehead fiddle of the Mongolian shephards. READING RAINBOW BOOK.

Patterson, Katherine. Tale of the Mandarin Ducks. New York: Lodestar, 1990. A pair of mandarin ducks, separated by a cruel lord who wishes to possess the drake for his colorful beauty, reward a compassionate couple who risk their lives to reunite the ducks.

Rappaport, Doreen. The Long-haired Girl. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers, 1995. Ah-mei challenges the God of Thunder so her parched village will have water for planting crops.

Tompert, Ann. The Jade Horse, the Cricket and the Peach Stone. Honesdale, Pennsylvania: Boyd Mills Press, 1996. A boy overcomes a series of obstacles to bring a gift to the emperor in this tale set in ancient China.

Toy Hong, Lily. How the Ox Fell from Heaven. Morton Grove, Ill: Albert Whitman and Co., 1991. A Chinese folk talke which explains why the ox was banished from heaven to become the farmer's beast of burden.

Yep, Laurence. The Boy Who Swallowed Snakes. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 1994. A brave and honest young boy with an unusual appetite for snakes turns the tables on a greedy rich man.

Yep, Lawrence. The Khan's Daughter-- A Mongolian Folktale. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. A simple shepherd must pass three tests in order to marry the Khan's beautiful daughter.

Yep, Laurence. The Man who Tricked a Ghost. Mexico: Bridgewater Books, 1993. Sung, a brave man who is not afraid of ghosts, meets one on a dark road and tricks it into revealing his secret weakness.

Yolen, Jane. The Emperor and the Kite. New York: Philomel Books, 1993. When the emperor is imprisoned in a high tower, his smallest daughter, whom he has always ignored, uses her kite to save him.

Young, Ed. Lon Po Po-- a red-riding hood story from China. New York: Philomel, 1989. Three sisters staying hiome alone are endangered by a hungry wolf who is disguised as their grandmother.

Young, Ed. Three Blind Mice. New York: Philomel, 1992. Retells in verse the old Indian tale of the blind men discovering different parts of the elephant and arguing about its appearance.

Wolkstein, Diane. White Wave-- A Chinese Folktale. Harcourt Brace and Company, 1996. Kuo Ming's discovery of a moon goddess inside of a snail shell changes his lonely life.

Poetry

Ho, Minfong. Hush: a Thai lullaby. New York: Orchard, 1996. A lullaby which asks animals such as a lizard, monkey, and water buffaloes to be quiet and not disturb the sleeping baby.

Ho, Minfong, and Tseng, Mou-Sien. Maples in the Mist: children's poems from the Tang Dynasty. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1996. A collection of short poems written over 1000 years ago by poets of China's Tang Dynasty; beautiful illustrations.

Spivak, Dawnine. Grass Sandals, The Travels of Basho. New York: Atheneum, 1997. A simple retelling of the travels of seventeenth-century Japanese poet, Basho, across his island homeland. Includes examples of the haiku verses he composed as well as Japanese calligraphy characters.

Wundham, Robert, selected and edited. Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes. New York: Philomel Books, 1989. A collection of nursery rhymes translated from Chinese; includes Chinese calligraphy form of poems.

History

Collerell, Arthur. Ancient China. London: Dorling Kindersley Books, 1994. Chinese history during the past 2,000 years, illustrated with photographs of artifacts, maps and textiles from museums around the world.

China's Buried Kingdoms. Alexandria, Va: Time-Life, 1993. This volume is one of a series that explore the worlds of the past, using the finds of archeologists and other scientists to bring ancient peoples and their cultures vividly to life. Grades 5 and up.

Knight, Margy Burns. Talking Walls. Gardiner, Me: Tilbury House, 1992. An illustrated description of walls around the world and their significance, from the Great Wall of China to the Berlin Wall.

Evaluation

Folktales and Folklore of China and Asia
Oct. 23, 1997
Anita Linn

1. What was the most valuable part of the workshop for you?

2. What was the least valuable part of the workshop for you?

3. Did the workshop give you ideas and motivation to teach about China and Asian literature in your classroom? yes no (circle one)
comments are appreciated:

Paperback book selection

Name: ______________ School: ________________

Please mark your number 1 and 2 preferences from the following books :

1. Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes selected and edited by Robert Wyndham
2. The Empty Pot by Demi
3. How the Ox Star Fell From Heaven by Lily Toy Hong.
4. The Korean Cinderella by Shirley Climo
5. Liang and the Magic Paintbrush by Demi
6. Lion Dancer, Ernie Wan's Chinese New Year by Kate Waters and Madeline Slovenz-Low
7. Min-Yo and the Moon Dragon by Elizabeth Hillman
8. The Painter and the Wild Swans by Claude Clement
9. Postcards from China by Zoe Dawson7.
10. Yeh-Shen, a Cinderella Story from China by Ai-Ling Louie

Workshop 2
Asia, Immigrants and the Thanksgiving Story

McKinley School Library
November 20, 1997
Anita Linn, Mentor

1. Why study China and Asia?
    - population
    - economics
    - cultural contributions
    - geography

2. Ideas for introducing Asia to your students
    - artifacts
    - art, music
    - folklore
    - geography

3. Immigration stories and Thanksgiving

4. Families around the world

5. Evaluation/book selection

China Facts

- Population of China: 1,252,188,000 (World Book 1997)
- Continent: Asia
- Languages: 100 +, including dialects of official language Mandarin (putonghua)
- Capital: Beijing
- Religions: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Muslim
- Animals: pandas, white dolphins, white tigers
- History: 5,000 years
- President: Jiang Zemin

What is 1.25 billion?

Population of China: 1,252,188,000

X = 100 million

rounded to 1.3 billion:
1,000 million + 300 million

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXX

Population of United States : 264,015,000

rounded to 300 million:
XXX

Source: World Book 1997

Workshop 2 Bibliography
Asia, Immigrants and the Thanksgiving Story

Anita Linn, Library Media Teacher, McKinley School
China and asia Studies Mentor
November 20, 1997

Families

Hausherr, Rosmarie. Celebrating Families. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. Presents brief descriptions of many different kinds of families, both traditional and nontraditional.

Kukin, Susan. How My Family Lives in America. New York: Bradbury Press/Macmillan, 1992. African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-American children describe their families' cultural tradtions.

Lakin, Patricia. Family Around the World. Woodbridge, Conn. : Blackbridge Press, 1995. Examines the similarities and differences in families around the world.

McMahon, Patricia. Six words, many turtles, and three days in Hong Kong. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. Describes the daily activities, school work, and family life of an eight-year-old Chinese girl living in Hong Kong.

Geography/General

Baer, Edith. Asi Vamos a la Escuela/This is the Way We Go to School. New York: Scholastic, 1990. Children go to classrooms in different countries all over the world in this rhyming picture book. Spanish and English versions.

Bogart, Jo Ellen and Reid, Barbara. Gifts. New York: Scholastic, 1996. A grandmother travels the world and brings back gifts for her granddaughter.

Burkhardt, Ann. The People of China and their food. Mankato, Minnesota: Capstone Press, 1996. Describes food customs and preparation in China, regional dishes and cooking techniques; includes recipes for a variety of foods.

Chin-Lee, Cynthia. A is for Asia. New York: Orchard Books, 1997. An alphabetical introduction to the diverse people, lands and cultures of the world's largest continent.

Dawson, Zoe. Postcards from China. New York: Austin, Texas, 1996. A child's trip to China is recorded in postcards home to friends.

Haskins, Jim. Count Your Way Through China. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda, 1987. Presents the numbers one through ten in Chinese using each number to introduce concepts about China and Chinese culture.

Kent, Deborah. Beijing. New York: Children's Press, 1996. Describes physical aspects, history, and social life and customs of the capital of the People's Republic of China.

Levinson, Ricki. Our Home is the Sea. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988. A Chinese boy hurries home from school to his family's houseboat in Hong Kong harbor. It is the end of the school year, and he is anxious to join his father and grandfather in their family profession, fishing.

Rector Krupp, Robin. Let's Go Traveling. New York: Morrow Jr. Books, 1992. Presents a trip to the prehistoric caves of France , the pyramids of Egypt, the Mayan temples of Mexico, the Great Wall of China and other wonders of the world.

Van Laan, Nancy. Sleep Sleep Sleep-- A Lullaby for Little Ones Around the World. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1995. Illustrations and rhythmic verses depict a mother and child and different animals on each of the seven continents.

Immigration

Bunting, Eve. How Many Days to America? Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988. Refugees embark on a dangerous boat trip to America where they have a special reason to celebrate Thanksgiving.

Garland, Sherry. The Lotus Seed. New YorK: Harcourt Brace and Co.: 1993. A Young Vietnamese girl saves a lotus seed and carries it with her everywhere to remember a brave emperor and the homeland that she has to flee. A READING RAINBOW BOOK.

Levine, Ellen. I Hate English! New York: Scholastic, 1989. Mei Mei does not want to learn English in her new school until a kind teacher helps her.

Maestro, Betsy. Coming to America-- the Story of Immigration. New York: Scholastic, 1996. The story of the thousands of years of immigration to America, from the first Ice Age nomads to modern day immigrants.

Say, Alllen. Grandfather's Journey. Boston: Houghton Mifflin , 1993. A Japanese American man recounts his grandfather's journey to America which he later also undertakes, and the feelings of being torn by a love for two different countries.

49 countries of Asia*   World Book Encyclopedia 1997   p. 775

Name	Area In sq. mi.	 In km²	Population†	Capital	Date of independenc
Afghanistan	251,773	652,090	19,494,000	Kabul	‡
Armenia	11,506	29,800	3,816,000	Yerevan	1991
Azerbaijan (Asian)	27,915	72,300	5,795,000	Baku	1991
Bahrain	262	678	592,000	Manama	1971
Bangladesh	55,598	143,998	117,944,000	Dhaka	1971
Bhutan	18,147	47,000	1,769,000	Thimphu	‡
Brunei	2,226	5,765	294,000	Bandar Seri Begawan	1984
Burma (Myanmar)	261,228	676,578	47,502,000	Rangoon	1948
Cambodia	69,898	181,035	9,661,000	Phnom Penh	1953
China	3,705,408	9,596,961	1,252,188,000	Beijing	‡
Cyprus	3,572	9,251	742,000	Nicosia	1960
Egypt (Asian)	23,442	60,714	234,000	Cairo	‡
Georgia (Asian)	21,260	55,063	5,149,000	Tibilisi	1991
India	1,269,346	3,287,590	947,803,000	New Delhi	1947
Indonesia (Asian)	578,173	1,497,462	203,023,000	Jakarta	1949
Iran	636,296	1,648,000	64,073,000	Teheran	‡
Iraq	169,235	438,317	21,882,000	Baghdad	‡
Israel	8,130	21,056	5,971,000	Jerusalem	1948
Japan	145,870	377,801	126,320,000	Tokyo	‡
Jordan	35,475	91,880	4,234,000	Amman	1946
Kazakstan (Asian)	1,002,553	2,596,600	17,065,000	Almaty	1991
Korea, North	46,540	120,538	24,307,000	Pyongyang	1948
Korea, South	38,326	99,263	45,516,000	Seoul	1948
Kuwait	6,880	17,818	1,626,000	Kuwait	1961
Kyrgyzstan	76,641	198,500	4,754,000	Bishkek	1991
Laos	91,429	236,800	5,015,000	Vientiane	1949
Lebanon	4,015	10,400	3,082,000	Beirut	‡
Malaysia	127,730	329,758	20,532,000	Kuala Lumpur	1963
Maldives	115	298	255,000	Male	1965
Mongolia	604,829	1,566,500	2,560,000	Ulan Bator	‡
Nepal	54,362	140,797	20,813,000	Kathmandu	‡
Oman	82,030	212,457	2,239,000	Muscat	‡
Pakistan	307,374	796,095	138,672,000	Islamabad	1947
Philippines	115,831	300,000	70,559,000	Manila	1946
Qatar	4,247	11,000	500,000	Doha	1971
Russia (Asian)	4,928,980	12,766,000	31,483,000	Moscow	1991
Saudi Arabia	830,000	2,149,690	18,171,000	Riyadh	‡
Singapore	239	618	2,877,000	Singapore	1965
Sri Lanka	25,332	65,610	18,559,000	Colombo	1948
Syria	71,498	185,180	15,283,000	Damascus	1946
Taiwan	13,892	35,980	21,709,000	Taipei	‡
Tajikistan	55,251	143,100	6,155,000	Dushanbe	1991
Thailand	198,115	513,115	58,836,000	Bangkok	‡
Turkey (Asian)	291,773	755,688	57,073,000	Ankara	‡
Turkmenistan	188,456	488,100	4,260,000	Ashgabat	1991
United Arab Emirates	32,278	83,600	1,820,000	Abu Dhabi	1971
Uzbekistan	172,742	447,400	23,308,000	Tashkent	1991
Vietnam	128,066	331,689	75,280,000	Hanoi	1954
Yemen	203,850	527,968	14,361,000	Sana	‡

Evaluation

Asia, Immigrants and the Thanksgiving Story
Nov. 20, 1997
Anita Linn

1. What was the most valuable part of the workshop for you?

2. What was the least valuable part of the workshop for you?

3. Did the workshop give you ideas and motivation to teach about China and Asia in your classroom? yes no (circle one)

comments are appreciated:

Paperback book selection

Name: ________________ School: ____________________

Please mark your number 1 and 2 preferences from the following books :

1. The Empty Pot by Demi
2. Gradfather Tang's Story by Ann Tompert
3. How the Ox Star Fell From Heaven by Lily Toy Hong
4. The Korean Cinderella by Shirley Climo
5. Liang and the Magic Paintbrush by Demi
6. Lion Dancer, Ernie Wan's Chinese New Year by Kate Waters and Madeline Slovenz-Low
7. Min-Yo and the Moon Dragon by Elizabeth Hillman
8. The Painter and the Wild Swans by Claude Clement
9. Postcards from China by Zoe Dawson
10. Yeh-Shen, a Cinderella Story from China by Ai-Ling Louie

Workshop 3
Arts, Music and Mythology
of China and Asia

McKinley School Library
Jan. 15, 1998
Anita Linn, Mentor

1. Using the dragon metaphor to introduce Chinese mythology and culture
    - religion
    - popular myths

2. Arts of China to share with students
    - paper cuts
    - calligraphy
    - stick puppets
    - drawing/painting

The Chinese Dragon

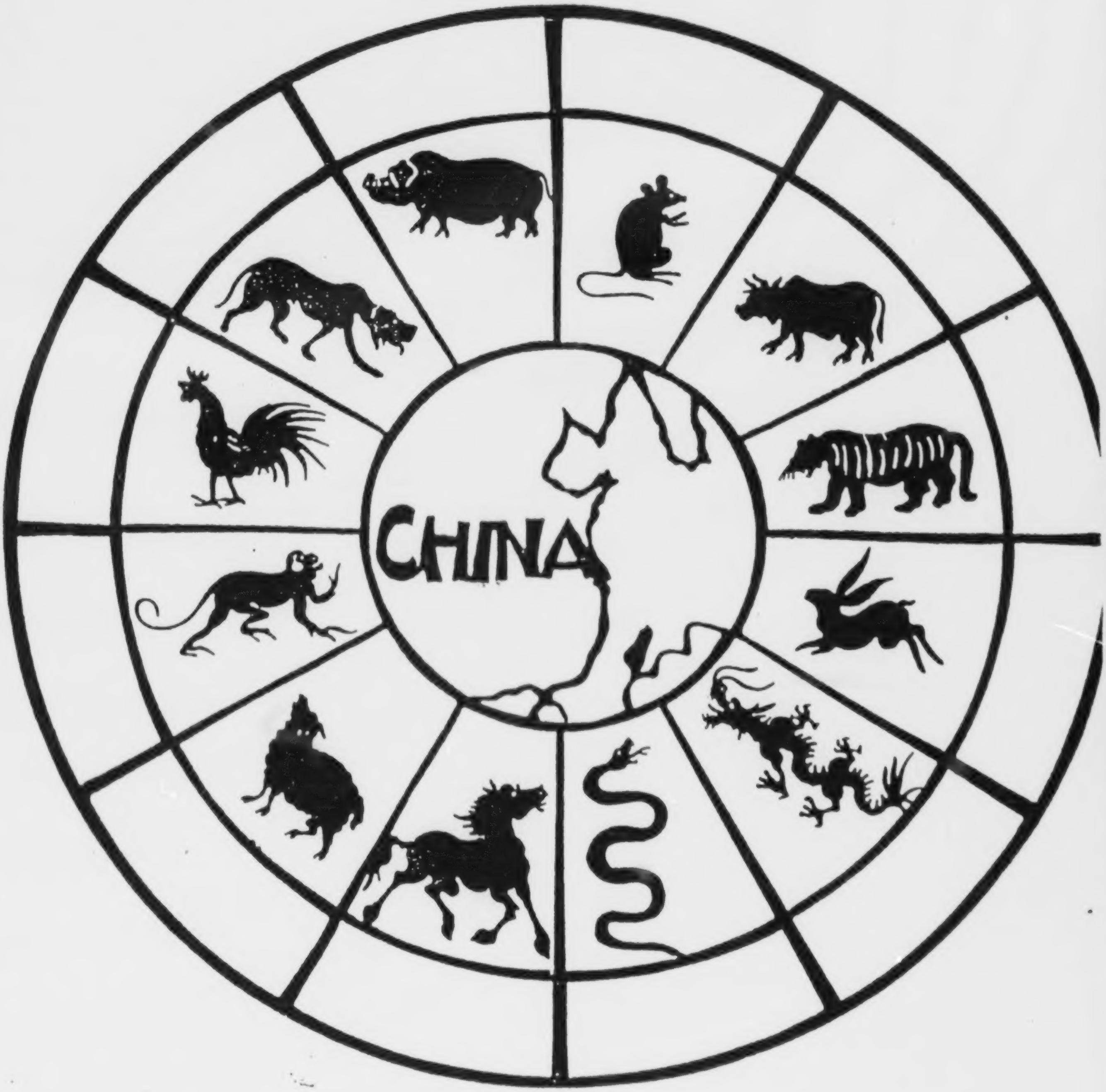
As the sun came up, a ball of red,
I followed my friend wherever he led.
I thought his fast horse would leave me behind,
but he rode a dragon as fast as the wind.

--Chinese Mother Goose.

3. Music
    - traditional
    - classical
    - modern

4. Festivals and holidays
    - Chinese New Year/Spring Festival

5. Evaluation/book selection


CHINA

from: Voices of the He
by Ed Young

Joy
A happy heart.

Sorrow
A sad heart.

Respect
The heart honors others.

Rudeness
The heart is disrespectful.

art

悦悲恭慢

from: China's Buried Kingdoms. Time-Life Books, 1993.

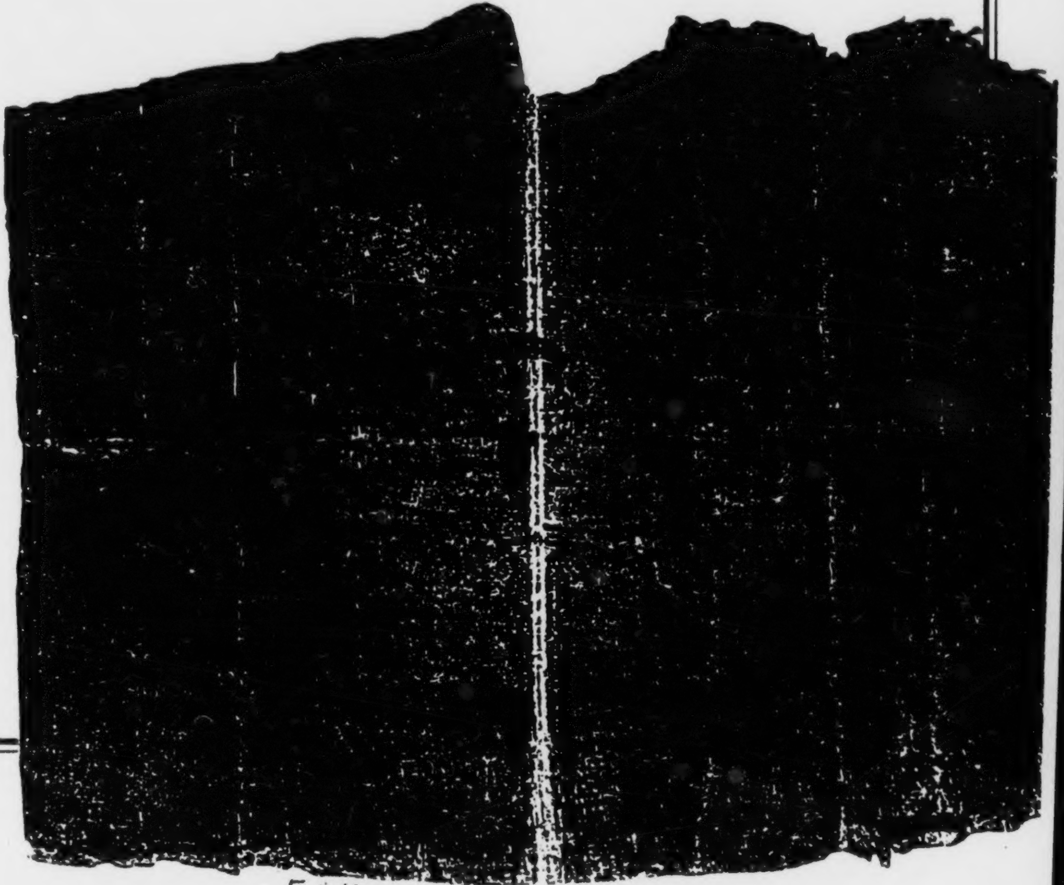
COMMUNICATIONS ACROSS THE CENTURIES: CHINA'S AGELESS WRITTEN LANGUAGE

Chinese tradition maintains that the ability to read and to write epitomizes erudition in much the same way that Greeks and Romans revered oratorical skill. Indeed, the Chinese word *wen* can mean either "civilization" or "text."

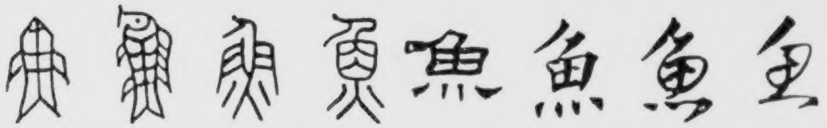
Although mastery of the complex writing system is daunting, taking an average of 10 years even for native speakers, the cultural rewards are many, for with mastery comes access to every great classical text of the Chinese past. Astonishingly, Chinese script has changed so little in 2,500 years that it is no more difficult to read Confucius than to read modern poetry written in the classical style.

The standardization of the script evolved from a need for communication among the many segments of the far-flung Chinese world. Because the written characters are logographs, carrying meaning rather than sound, the reader need not speak the same dialect as the writer. This feature was imperative because, at any given time, the number of Chinese spoken dialects ranged from 20 to more than 100. In fact, modern readers of ancient texts often are completely unaware of the pronunciation that was used by early authors.

The origin of Chinese writing is obscure. The earliest known diagrammatic signs appear on Neolithic pottery carbon-dated to 5000 or 4000 BC. These forerunners of what is certainly one of the world's oldest written languages display



Columns of script surrounded by illustrations of fantastic deities grace a silk manuscript from the Warring States period. The most ancient surviving example of writing on silk, the 2,500-year-old, 15-by-18-inch manuscript offers calendrical advice on when to go to war, take a concubine, or allow a daughter to marry.

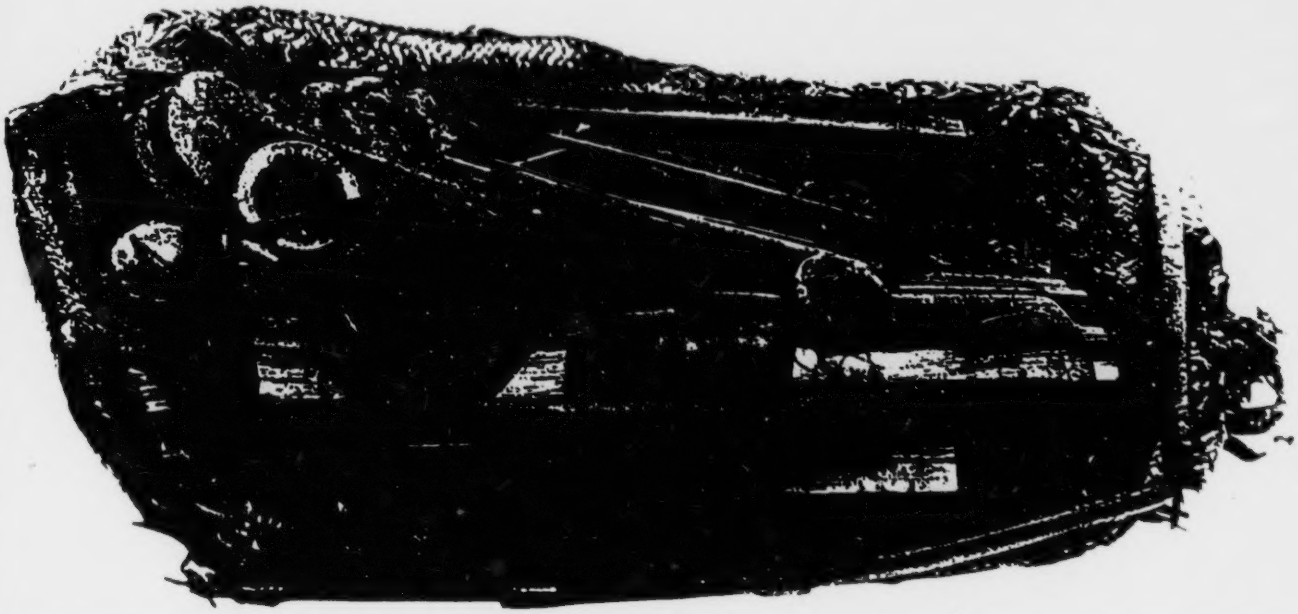


kinship to subsequent characters inscribed on oracle bones and bronze vessels from the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Although these examples are several centuries apart in age, inscription of the characters with a hard stylus produced a similar angularity of form. Later on, with the widespread use of brush and ink on bamboo, wood, and silk during the Eastern Zhou period, the script took on more flowing lines. The evolving graph for fish, illustrated at upper left, exemplifies how the medium affected the message.

The rulers of the third-century BC Qin dynasty established the most sweeping reforms in the written language, making the characters absolutely standardized in the drive to centralize the power of the state. With some minor changes, it is this version that survives to the present day.

The development of the script depended, in part, upon its function. The archaic writing, used for divinations (oracle bones), king lists, and tomb inventories, grew to accommodate more difficult concepts. The symbols became compounds, consisting of a logograph and a modifier or two logographs in juxtaposition. For example, the characters for "woman" and "child" are combined to mean "good" or "likable." Today, a new concept such as "laser" becomes "stimulate-light-tube." In this fashion, the lexicon of Chinese characters expanded from about 2,500 in archaic times to more than 50,000 in modern dictionaries.

Although only about 5,000 characters are really necessary for literacy, reformers complain about the lack of accessibility for most people. Attempts to simplify the script have been instituted, and, after thousands of years, these appear to threaten the Confucian ideal that "all under heaven, the carriages have the same track, the books are in the same script, and behavior follows the same ethics."



Scales and weights, a brush, ink, and blank bamboo slips for writing fill what may have been a writing kit. The two-and-a-half-millennia-old brush, the oldest found thus far, consists of rabbit hair bound to a wooden shaft with thread and lacquer.

Bibliography -- Arts, Music and Mythology of China and Asia

Arts

Nakano, Doku Otei. Easy Origami. London: Viking Kestral, 1985. Simple, fun and interesting Japanese origami paper folding projects for children.

Say, Allen. Tree of Cranes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 199l. A Japanese boy learns of Christmas when his mother decorates a pine tree with paper cranes.

Young, Ed. Mouse Match. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1997. When a father mouse goes to the sun, cloud, wind and wall in search of the strongest husband for his daughter, he is surprised to find that a mouse is the best match; includes full Chinese calligraphic scroll as part of book design.

Young, Ed. Voices from the Heart. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. Collage and Chinese calligraphy is used to illustrate meanings of words such as joy, respect, sorrow and virtue.

Zhensun, Zheng. A Young Painter. New York:Scholastic Press, 1991. Examines the life and paintings of Wang Yani-- China's extraordinary young artist.

Chinese New Year

Low, William Chinatown. New York: Henry Holt and Company,1997. A boy and his grandmother wind their way through the streets of Chinatown, enjoying all the sights and smells of the Chinese New Year's Day.

Wallace, Ian. Chin Chiang and the Dragon's Dance. New York: Atheneum, 1984. Chin Chang has long dreamed of dancing the dragon's dance, but when the first day of the Year of the Dragon arrives, he is sure he will shame his family and bring bad luck to everyone.

Waters, Kate and Slovenz-Low, Madeline. Lion Dancer. New York: Scholastic, Inc. 1990. Ernie Wan and his family prepare for the Chinese New Year celebration and parade.

Dragons

Carle, Eric. Dragons, Dragons, Dragons and Other Creatures That Never Were. New York: Philomel, 1991. An illustrated collection of poems about dragons and other fantastic creatures by a variety of authors.

Demi. The Dragon's Tale and Other Animal Fables of the Chinese Zodiak. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996. A collection of fables about the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiak

Hillman, Elizabeth. Min-yo and the Moon Dragon. New York: Harcout Brace, 1992. When the moon suddenly appears to be approaching the earth, young Min-yo climlbs the cobweb staircase baetrween the earth and moon to ask the moon dragon for help.

Howe, James. There's a Dragon in my Sleeping Bag. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers. 1994. Alex is intimidated by his older brother Simon's imaginary dragon, until he is able to create his own friend-- a camel. Also available in Spanish as Hay un dragon en mi bolsa de dormir.

Leaf, Margaret. Eyes of the Dragon. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1987. An artist agrees to paint a dragon on the wall of a Chinese village, but the magistrate's insistence that he paint eyes of the dragon has amazing results.

Prelutsky, Jack. The Dragons are Singing Tonight. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 1995. Poems and illustrations celebrate the fantasy, fun and far-out-ness of dragons.

Yep, Lawrence. City of Dragons. New York: Scholastic, 1995. A boy with a face so sad that nobody wants to look at him runs away with a caravan of giants to the city of dragons, where his sorrowful face is fully appreciated.

Yep, Laurence. The Dragon Prince. New York: Harper Collins, 1997. A poor farmer's youngest daughter agrees to marry a fierce dragon in order to save her father's life.

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Pandell, Karen and Bryant, Barry. Learning from the Dali Lama-- Secrets of the Wheel of Time. New York: Dutton's Children's Books, 1995. The Dali Lama, Tibetan spiritual leader, visits New York to demonstrate the making of a

Evaluation

Arts, Music and Mythology of China and Asia
Jan. 15, 1993
Anita Linn

1. What was the most valuable part of the workshop for you ?

____

2. What was the least valuable part of the workshop for you?

____

3. Did the workshop give you ideas and motivation to teach about China and Asian literature in your classroom? yes no (circle one)
comments are appreciated:

____

____

Paperback book selection

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Please mark your number 1 and 2 preferences for the following books :

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Workshop 4
Chinese New Year and Asian-Americans

Mentor Fair, Franklin School
Jan. 23, 1998
Anita Linn, Mentor

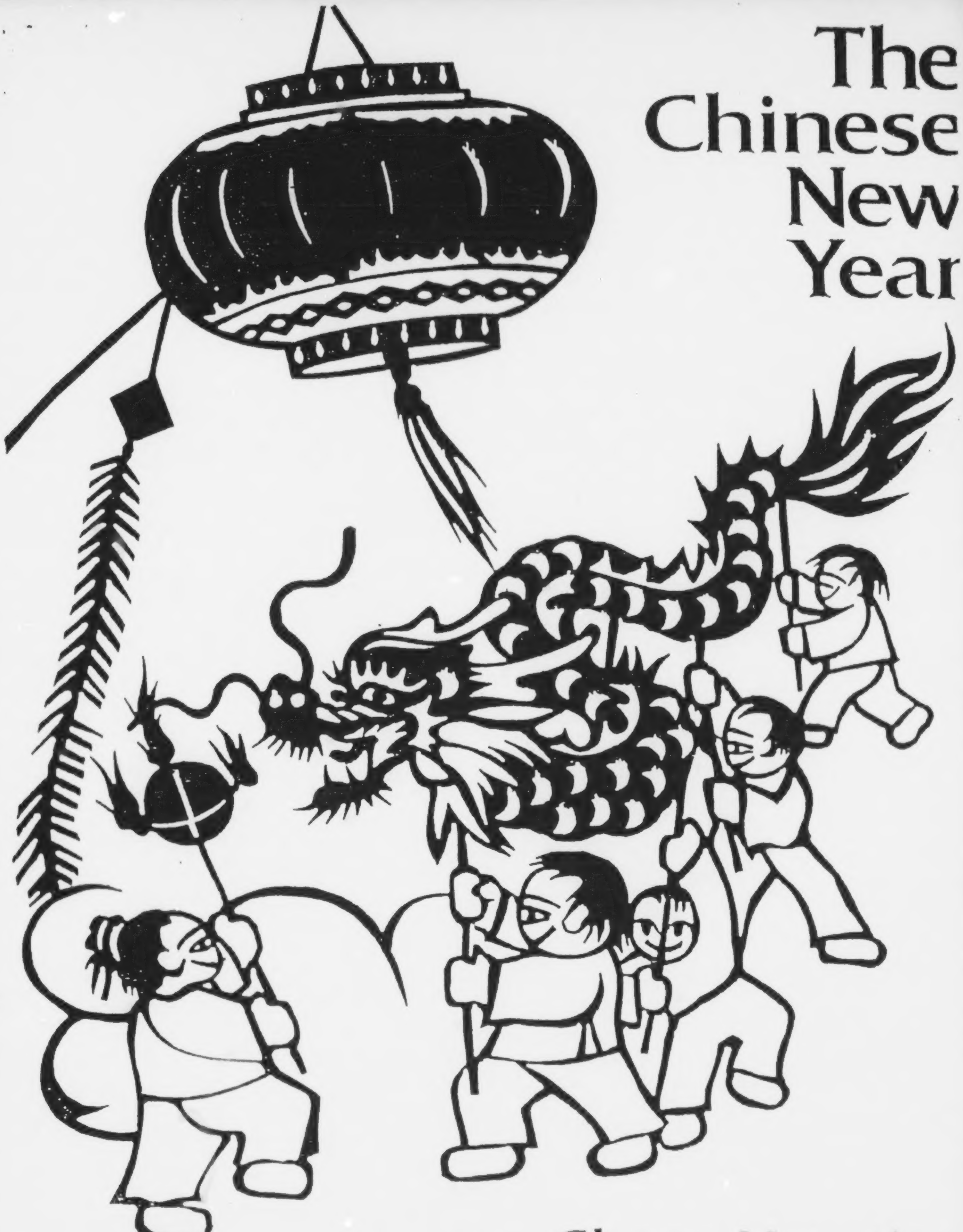
1. Festivals and holidays of China
   - Chinese New Year/Spring Festival
   - Chinese Zodiak

2. People of Asia and Asian-Americans
   - Families
   - Immigration

3. Outstanding literature and non-fiction on China and Asia to share with your students

4. Evaluation/book selection

The Chinese New Year



Cheng Hou-tien

Bibliography -- books of China and Asia for Children

Anita Linn, China and Asia Mentor
McKinley School

Arts

Nakano, Doku Otei. Easy Origami. London: Viking Kestral, 1985. Simple, fun and interesting Japanese origami paper folding projects for children.

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Weeks, Sarah. Crocodile Smile. New York: Harper Collins, 1997. Endangered species sing their hearts out in this book/cassette edition; features Chinese pandas and the komodo dragon.

Folktales and folklore

Chin, Charlie. China's Bravest Girl--The Legend of Hua Mu Lan. Emeryville, California: Children's Book Press, 1993. Legend of Hua Mu Lan who goes to war disguised as a man to save the family honor and becomes a great general.

Climo, Shirley. The Korean Cinderella. New York: Harper Collins, 1993. In this version of Cinderella set in ancient Korea, Pear Blossom, a stepchild, eventually comes to be chosen by the magistrate to be his wife.

Davison, Katherine. Moon Magic--Stories from Asia. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, 1994. Ancient fables about the moon from Siberia, Japan, Korea and Burma.

Demi. The Empty Pot. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990. When Ping admits that he is the only child in China unable to grow a flower from the seeds distributed by the Emperor, he is rewarded for his honesty.

Demi. Liang and the Magic Paintbrush. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1980. A poor boy who longs to paint is given a magic brush that brings to life whatever he pictures. A READING RAINBOW BOOK.

Demi. The Magic Boat. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990. When honest Chang is tricked out of his magic boat, he and his friends venture to win it back from wicked Ying and the greedy Emperor.

Demi. One Grain of Rice --a Mathematical Folktale. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. A reward of one grain of rice doubles day by day into millions of grains of rice when a selfish raja is outwitted by a clever village girl.

Heyer, Marilee. Weaving of a Dream. New York: Viking Kestrel, 1986. When the beautiful tapestry woven by a poor woman is stolen by fairies, her three sons set out on a magical journey to retrieve it. A retelling of a traditional Chinese tale.

Lattimore, Deborah Nourse. Arabian Nights--Three Tales. New York: Harper Collins, 1995. A retelling of three Arabian nights tales: Aladdin, The Queen of the Serpents, and The Lost City of Ubar.

Lobel, Arnold. Ming-Lo Moves the Mountain. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 1982. A wise man tells Ming-Lo how to move the mountain away from his home.

Louie, Ai-Ling Louie. Yeh-Shen--a Cinderella story from China. New York: Philomel , 1982. A young Chinese girl overcomes the wickedness of her stepsister and stepmother to become the bride of a prince.

Miller, Moira. The Moon Dragon. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers, 1989. Ling Pu, the most boastful man in all of China, claims that he can build a kite that will take him to the moon.

Otsuka, Yuzo. Suho and the White Horse. New York: Viking Press, 1967. Relates how the tragic parting of a boy and his horse led to the creation of the horsehead fiddle of the Mongolian shephards. READING RAINBOW BOOK.

Patterson, Katherine. Tale of the Mandarin Ducks. New York: Lodestar, 1990. A pair of mandarin ducks, separated by a cruel lord who wishes to possess the drake for his colorful beauty, reward a compassionate couple who risk their lives to reunite the ducks.

Rappaport, Doreen. The Long-haired Girl. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers, 1995. Ah-mei challenges the God of Thunder so her parched village will have water for planting crops.

Tompert, Ann. The Jade Horse, the Cricket and the Peach Stone. Honesdale, Pennsylvania: Boyd Mills Press, 1996. A boy overcomes a series of obstacles to bring a gift to the emperor in this tale set in ancient China.

Toy Hong, Lily. How the Ox Fell from Heaven. Morton Grove, Ill: Albert Whitman and Co., 1991. A Chinese folk talke which explains why the ox was banished from heaven to become the farmer's beast of burden.

Yep, Laurence. The Boy Who Swallowed Snakes. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 1994. A brave and honest young boy with an unusual appetite for snakes turns the tables on a greedy rich man.

Yep, LaurenceYep. The Ghost Fox. New York: Scholastic, 1994. While his father is away from their Chinese village, Little Lee fights to save his mother's soul from an evil fox spirt that has assumed human form.

Laurence.The Khan's Daughter-- A Mongolian Folktale. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. A simple shepherd must pass three tests in order to marry the Khan's beautiful daughter.

Yep, Laurence. The Man who Tricked a Ghost. Mexico: Bridgewater Books, 1993. Sung, a brave man who is not afraid of ghosts, meets one on a dark road and tricks it into revealing his secret weakness.

Yolen, Jane. The Emperor and the Kite. New York: Philomel Books, 1993. When the emperor is imprisoned in a high tower, his smallest daughter, whom he has always ignored, uses her kite to save him.

Young, Ed. Lon Po Po-- a red-riding hood story from China. New York: Philomel, 1989. Three sisters staying hiome alone are endangered by a hungry wolf who is disguised as their grandmother.

Young, Ed. Three Blind Mice. New York: Philomel, 1992. Retells in verse the old Indian tale of the blind men discovering different parts of the elephant and arguing about its appearance.

Wolkstein, Diane. White Wave-- A Chinese Folktale. Harcourt Brace and Company, 1996. Kuo Ming's discovery of a moon goddess inside of a snail shell changes his lonely life.

Geography/General

Baer, Edith. Asi Vamos a la Escuela/This is the Way We Go to School. New York: Scholastic, 1990. Children go to classrooms in different countries all over the world in this rhyming picture book. Spanish and English versions.

Bogart, Jo Ellen and Reid, Barbara. Gifts. New York: Scholastic, 1996. A grandmother travels the world and brings back gifts for her granddaughter.

Burkhardt, Ann. The People of China and their food. Mankato, Minnesota: Capstone Press, 1996. Describes food customs and preparation in China, regional dishes and cooking techniques; includes recipes for a variety of foods.

Chin-Lee, Cynthia. A is for Asia. New York: Orchard Books, 1997. An alphabetical introduction to the diverse people, lands and cultures of the world's largest continent.

Dawson, Zoe. Postcards from China. New York: Austin, Texas, 1996. A child's trip to China is recorded in postcards home to friends.

Haskins, Jim. Count Your Way Through China. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda, 1987. Presents the numbers one through ten in Chinese using each number to introduce concepts about China and Chinese culture.

Kent, Deborah. Beijing. New York: Children's Press, 1996. Describes physical aspects, history, and social life and customs of the capital of the People's Republic of China.

Levinson, Ricki. Our Home is the Sea. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988. A Chinese boy hurries home from school to his family's houseboat in Hong Kong harbor. It is the end of the school year, and he is anxious to join his father and grandfather in their family profession, fishing.

Rector Krupp, Robin. Let's Go Traveling. New York: Morrow Jr. Books, 1992. Presents a trip to the prehistoric caves of Frances, the pyramids of Egypt, the Mayan temples of Mexico, the Great Wall of China and other wonders of the world.

Van Laan, Nancy. Sleep Sleep Sleep-- A Lullaby for Little Ones Around the World. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1995. Illustrations and rhythmic verses depict a mother and child and different animals on each of the seven continents.

History

Collerell, Arthur. Ancient China. London: Dorling Kindersley Books, 1994. Chinese history during the past 2,000 years, illustrated with photographs of artifacts, maps and textiles from museums around the world.

China's Buried Kingdoms. Alexandria, Va: Time-Life, 1993. This volume is one of a series that explore the worlds of the past, using the finds of archeologists and other scientists to bring ancient peoples and their cultures vividly to life Grades 5 and up.

Knight, Margy Burns. Talking Walls. Gardiner, Me: Tilbury House, 1992. An illustrated description of walls around the world and their significance, from the Great Wall of China to the Berlin Wall.

Immigration

Bunting, Eve. How Many Days to America? Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988. Refugees embark on a dangerous boat trip to America where they have a special reason to celebrate Thanksgiving.

Garland, Sherry. The Lotus Seed. New YorK: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1993. A Young Vietnamese girl saves a lotus seed and carries it with her everywhere to remember a brave emperor and the homeland that she has to flee. A READING RAINBOW BOOK.

Levine, Ellen. I Hate English! New York: Scholastic, 1989. Mei Mei does not want to learn English in her new school until a kind teacher helps her.

Maestro, Betsy. Coming to America-- the Story of Immigration. New York: Scholastic, 1996. The story of the thousands of years of immigration to America, from the first Ice Age nomads to modern day immigrants.

Say, Alllen. Grandfather's Journey. Boston: Houghton Mifflin , 1993. A Japanese American man recounts his grandfather's journey to America which he later also unertakes, and the feelings of being torn by a love for two different countries.

People

Bang, Molly. The Paper Crane. New York: Greenwillow Books, 1985. A mysterious man enters a restaurant and pays for his dinner with a paper crane that magically comes alive and dances.

Friedman, Ina. How My Parents Learned to Eat. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1984. An American sailor courts a Japanese girl and each tries, in secret, to learn the other's way of eating.

Hausherr, Rosmarie. Celebrating Families. New York: Scholastic Press, 1997. Presents brief descriptionsof many different kinds of families, both traditional and nontraditional.

Kukin, Susan. How My Family Lives in America. New York: Bradbury Press/Macmillan, 1992. African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-American children describe their families' cultural tradtions.

Lakin, Patricia. Family Around the World. Woodbridge, Conn. : Blackbridge Press, 1995. Examines the similarities and differences in families around the world.

McMahon, Patricia. Six words, many turtles, and three days in Hong Kong. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. Describes the daily activities, school work, and family life of an eight-year-old Chinese girl living in Hong Kong.

Say, Allen. El Chino. Boston, Hougton Mifflin, 1990. A biography of Bill Wong, a Chinese American who became a famous bullfighter in Spain.

Schaefer, Carole. The Squiggle. New York: Crown Publishers, 1996. As she walks to the park with her school class, a young girl finds a piece of string which her imagination turns into a dragon's tail, an acrobat, fireworks, a storm cloud and more.

Schlein, Miriam. The Year of the Panda. New York: Harper Collins, 1990. A Chinese boy rescues a starving baby panda, and, in the process, learns why pandas are endangered, and what the government is doing to save them.

Yep, Laurence. Child of the Owl. New York: Harper Collins, 1977. A twelve-year old girl who knows little about her Chinese heritage is sent to live with her grandmother in San Francisco's Chinatown.

Poetry

Ho, Minfong. Hush: a Thai lullaby. New York: Orchard, 1996. A lullaby which asks animals such as a lizard, monkey, and water buffaloes to be quiet and not disturb the sleeping baby.

Ho, Minfong, and Tseng, Mou-Sien. Maples in the Mist: children's poems from the Tang Dynasty. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1996. A collection of short poems written over 1000 years ago by poets of China's Tang Dynasty; beautiful illustrations.

Spivak, Dawnine. Grass Sandals, The Travels of Basho. New York: Atheneum, 1997. A simple retelling of the travels of seventeenth-century Japanese poet, Basho, across his island homeland. Includes examples of the haiku verses he composed as well as Japanese calligraphy characters.

Wundham, Robert, selected and edited. Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes. New York: Philomel Books, 1989. A collection of nursery rhymes translated from Chinese; includes Chinese calligraphy form of poems.

Religion

Demi. Buddha. New York: Henry Holt, 1996. The life, times and thoughts of Buddha.

Maestro, Betsy and Guilio. The Story of Religion. New York: Clarion Books, 1996. An introduction to the history of religious belief and the practice of religion in the world today.

Pandell, Karen and Bryant, Barry. Learning from the Dali Lama-- Secrets of the Wheel of Time. New York: Dutton's Children's Books, 1995. The Dali Lama, Tibetan spiritual leader, visits New York to demonstrate the making of a Wheel of Time.

Workshop 1	2	3	4
Folktales/folklore	Immigration	Arts	Chinese New Year
poetry	geography	religion	Asian-Americans
history	families	music	
Cinderella stories/ girls as heroes		dragons	
		calligraphy	

Introduction

he Chinese calendar is full of holidays. A single month can pro- ide two or three occasions for celebration. Some holidays are nore important than others. But the Chinese New Year, which as been celebrated for five thousand years, is by far the most estive and the most important. It signals the end of winter and he coming of spring.

The holiday goes on for days and days. There is the Little New ear, a time of preparation, the big five days of the New Year, time of celebration, and the final three days of celebration—he Festival of Lanterns. People begin preparing for the five-day ew Year celebration a month in advance. When the five days re over, preparations begin anew—for the Festival of Lanterns, hich takes place about ten days later, when the moon is full. he first full moon of the year signals the arrival of spring. Thus, he whole New Year holiday lasts about a month and a half.

But the big five days are the main event. The daily flow of life omes to a halt as everyone celebrates the beginning of a ew year.

The Chinese Zodiac

The first day of the Chinese new year falls on the first day of the new moon after the sun enters Aquarius. On the Christian Gregorian calendar, which we use in the Western world, it would fall somewhere between January 21 and February 20.

Unlike the Western zodiac, which is divided into twelve months, the Chinese zodiac is a twelve-year cycle. Each year is named after an animal. The animal which represents the year of a person's birth becomes his animal sign.

The Chinese have for centuries believed that a person's animal sign determines much of his character and destiny. Decisions about such important issues as marriage, friendship and business are almost always made according to the guidelines of one's animal sign.

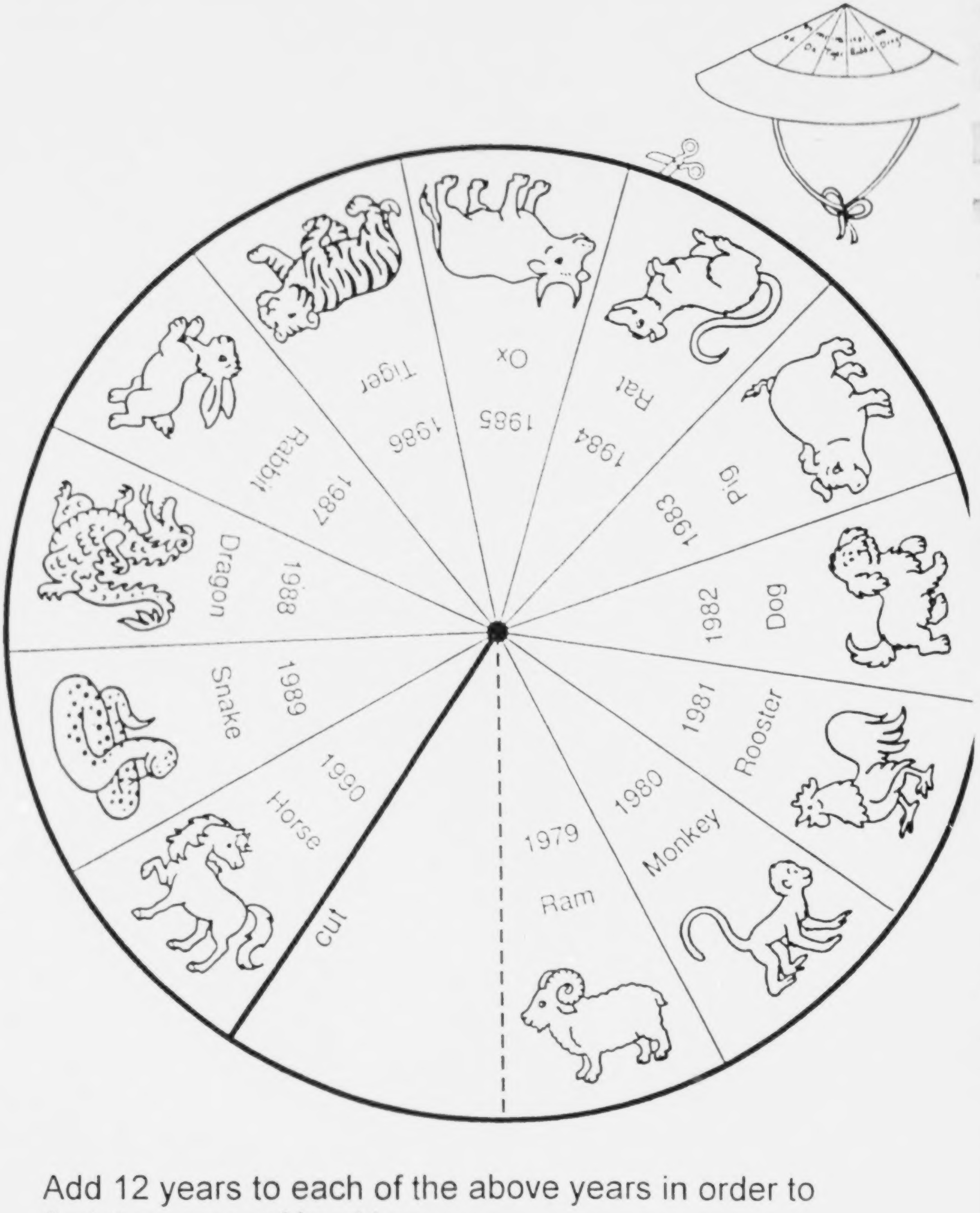
Chinese New Year

The Chinese celebrate New Year's Day with fireworks and a parade led by a dragon. Of course, the dragon is not real, but is very colorful. The dragon in the parade is a costume worn by many, many people. The children in the parade get to carry fish or flower lanterns for the parade.

Check your calendar for the date this year of the Chinese New Year.

Use artist tissue paper, glue and scissors to make a colorful dragon to lead the Chinese New Year Parade on this page.

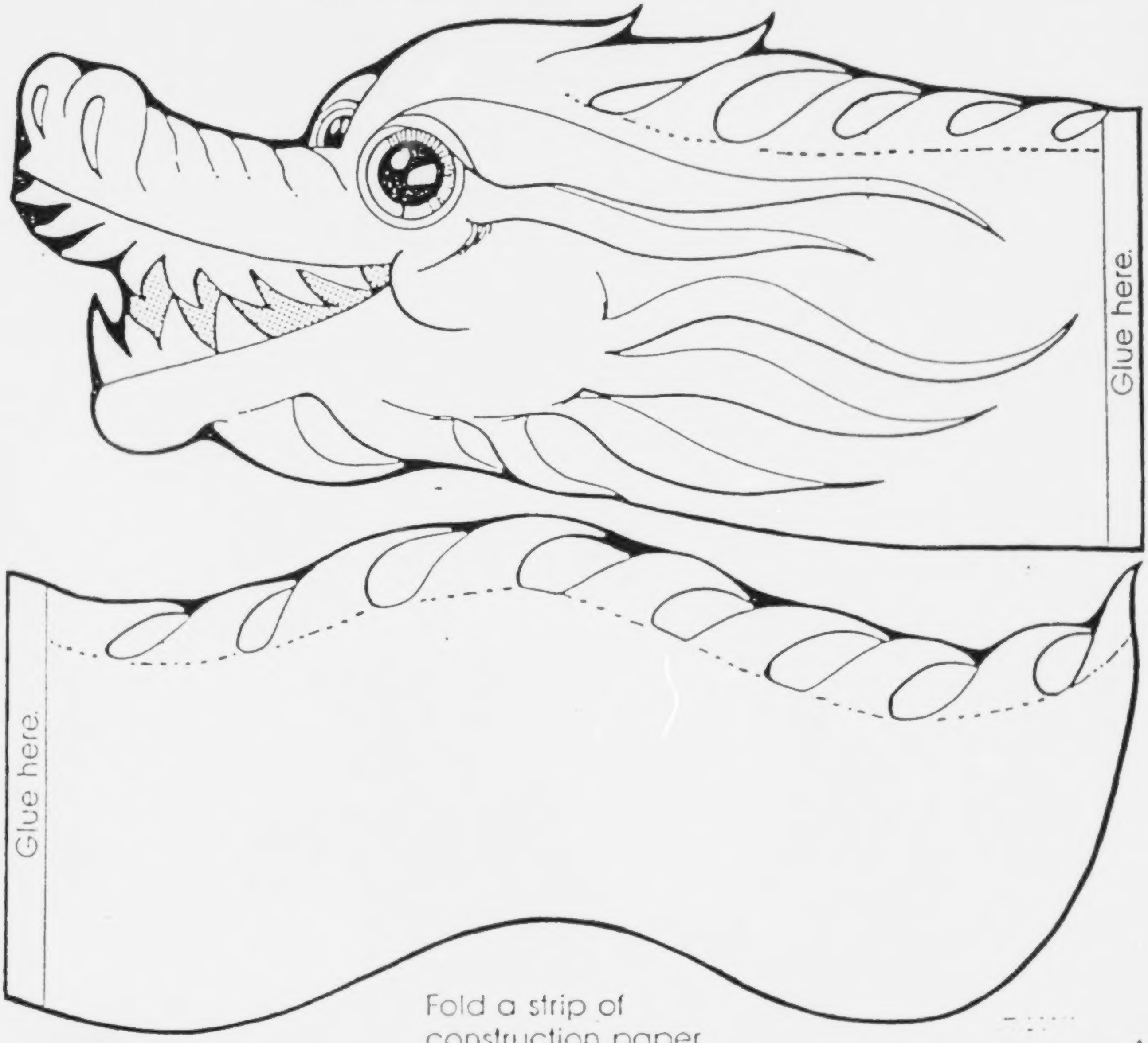
Chinese New Year Hat


Ox
1985
Rat
1984
Pig
1983
Dog
1982
Rooster
1981
Monkey
1980
Ram
1979
cut
Horse
1990
Snake
1989
Dragon
1988
Rabbit
1987
Tiger
1986

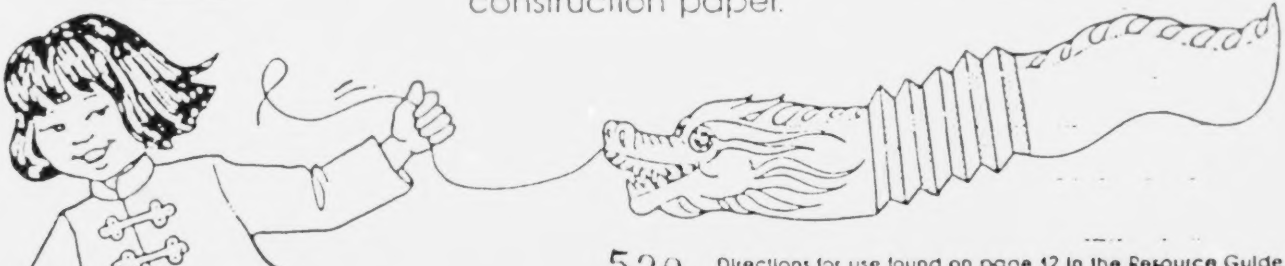
Add 12 years to each of the above years in order to find the current New Year.
Example: 12 plus 1986 equals 1998! Tiger

NEW YEAR'S DRAGON

Color the dragon's head and tail. Fold construction paper like an accordion. Glue each end to a dragon section. Punch a hole and tie a string in the dragon head.


Glue here.
Glue here.

Fold a strip of construction paper.



Directions for use found on page 12 in the Resource Guide

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MAP OF

Europe
China
中
國
Africa
Australia

THE WORLD

Canada
United
S.F. States
of America
Pacific Ocean
South
America

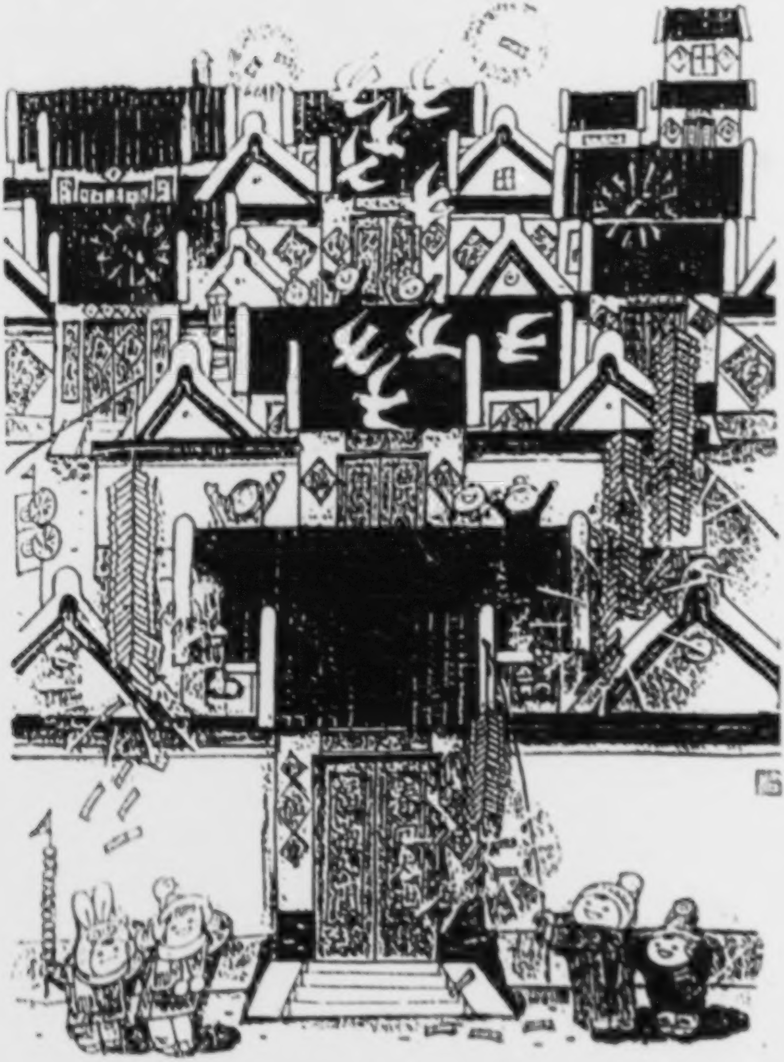
Legends of Ten Chinese Traditional Festivals

Illustrator *Zhan Tong*

Dolphin Books Beijing

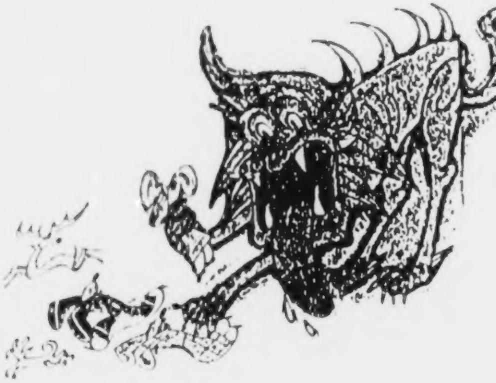
532

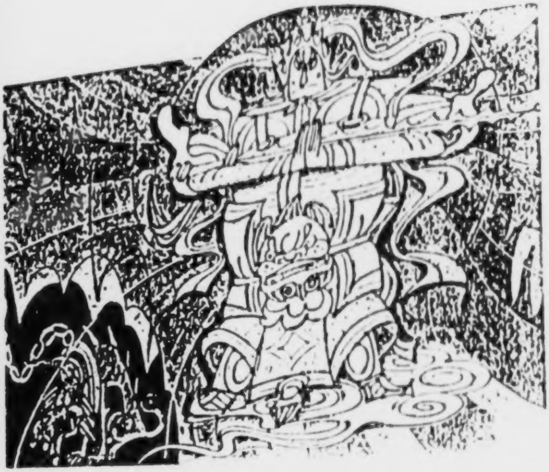
Spring Festival



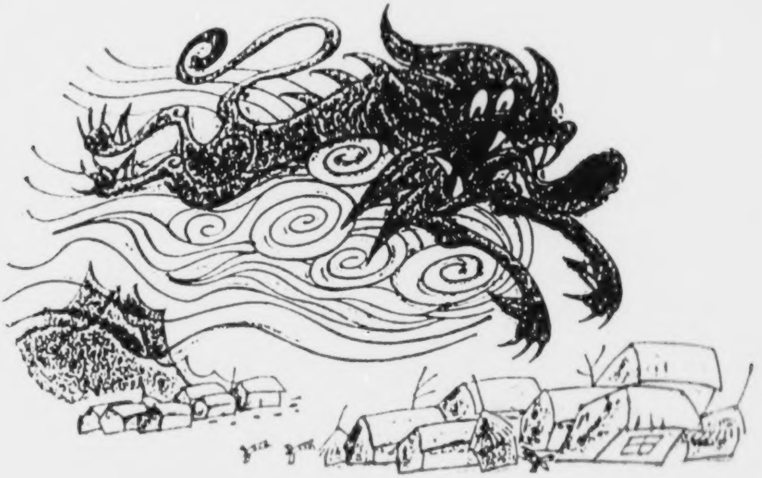
The Spring Festival is the lunar Chinese New Year. Every family sets off firecrackers and puts up couplets on their gates to usher in a happy life in the coming year.

Long, long ago, there was a ferocious demon called *nian*. It did evil things everywhere.

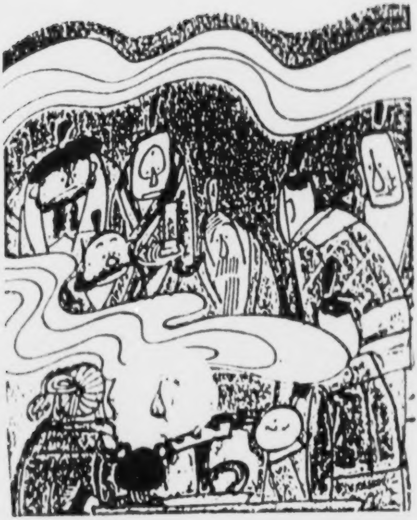




The Heavenly God locked this demon into remote mountains and only allowed him to go out once a year.



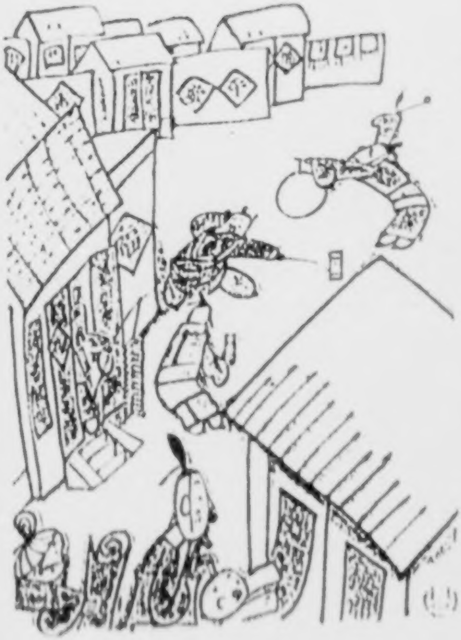
Shortly after twelve months had passed, *nian* came out of the mountains.



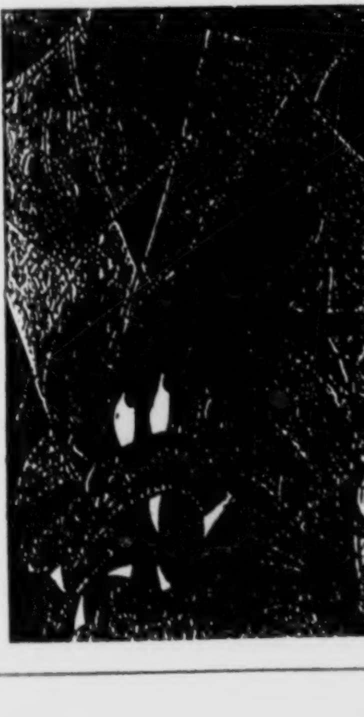
Gathering together, people discussed how to deal with him. Some said that *nian* was afraid of the red color, flames, and noises.

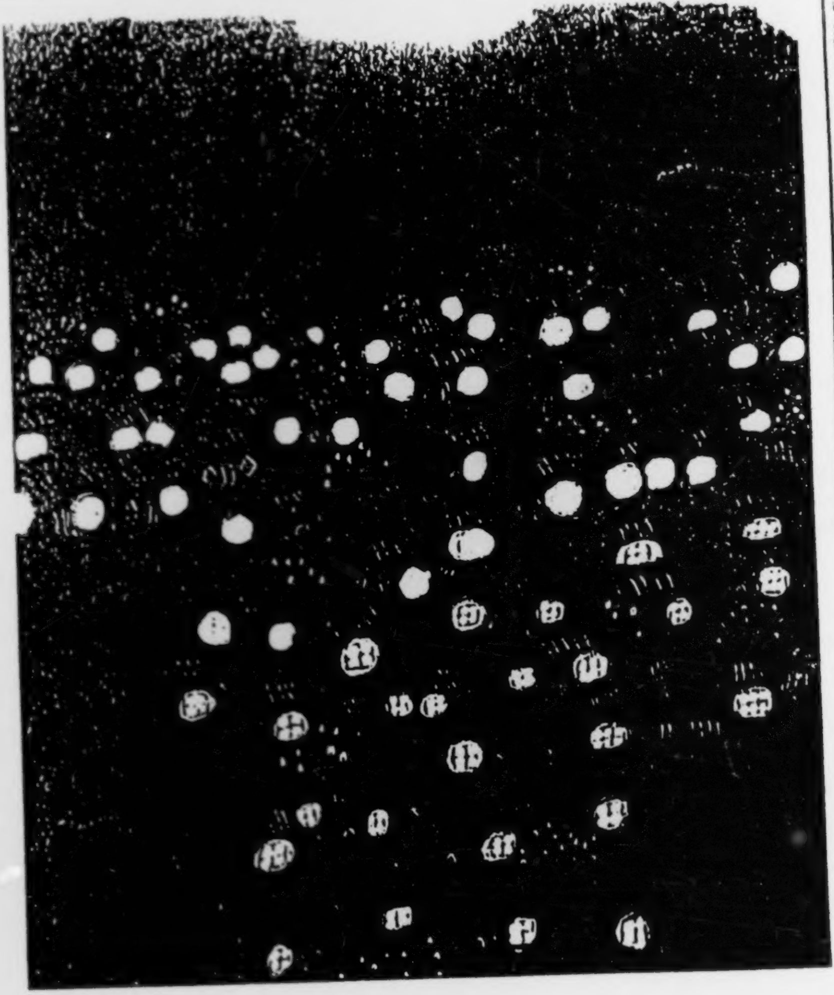
Legend of Spring Festival

So people put up red couplets on their gates, set off firecrackers, and kept on beating gongs and drums.



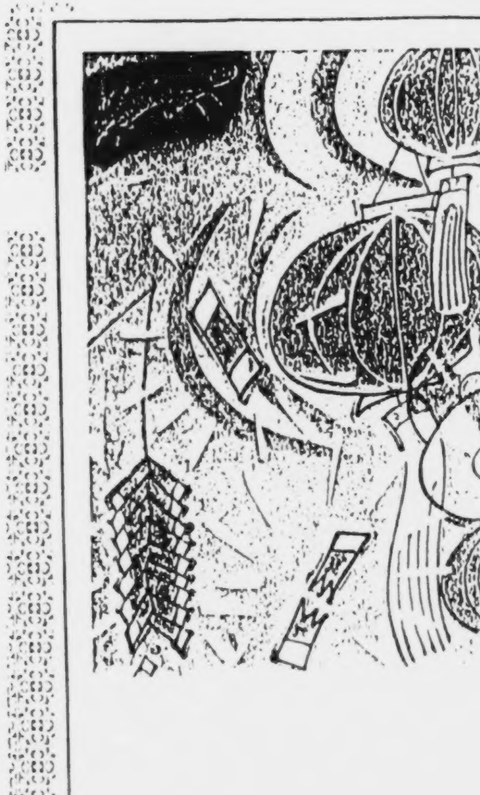
The demon *nian* trembled with fear.





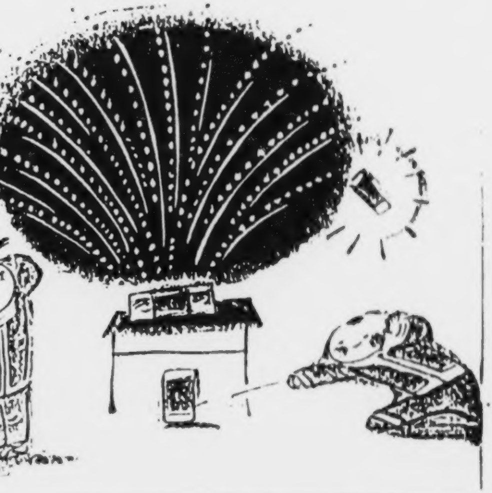
Night fell and every house was brightly lit

Legend of Spring Festival



Nian was terrified. He fled into the mountains and didn't dare to come out.

Nian was thus subdued, and the custom of celebrating the lunar New Year was passed down from then.



Legend of Spring Festival

Evaluation

Chinese New Year and Asian-Americans
Jan. 23, 1993
Anita Linn

1. What was the most valuable part of the workshop for you ?

____

2. What was the least valuable part of the workshop for you?

____

3. Did the workshop give you ideas and motivation to teach about China and Asian literature in your classroom? yes no (circle one)
comments are appreciated:

____

____

Paperback book selection

Name: ______________ School: ________________

Please mark your number 1 and 2 preferences for the following books :

1. The Empty Pot by Demi
2. Gradfather Tang's Story by Ann Tompert
3. How the Ox Star Fell From Heaven by Lily Toy Hong.
4. The Korean Cinderella by Shirley Climo
5. Liang and the Magic Paintbrush by Demi
6. Lion Dancer, Ernie Wan's Chinese New Year by Kate Waters and Madeline Slovenz-Low
7. Min-Yo and the Moon Dragon by Elizabeth Hillman
8. Postcards from China by Zoe Dawson .
9. Yeh-Shen, a Cinderella Story from China by Ai-Ling Louie

CHINA'S "*GUANXI*" CAPITALISM

Mary A. Price

Lessons on
Chinese Business Ethic
of the 90's

Fulbright Summer Seminar
in China
July, 1997

China's "Guanxi" Capitalism

Mary A. Price

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China's "Quanxi" Capitalism
Mary A. Price

Rationale

The lessons of this unit are prepared to exhibit cultural and historical foundations of the **Chinese business ethic** of the contemporary age. Lessons are organized to show the value of perspective in viewing Chinese commerce. **Cultural** and **historical** foundations which chronicle the Chinese perspective are examined. Foundations include **Confucian** and **Taoist** influence which transcend Marxism. The great commercial voyages of **Admiral Zheng-he** are examined, including forces for and against the **Jewel Ship Voyages** of the 1400's. Finally, the contemporary business ethic which was built from these foundations is displayed. ***Guanxi*** is exhibited as the central feature of commercial success most overlooked by western business enterprises. Lessons will reveal the importance of *guanxi* and of looking at one's Chinese counterpart through Chinese perspective.

Grade Level

The series of lessons in this unit are prepared for Grade levels 9 - 12. These should be students of general or honors ability, in classes of World History, International Studies, Business Law, or Current Issues.

Time Needed

The length of the unit should be two and a half weeks. Lessons are arranged to be used together in a cohesive unit, or individually to enhance part of an existing unit. Lessons may be used separately form the unit. Instructions and background for the teacher are included with each lesson.

2

"*Guanxi*" Capitalism

Mary A. Price

Background For the Teacher

China's economic miracle has followed what the late Deng Xiaoping called "crossing the river by feeling for the stones." China's new leader, Jiang Zemin will determine whether Deng's economic orthodoxy will remain. Privatization and joint ventures have encouraged growth in new markets, however, the inability of western business interests to participate successfully in China's trading regime has been a perennial complaint. The chances for success by Sino-foreign JV trading companies could be enhanced significantly by studying the ethical standards which form the foundation of the new Chinese capitalism.

The primary imprint of **Confucian and Taoist** traditions are varied. Confucius sought to structure society based on the family mode, thus structure in which everybody knows his/her place and no surprises result would favor success. Long-term relationships also flow from this tradition, fueled by 3000 years of historical continuity. Businessmen who head joint ventures state that western businessmen come to China to build joint ventures, stay for one year, leave, and expect that their Chinese staff will keep the firm running. This type of absentee leadership has little or no potential for success. It was explained in interviews with Chinese businessmen that western leadership should concentrate on building what the Chinese call ***guanxi*** or relationships. *Guanxi*, it is said, is the most important, yet most overlooked element by western enterprise. More lasting and productive enterprises yield from a basis of *guanxi* than any contract or legal entanglement could ever afford.

Taoism teaches the importance of harmony. The western world enjoys a clash of forces which is unwelcome in Taoist tradition. The west welcomes a clash of opposites and cheers the victor. Taoist tradition welcomes the unity of opposites expressed through the graceful symbols of yin and yang. Examining the lasting value plced upon harmony further explains why relationships hold greater promise than legal contracts.

China's technological and commercial history is distinguished. In a culture in which tradition took precedence over inventiveness the number of **global inventions** which developed is surprising. Also surprising is the success of the Chinese merchant fleet until it was beached by Ming bureaucrats. The 62 voyages of Admiral Zheng He's Fifteenth Century **Jewel Ship Fleet** initiated maritime trade between China and some 30 countries as far away as Coastal Africa.

China's "Quanxi" Capitalism

I. Rationale

The lessons of this unit are prepared to exhibit the cultural and historical foundations of the **Chinese business ethic** of the contemporary age. Lessons are organized to show the value of perspective in viewing Chinese commerce. Cultural and historical foundations which chronicle the Chinese perspective are examined. Foundations include Confucian and Taoist influence which transcend Marxism. The great commercial voyages of Zheng-he are examined, including forces for and against the Jewel Ship Voyages of the 1400's. Finally, the contemporary business ethic which was built from these foundations is displayed. *Guanxi* is exhibited as the central feature of commercial success often overlooked by western business enterprises.

II. Grade Level

The series of lessons in this unit are prepared for Grades 9 – 12 students of average or honors ability in classes of World History, International Studies, Business Law, or Contemporary Issues.

III. Time Needed

The length of the unit should be two and a half weeks. Individual lessons may be used separate from the entire unit.

Six Blind Men and the Elephant

It was six men of Indostan
To learning much inclined
Who went to see the Elephant
(Though all of them were blind)
That each by observation
Might satisfy his mind.

The First approached the Elephant
And happened to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side
At once began to bawl:
"Bless me! But the Elephant
Is very like a wall."

The second feeling of the tusk,
Cried, "Ho! What have we here,
So very round and smooth and sharp?
To me 'tis mighty clear
This wonder of an Elephant
Is very like a spear."

The third approached the animal,
And happened to take
The squirming trunk within his hands,
Thus boldly up and spake:
"I see," quoth he, "The Elephant
Is very like a snake."

The Fourth reached out his eager hand
And felt about the knee.
"What most this wondrous beast is like
Is mighty plain, quoth he;
"'Tis clear enough the Elephant
Is very like a tree."

The fifth, who chanced to touch the ear,
said, "E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
Deny the fact who can,
This marvel of an Elephant
Is very like a fan."

The sixth no sooner had begun
About the beast to grope
Than seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within his scope,
"I see," quoth he, "The Elephant
Is very like a rope."

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong,
Though each was partly in the right,
And all of them were wrong.

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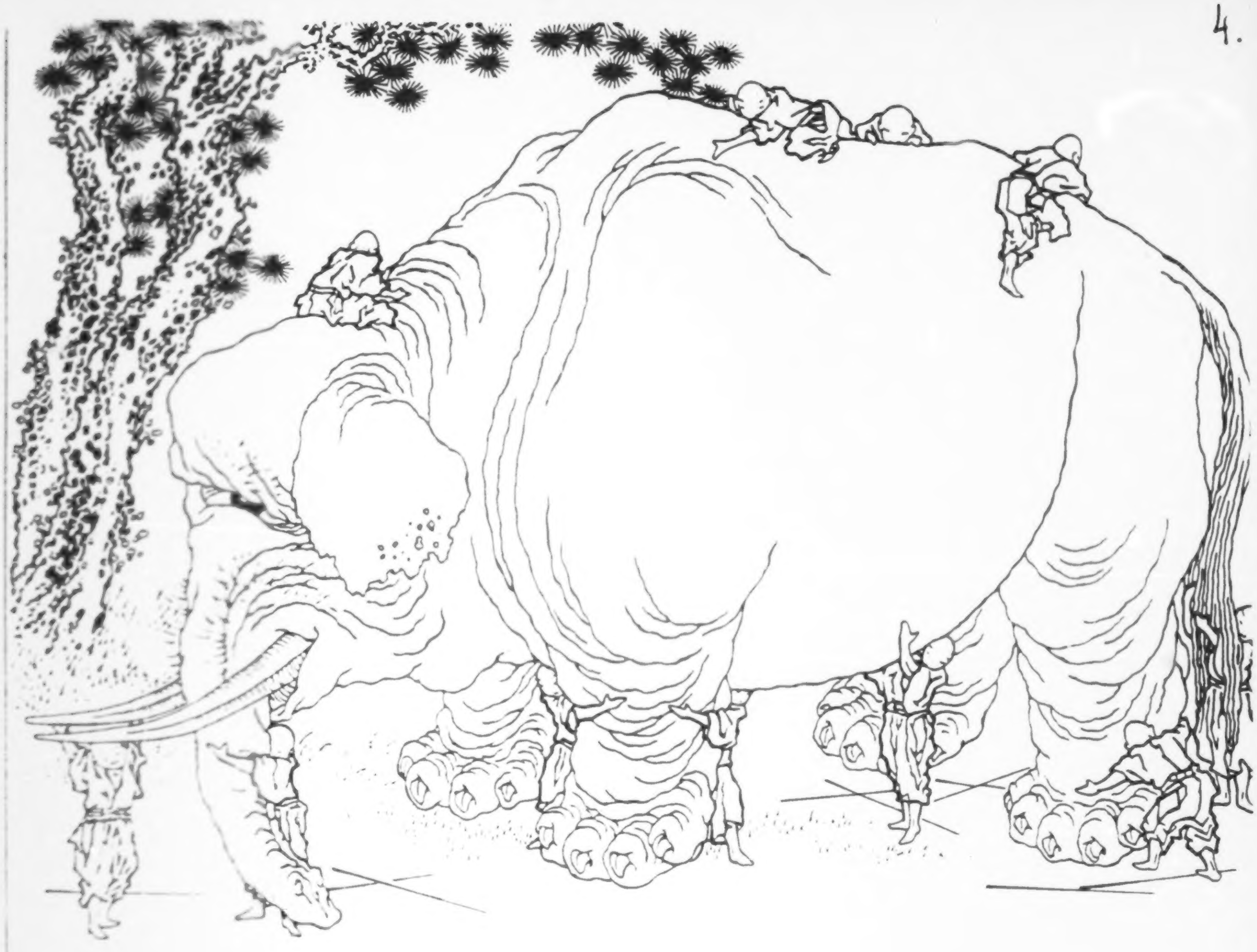
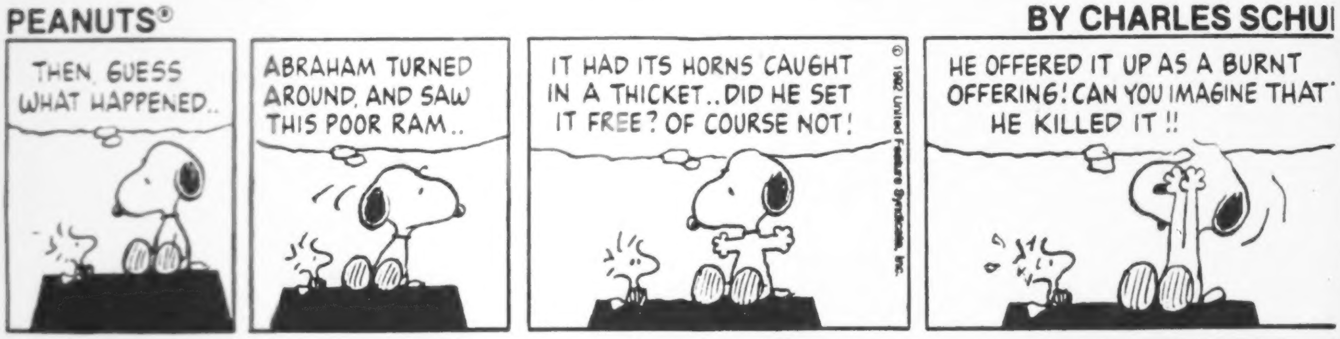
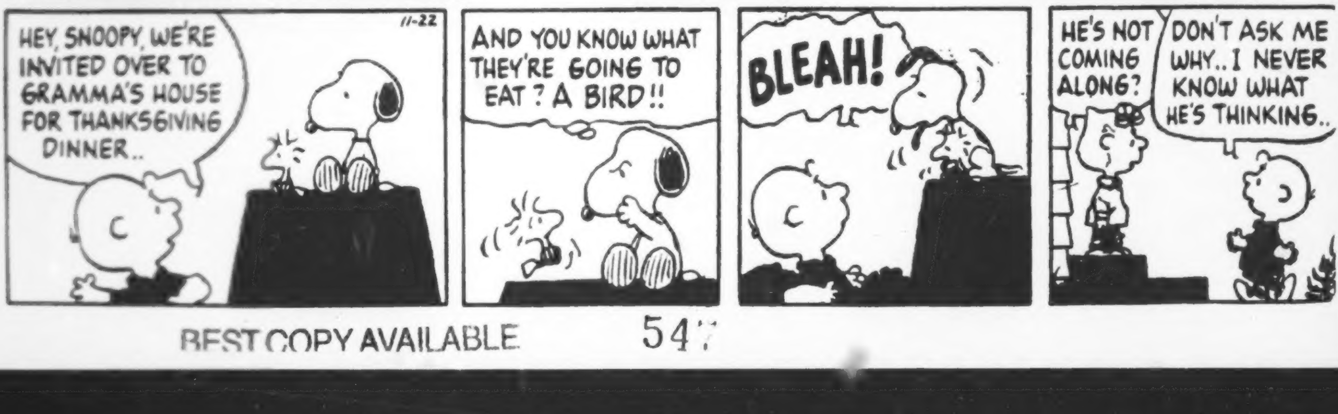
4.



AN ELEPHANT INSPECTION


PEANUTS®
BY CHARLES SCHU
THEN, GUESS WHAT HAPPENED..
ABRAHAM TURNED AROUND, AND SAW THIS POOR RAM..
IT HAD ITS HORNS CAUGHT IN A THICKET..DID HE SET IT FREE? OF COURSE NOT!
© 1982 United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
HE OFFERED IT UP AS A BURNT OFFERING! CAN YOU IMAGINE THAT
HE KILLED IT !!


HEY, SNOOPY, WE'RE INVITED OVER TO GRAMMA'S HOUSE FOR THANKSGIVING DINNER..
11-22
AND YOU KNOW WHAT THEY'RE GOING TO EAT? A BIRD!!
BLEAH!
HE'S NOT COMING ALONG?
DON'T ASK ME WHY..I NEVER KNOW WHAT HE'S THINKING..

Tzu-hsia said, A man who

Treats his betters as betters,
Wears an air of respect,
Who into serving father and mother
Knows how to put his whole strength,

Who in the service of his prince will lay
    down his life,
Who in intercourse with friends is true
    to his word -

others may say of him that he still lacks education, but I for my part should certainly call him a *princely man.*

Analects of Confucius, verse VII

5.

ANAL.ECTS

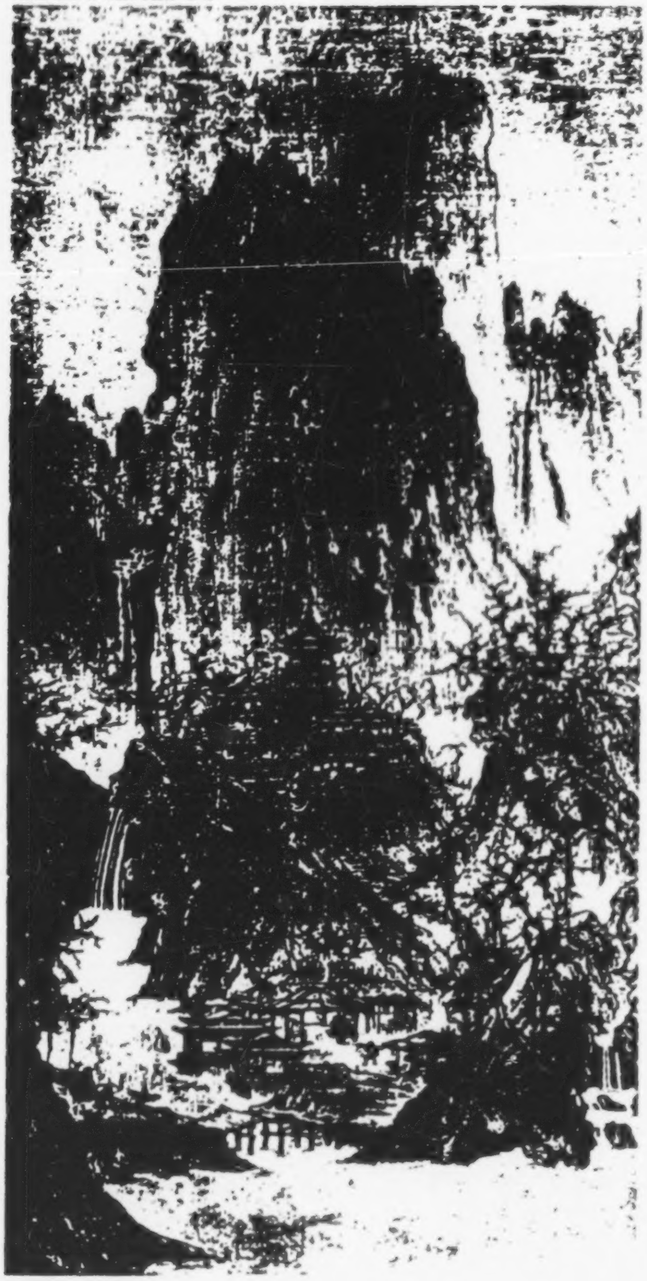
4. Master Tsêng[2] said, Every day I examine myself on these three points: in acting on behalf of others, have I always been loyal to their interests? In intercourse with my friends, have I always been true to my word? Have I failed to repeat[3] the precepts that have been handed down to me?

5. The Master said, A country of a thousand war-chariots cannot be administered unless the ruler attends strictly to business, punctually observes his promises, is economical in expenditure, shows affection towards his subjects in general, and uses the labour of the peasantry only at the proper times of year.[4]

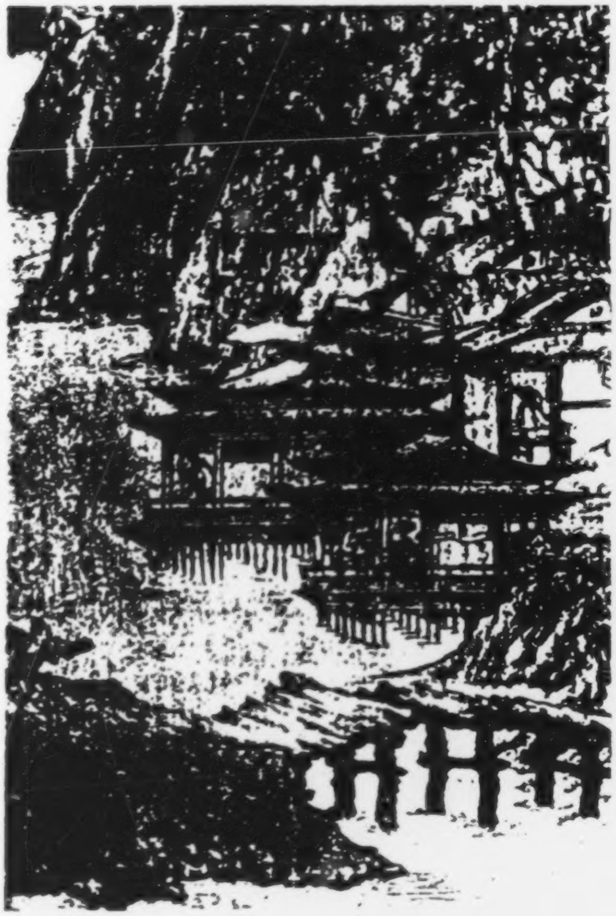
6. The Master said, A young man's duty is to behave well to his parents at home and to his elders abroad, to be cautious in giving promises and punctual in keeping them, to have kindly feelings towards everyone, but seek the intimacy of the Good. If, when all that is done, he has any energy to spare, then let him study the polite arts.[5]

6.

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART



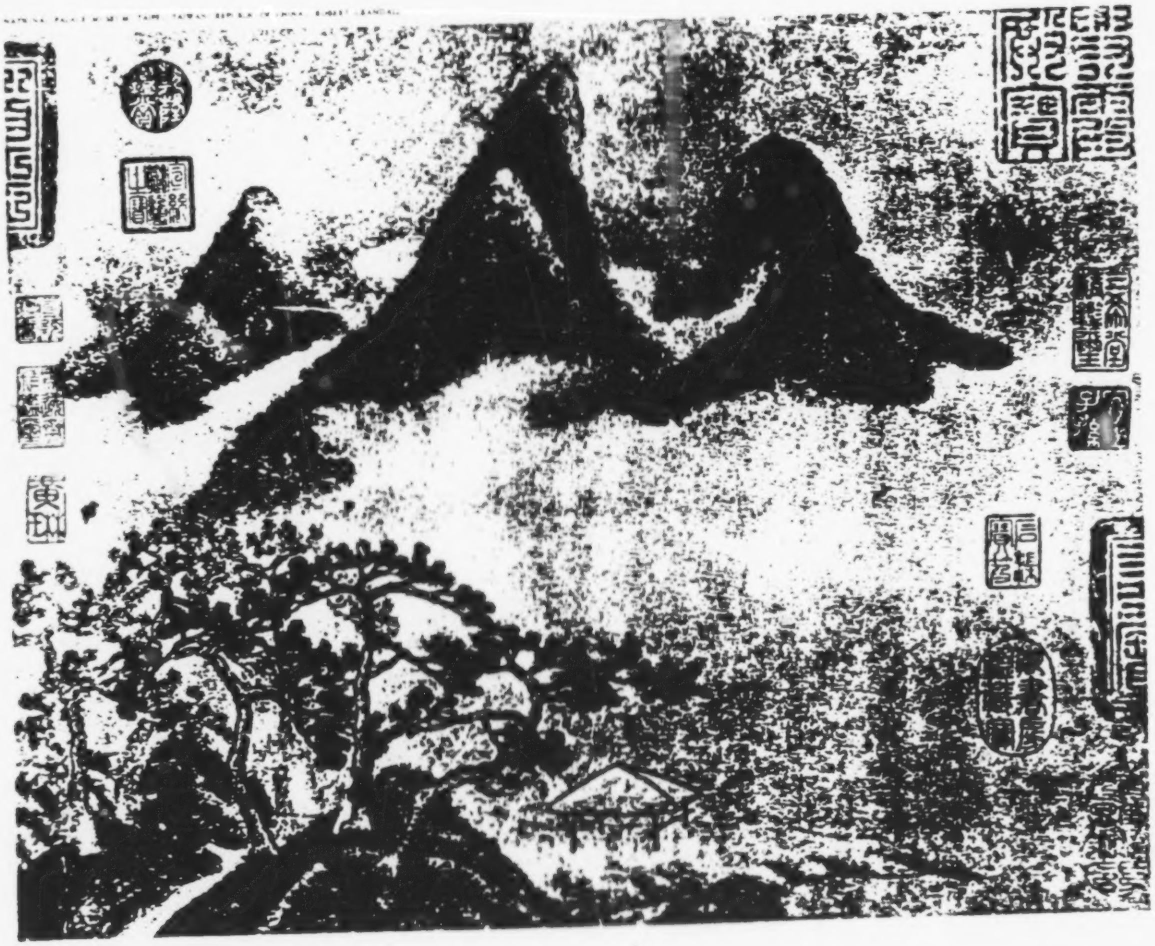
"Landscapes are large things," an eleventh-century treatise advis
"He who contemplates them should be at some distance; only so i
possible for him to behold in one view all shapes and atmospheric
fects. . . ." Large as the Chinese landscape painting may be, close
spection can be just as rewarding as contemplation of its total effect.
tenth-century silk painting entitled Buddhist Temple Amid Cle
ing Mountain Peaks, which has been attributed to the painter
Ch'eng, is shown in its entirety at left, and in detail below and oppo



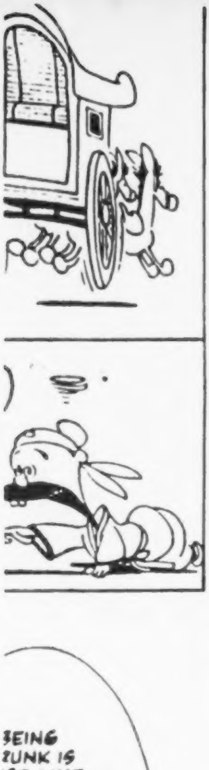
OVERLEAF: Shown here is a mist-shrouded detail from Winter Lan
scape, which has been attributed to Kuo Hsi, an eleventh-century ar
concerned with the representation of space and atmospheric effe
TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

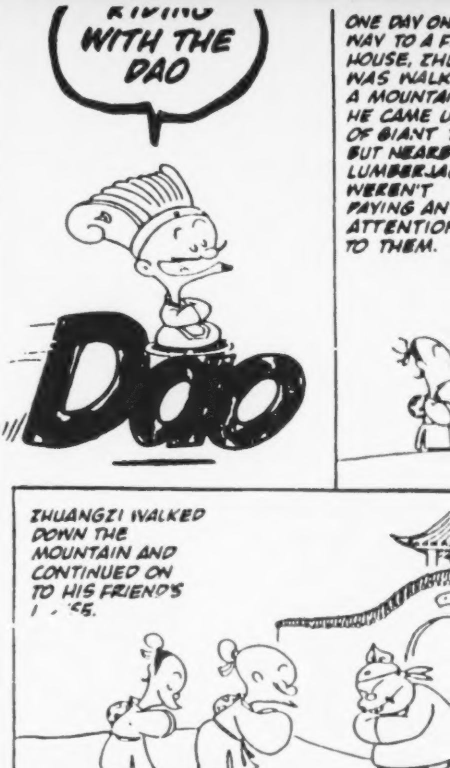
7.

The Sung landscapist Hsia Kuei was famous for his simplified designs and brushwork, and for the asymmetrical balance of his compositions. Hsia's A Corner of West Lake *(opposite) depicts a renowned scenic attraction in Chekiang province.* Spring Mountains and Pine Trees *(below) is generally, but not certainly, attributed to Mi Fei (1051–1107), one of the more influential landscapists in Chinese history and one whose work was often copied. A thoroughgoing romantic, he abjured earlier classical concepts and worked instead in a style that was intensely poetic.*



S.


BEING
DRUNK IS
JUST LIKE
FORGETTING.
YOU CAN
FORGET YOURSELF,
WHEN YOU ARE
PROTECTED BY
NATURE.


RIDING
WITH THE
DAO
DAO
ONE DAY ON
WAY TO A F
HOUSE, ZHU
WAS WALK
A MOUNTAI
HE CAME U
OF GIANT
BUT NEARB
LUMBERJAC
WEREN'T
PAYING AN
ATTENTION
TO THEM.
ZHUANGZI WALKED
DOWN THE
MOUNTAIN AND
CONTINUED ON
TO HIS FRIEND'S
HOUSE.
SLAUGHTER THE
ONE THAT CAN'T
SQUAWK.
YES
SIR.
HONK!

9

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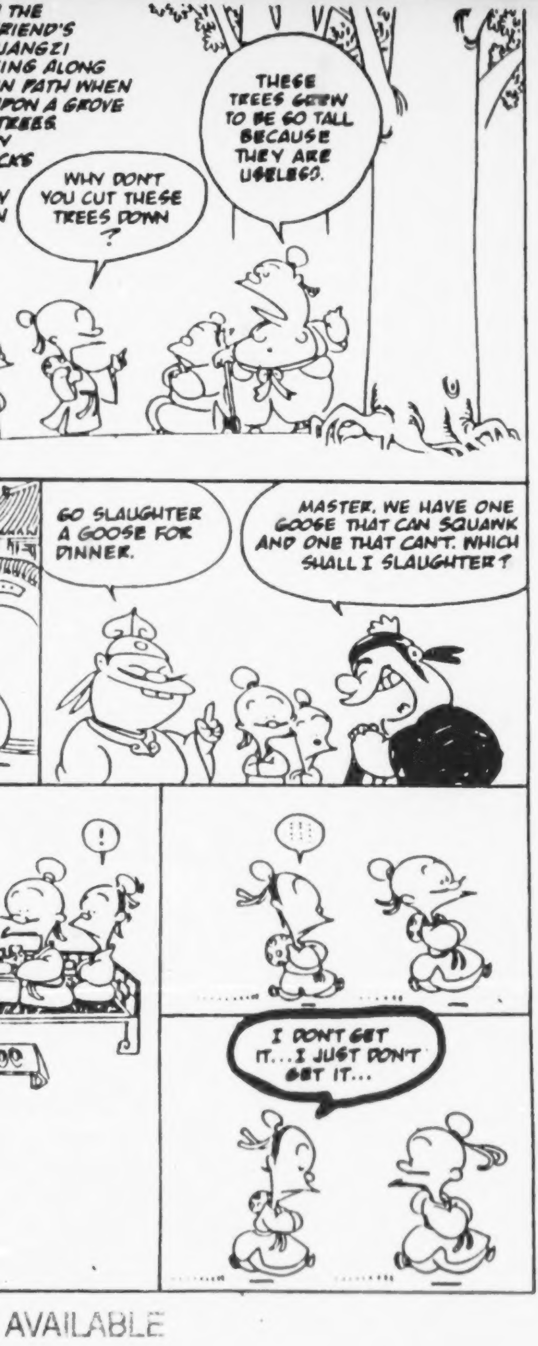
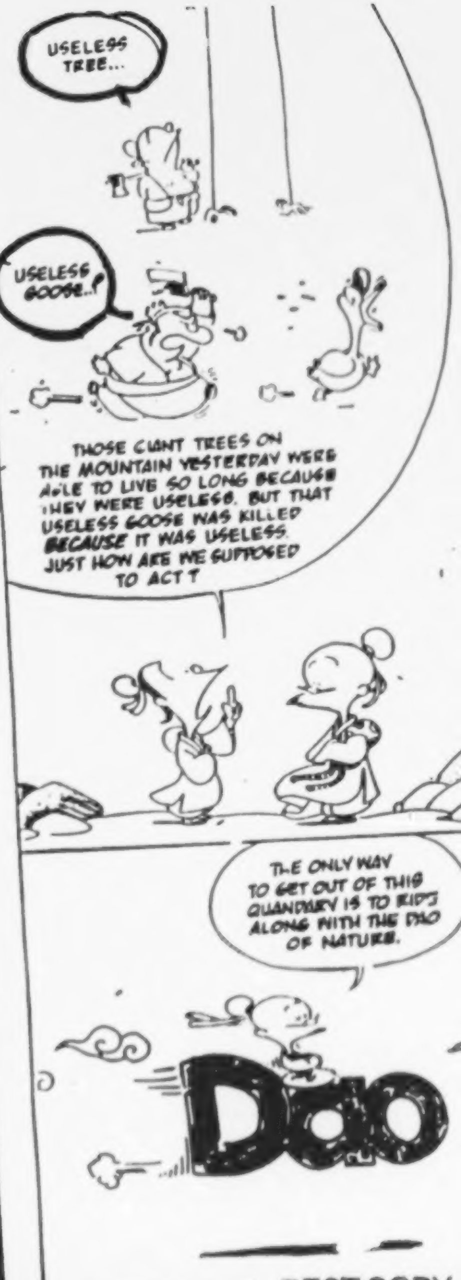

THE
RIEND'S
JANGZI
ING ALONG
N PATH WHEN
PON A GROVE
TREES
Y
CKS
Y
N
THESE TREES GROW TO BE SO TALL BECAUSE THEY ARE USELESS.
WHY DON'T YOU CUT THESE TREES DOWN ?
MASTER, WE HAVE ONE GOOSE THAT CAN SQUAWK AND ONE THAT CAN'T. WHICH SHALL I SLAUGHTER?
GO SLAUGHTER A GOOSE FOR DINNER.
!
I DON'T GET IT... I JUST DON'T GET IT...

莊子行於山中・見大木・枝葉盛茂・伐木者止其
而不取也・問其故・曰：「无所可用・」莊子曰
「此木以不材得終其天年・」
夫子出於山・舍於故人之家・故人喜・命豎子殺
而烹之・豎子請曰：「其一能鳴・其一不能鳴・

請奚殺？」主人曰：「殺不能鳴者・」
明日・弟子問於莊子曰：「昨日山中之木・以不
材得終其天年；今主人之雁・以不材死；先生將何
處？」
莊子笑曰：「周將處乎材與不材之間・材與不材

AVAILABLE

之間・似之而非也・故未免乎累・若夫乘道德而浮遊則不然・无譽无訾・一龍一蛇・與時俱化・而无肯專為：一上一下・以和為量・浮遊乎萬物之祖：物物而不物於物・則故可得而累邪！此神農黃帝之法則也・若夫萬物之情・人倫之傳・則不然・合則離・成則毀：廉則挫・尊則議・有為則虧・賢則謀・不肖則欺・故可得而必乎哉！悲夫！弟子志之・其唯道德之鄉乎！」


USELESS TREE...
USELESS GOOSE..!
THOSE GIANT TREES ON THE MOUNTAIN YESTERDAY WERE ABLE TO LIVE SO LONG BECAUSE THEY WERE USELESS. BUT THAT USELESS GOOSE WAS KILLED BECAUSE IT WAS USELESS. JUST HOW ARE WE SUPPOSED TO ACT?
THE ONLY WAY TO GET OUT OF THIS QUANDARY IS TO RIDE ALONG WITH THE DAO OF NATURE.
Dao

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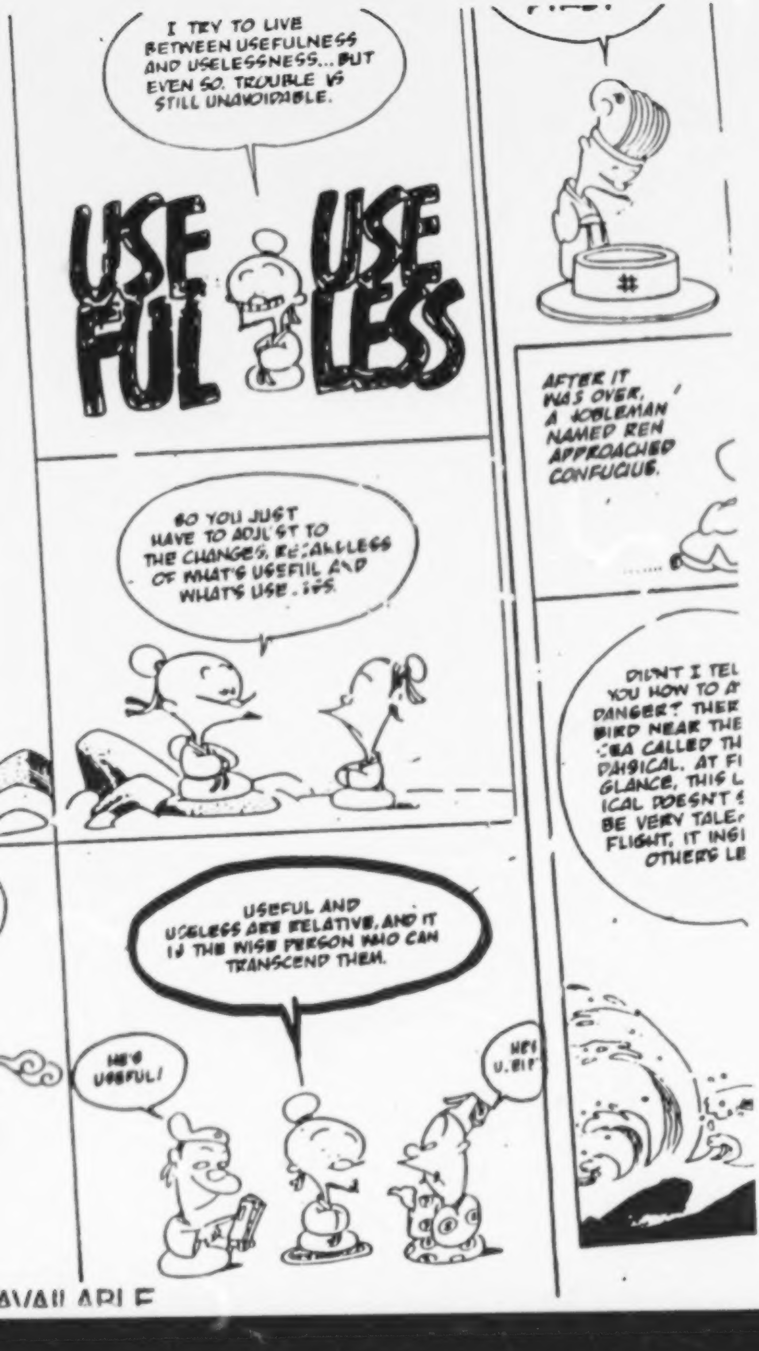

I TRY TO LIVE BETWEEN USEFULNESS AND USELESSNESS... BUT EVEN SO, TROUBLE IS STILL UNAVOIDABLE.
USEFUL
USELESS
#
AFTER IT WAS OVER, A NOBLEMAN NAMED REN APPROACHED CONFUCIUS.
SO YOU JUST HAVE TO ADJUST TO THE CHANGES, REGARDLESS OF WHAT'S USEFUL AND WHAT'S USELESS.
DIDN'T I TEL YOU HOW TO A DANGER? THER BIRD NEAR THE SEA CALLED TH DAHSICAL. AT FI GLANCE, THIS L ICAL DOESN'T BE VERY TALE FLIGHT, IT INSI OTHERS LE
USEFUL AND USELESS ARE RELATIVE, AND IT IS THE WISE PERSON WHO CAN TRANSCEND THEM.
HE'S USEFUL!
HE'S USEL

AVAILABLE

Ming China: The Jewel-Ship Voyages

Historical Background for Teacher:

"When the Mongols . . . "lost" China in 1368, the world lost the key link that had connected the overland route, terminating at Beijing, with the sea routes through the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, terminating at the ports of southeast China. The repercussions of this disjunction at the eastern end of the world system were felt throughout the trading world." (Abu-Lughod: 360)

For awhile after the termination Ming Emperor Xiao-zong allowed seven expeditions to be led by Zheng-he involving as many as 62 ships with 32,000 troops. As many as 30 countries were contacted reaching to the East coast of Africa. (Lunenfeld: xxvi) Despite the abundant booty brought back by Zeng's Jewel-Ship voyages, Confucian bureaucrats made sure that further naval exploration would not be resumed. "By the sixteenth century Chinese merchants would be forbidden to travel abroad." (Lunenfeld: xxvii) Confucian disdain for mercantilism comprised only a small part of the reason for the success of the bureaucrats in pursuading the Ming emperor to cease naval exploration.

The more important reason for stopping naval exploration was the absence in China of the elements which motivated Portuguese, Dutch, and British excursions to bring Asian trade routes in the middle of the fifteenth century to the brink of plunder. Among these elements are the following:

1. "China did not have a missionary religion that it wished to spread by force of arms."
2. In China the scholarly elite distrusted the military.
3. "Warships were considered an extravagance - no threat loomed from the sea.
4. "Chinese rulers spent their money finishing the Great Wall - the top priority of the time."
5. Confucian ethics lumped merchants along with soldiers as parasites of society. The scholarly elite venerated agriculture and scorned commerce.
6. Chinese cultures disdained the mere amassing of wealth.
7. A prosperous economy and sophisticated technology gave Chinese officials little inclination to look beyond their boundaries." (Lunenfeld xxvii)
8. China's cities were urbanized and urbane with the highest literacy rates. Ibn Battuta noted in his journal the abundance of food, plentiful and diverse, and the high standard of living along the routes of China.(Adshead 115)
9. China's inland waterways enhanced its ability to maintain economic self sufficiency and a high standard of living for its people.

China was thus not interested in the outside world, but the outside world was very interested in China. It was, after all, to Cathay that Columbus sailed. The China mission was the apple of the Jesuits' eye. (Adshead: 173)

Objectives:

1. The lesson will show the Chinese view of the progression of Pre-Columbian builders of world trade from the Muslim Middle East to Venice and Genoa, followed by Portugal, the Netherlands, and England.
2. The learner will contrast motives and values of the Muslims, Chinese and Portuguese Traders.
3. The learner will discover the foundations of these motives and values by examining primary sources.
4. The learner will build a deeper understanding of Middle and East Asian perspectives to weigh against existing concepts.

Historical Background for Student:

One characteristic of the early Ming dynasty was expansionism. This was especially true during the reign of Emperor Yung-lo. From 1405 - 1433 the emperor sent out a great fleet under the command of a Chinese Moslem eunuch named Cheng Ho. Despite the capture of considerable booty, the Mandarin court ordered a halt to further voyages in 1433. As a result, China's naval and maritime presence all but ceased to exist.

Questions For Student:

After reading the following documents consider the following questions:

1. Why was Cheng Ho sent to sea?
2. What did China hope to gain from the voyages? What, in fact, did China gain?
3. Why was the fleet withdrawn from the sea?
4. What long-range effect resulted for China and the rest of the world as a result of the Ming decision to halt maritime activity in the 15th Century?

Document I
Important Functionaries Aboard the Ships of the "Jewel" Fleet:

"Important Functionaries: these are, seven principal envoys (grand eunuchs) two brigadiers, ninety-three captains, one hundred and (sic) four lieutenants, one hundred and three sub-lieutenants, two secretaries, one senior secretary of the Board of Revenue, two precedence adjudicators of the court of State Ceremonial, one astrological officer, four astrologers, and one hundred and eighty medical officers and medical orderlies; the total number of these functionaries . . appears to be five hundred and sixty two." (Ma Huan: 31)

Document 2
Names of the Foreign Countries Visited on the Seven Voyages of Cheng-Ho:

The country of Chan city [Champa, Central Vietnam] [I.I]
The country of Chao-wa [Java] [2.2]
The country of Old Haven [Palembang] [3.4]
The country of Hsien Lo [Siam, Thailand] [4.3]
The country of Man-la-chia [Malacca] [5.5]
The country of Ya-lu [Aru, Deli] [6.6]
The country of Su-men-ta-la [Semudera, Lho Seumawe] [7.7]
The country of Na-ku-erhs [Nagur, Peudada] [8.8]
The country of Li-tai [Lide, Meureudu] [9.9]
The country of Nan-p'o-li [Lambri, Atjeh] [IO.IO]
The country of Hsi-lan [Ceylon] [II.I3]
The country of Little Ko-lan [Quilon] [I2.14]
The country of Ko-chih [Cochin] [I3.I5]
The country of Ku-li [Calicut] [I4.I6]
The country of Liu Mountains [Maldive and Laccadive islands] [IS.II]
The country of Tsu-fa-erh [Dhufar] [I6.I7]
The country of A-tan [Aden] [I7.I9]
The country of Pang-ko-la [Bengal] [I8.I2]
The country of Hu-lu-mo-ssu [Hormuz] [I9.I8]
The country of The Heavenly Square [Mecca] [20.20] (Ma Huan: 73)

Docement 3
The Bureaucrats Display Jealousy:

"The voyages, although profitable, were mainly prestige ventures. The luster they shed on the eunuchs irritated many of the bureaucrats." (Elvin: 220)

Document 4
Concerns of the Sailors and Their Families:

"My family grew up along the seashore and the old men said that when grain transport ships sailed, the father was parted from the son and the wife from her husband. They received sacrifices and empty coffins were prepared for their souls to return home. The sailor's life and death were like dreams. If they were lucky enough to miss the whales they would consider that they had been born again." (Ayao: 8)

Document 5
Need for the Navy:

"No Chinese government which depended on sea transport of grain to the north could afford to run down its naval capacity. While the transport lasted, the early Ming government had a fundamental interest in preserving its navy. With the successful reconstruction of the Grand Canal to Beijing in 1411, and the abolition of the main sea transport in 1415, the navy became, for the first time, a luxury rather than a necessity. Moreover, excessive economy had led to flimsy construction."
(Shigo: 45)

Document 6
Portuguese View of the Chinese:

"All the Chinese eat pigs, cows and all other animals. They drink a fair amount of all sorts of beverages. They praise our wine greatly. They get pretty drunk. They are weak people, of small account. Those who are to be seen in Malacca are not very truthful, and steal - that is the common people. They eat with two sticks, and the earthenware or china bowl in their left hand close to their mouth, with the two sticks to suck in. This is the Chinese way." (Pires: 116)

Document 7
Imperial Edict:

"At present, the ignorant people of Liang-Kuang, Chekiang, and Fukien are frequently in communication with outer barbarians, with whom they carry on a smuggling trade in metal, textiles, and weapons. This is therefore strictly forbidden."
(Edict from the Emperor in 1390: (Ayao: 45)

Document 8
The Chinese Customs of the Malaccan King:

No one but he may wear yellow under pain of death. And if he proposes to go out and to wear another colour, he orders the colour to be proclaimed, and no one may go out in such colour under pain of death. He may go out in state three or four times a year for all to see him. If he goes by land the elephant is covered up to the eyes in yellow cloth, and if he takes (another) king with him he rides on the neck, and he himself goes in the middle, and his page on the haunches. No one may wear a Chinese hat except himself." (Pires: 265)

Document 9:
Ancient Roman Trade With Han China

". . .an embassy came to the court of (Han) China from Antun, king of Tathsin (the Emperor M. Aurelius). This mission had no doubt made the voyage by sea, for it entered China by the frontier of Jinan or Toking, bringing presents of rhinoceros horns, ivory, and tortoiseshell. This is not precisely the sort of present we should have looked for, and indeed the Chinese annals say that it was believed the ambassadors had purloined the rarer objects of their charge; just the accusation that was brought against Friar John of Montecorrvino eleven hundred years later.:
(Yule: lxii)

Document 10
Mandarin Customs to King:

"Every mandarin when he goes to see the king approaches no nearer than ten paces and raises both his hands three times above his head, and then he kisses the ground and says through third persons what he wants; and the same on taking leave. And this is on the days when they know that the king can be seen by them. And they do the same to the prince. All show great respect for the king and for what belongs to him, and the people when they pass by the king's house do reverence to them.

On account of the seats, when a mandarin speaks with another he does not sit down, but remains standing, unless the seats are on the same level, such as a bench or one storied house. When they greet each other they shut the left hand with the thumb stretched out and the right hand on the left, and thus they speak out of courtesy. All have house with rooms on a lower level for the servants, so that they should not be so high as their masters when they speak to them." (Pires: 268)

Document II:
European View of China:

"There are in that kingdom of Cathay more marvellous and singular things than in any other kingdom of the world. The people of the country are exceedingly full of shrewdness and sagacity, and hold in contempt the performances of other nations in every kind of art and science. They have indeeed a saying to the effect that they alone see with two eyes, whilst the Latins see with one, and all other nations are blind! . . . And in good sooth there is such a vast variety of articles of marvellous and unspeakable delicacy and elaboration of workmanship brought from those parts, that there is really no other people that can be compared with them in such matters." (Yule: cxciv)

Document 12:
A Mission to the Western Ocean:

"In the third year of the Yung-Lo reign. . . the eunuch Cheng Ho, commonly known as the "Three-Jewel Eunuch", a native of the province of Yunnan, was sent on a mission to the Western Ocean.

The emperor, under the suspicion that the last emperor of the Yuan dynasty might have fled beyond the seas, commissioned Cheng Ho, Wang Ching-Hung, and others, to pursue his traces. Bearing vast amounts of gold and other treasures, and with a force of more than 37,000 soldiers under their command, they built great ships, sixty-two in number, and set sail from Liu-chia-chiang in the prefecture of Suchow, whence they proceeded by way of Fukien to Chan-Chheng, and thence on voyages throughout the western seas." (Needham: 557)

Document 13:
Results of the Expeditions:

"The question may be asked, what were the practical results of these amazing expeditions, in which hundreds of ocean-going junks and several tens of thousands of men were used? The short answer would be, absolutely none. The Ming Chinese were not empire-builders. Their political pundits had no sense of mission, no idea of *sturm und drang*. Theoretically the Son of Heaven ruled the whole world, *t'ien hsia'* , " all under heaven", and his envoys considered it enough to show themselves around, to display themselves to the nondescript barbarians on the fringes of the civilized world, in order to usher in a millennium activated by the serene presence of the Son of Heaven upon the Throne. In effect, therefore, they accomplished nothing durable. . ." (Willetts: 30,31)

Document 14
Confucian Attitudes:

The conservative Confucianists, however, regarded the whole crew with utter loathing. You could in any case hardly call them crew with utter loathing. You could in any case hardly call them men: and, since they were all sunk in the squalor of some foreign superstitions, you could hardly call them Chinese either. They were of course plotting for power, and it was absolutely vital to put a stop to their activities." (Willetts: 37)

Document 15
The Giraffe:

". . . it was identified as nothing less than the *ch'i-lin*, the fabulous beast whose exceptionally rare appearances on earth were a cosmic confirmation of the Emperor's Mandate, and harbingers of a period of unprecedented prosperity. . . the giraffe . . .presented so original an appearance that few would question the claim of its supernatural origin.

Amazing is this gentle animal, of strange shape and wonderful form. . . Its dragon head is carried high, its fleshy horn grows erect: it has purple hair with white lines criss-cross in a pattern of a tortoise-shell. Its body is glossy and its conduct is measured . . . It does not step on growing grass nor does it eat living beings.

Undoubtedly then, the gentle giraffe was the animal . . . that precipitated . . . the final revulsion of Confucianism against the eunuchs and their maritime adventurings, leading to a total stoppage of Chinese naval activity in the Indian Ocean in the second half of the 15th century and thereafter. Over the centuries this revulsion gradually assumed the form of a queer and rather chilling psychological withdrawal from the interests that bind nations together, and produced as its legacy the Chinese official mind, polite, evasive, and utterly without humour in its conduct of international affairs." (Willetts: 40,4l)

Poem Commemorating The Journey

The Emperor's glorious envoy received the divine commands,
proclaim abroad the silken sounds, and go to the barbarous lands.
His giant ship on the roaring waves of the boundless ocean rode;
afar, o'er the rolling billows vast and limitless, it strode.
The vast sea's rolling billows in lovely breakers sweep;
clusters of mounts, green floating shells, in mystery fade and peep.
Within Chan city's haven halts awhile, repose he takes;
Raise the sails! they scud along; She-p'o he quickly makes.
From the Central Glorious Country She-p'o is distant far,
a noisome steam is heaven's breath, and strange the people are.
With unkempt heads and naked feet, a barbarous tongue they speak;
dresses and hats they use not, nor rites nor virtue seek.
Here when the heavenly writing came, a happy clamour meeting,
chieftains and heads of the barbarous tribes all vied to give it greeting.
Tribute of southern gold, rare gems, from distant parts appear;
grateful, admiring our virtue, they show themselves loyal, sincere.
From She-p'o again [the envoy] the Western Ocean broached;
passing on by San Fo-ch'i, five islands he approached.
The peaks of Su-men-ta-la in middle ocean [stand];
foreign merchants' sea-junks pass and gather in this land.
A part of the flotilla to Hsi-lan went from here,
and to Ko-chih and to Ku-li and all foreign [places] near.
[There lies] the Liu mount country by Weak waters' southern shore;
an endless route they travelled, and dangerous and sore.
They wished to go to the Western Land, from afar they fixed their eyes;
but they [only] saw the glint of the waves as they joined with the green of the skies.
The shipmen lifted up their heads; the west with the east they mixed;
only pointing to the *ch'en* star whereby north and south were fixed.
Hu-lu-mo-ssu! close to the ocean's side;
to Ta-yuan and Mi-hsithe travelling merchants ride.
Of the embassy of Po wangls to distant landswe heard;
greater still the glorious favour in the present reign conferred!
A student, follower, servant, how low and humble, I!
Honoured to go with the envoy, all I visit and descry.
Mountains high and mighty waves I ere then saw but few;
unwonted gems and jewels rare I now began to view.

17.

Above to heaven and down to earth I looked—no boundary ran;
to heaven's ends and earth's extremes each one is the sovereign's man.
Union under imperial Ming our grand and great land shares;

from time forgotten until now no [other land] compares.
The Emperor's envoy, dutiful, fears to tarry and delay;
just then he meets the south wind, which points to his homeward way.
O'er waves like swimming dragons huge [the envoy's] vessel rides;
he turns his head back, mist and fog the distant desert hides.
To capital returned, the Palace levee he attended;
in Dragon Court his tribute, every precious thing extended.
One glance of the all-wise eyes, and joy filled Heaven's face;
all dignities, gifts, were bestowed, new pledges of Heaven's grace.
Ma Huan, the mountain-woodcutter of Kuei chi.
(Ma Huan:73-75)

Poetry Instructions for Teacher:

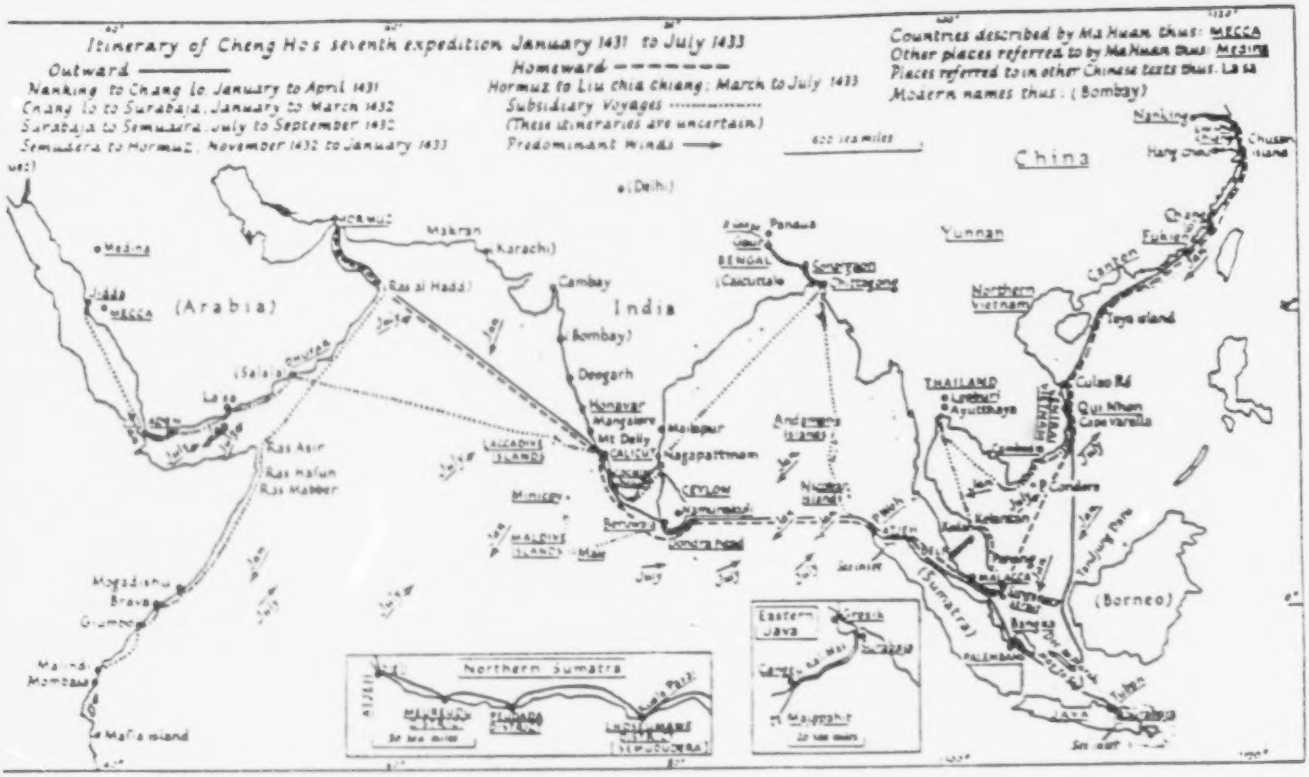
Read Poem commemorating the journey aloud. Take questions and comments from students and offer teacher's literary and historical insight Have students write journal entry or essay from the view of one of the following persons in the Chinese court:

A. The Emperor Yung-lo (1405-1433)
B. Cheng Ho, the admiral of the fleet
C. Ma Huan, Scribe of the journeys, and author of the poem
D. The scholar bureaucrats at the Ming court

Select one or two journal entries or essays from each perspective to be verbally shared with the class as a basis for discussion.

Instructions for Geography Lesson:

Using a blank map have students trace the voyage of Cheng Ho's journey based upon the information provided in Document #2.


Itinerary of Cheng Ho's seventh expedition January 1431 to July 1433
Outward
Nanking to Chang lo: January to April 1431
Chang lo to Surabaja: January to March 1432
Surabaja to Semudera: July to September 1432
Semudera to Hormuz: November 1432 to January 1433
Homeward
Hormuz to Liu chia chiang: March to July 1433
Subsidiary Voyages
(These itineraries are uncertain)
Predominant Winds
600 sea miles
Countries described by Ma Huan thus: MECCA
Other places referred to by Ma Huan thus: Medina
Places referred to in other Chinese texts thus: La sa
Modern names thus: (Bombay)
China
Nanking
Hang chou
Chusan island
Fukien
Canton
Yunnan
Northern Vietnam
Teyo island
Culao Ré
Qui Nhon
Cape Varella
THAILAND
Ayutthaya
P. Condore
Kelantan
Pahang
MALACCA
(Borneo)
(Sumatra)
PALEMBANG
JAVA
Surabaja
(Delhi)
HORMUZ
Makran
Karachi)
Ras al Hadd)
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India
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CEYLON
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Minicoy
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Gaur
BENGAL
Sonargaon
Chittagong
(Calcutta)
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Nicobar Islands
ACEH
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Jidda
MECCA
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(Salala)
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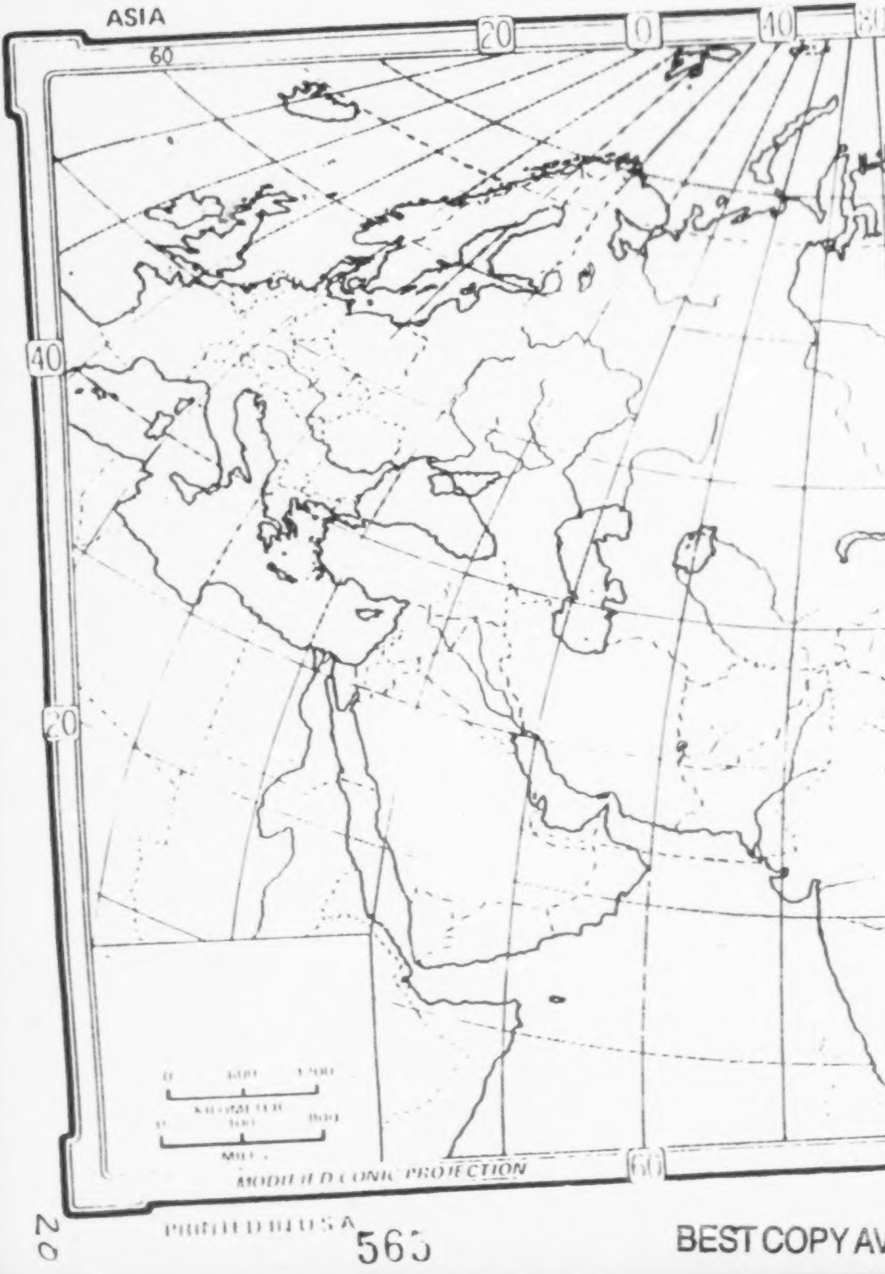
Ras Hafun
Ras Mabber
Mogadishu
Brava
Giumbo
Malindi
Mombasa
Mafia island
July
Jan
Northern Sumatra
ACEH
PLADARA
SEMUDERA
Eastern Java
Gresik
Surabaya
Majapahit

Fig. 1. Map of southern Asia

19.

ASIA



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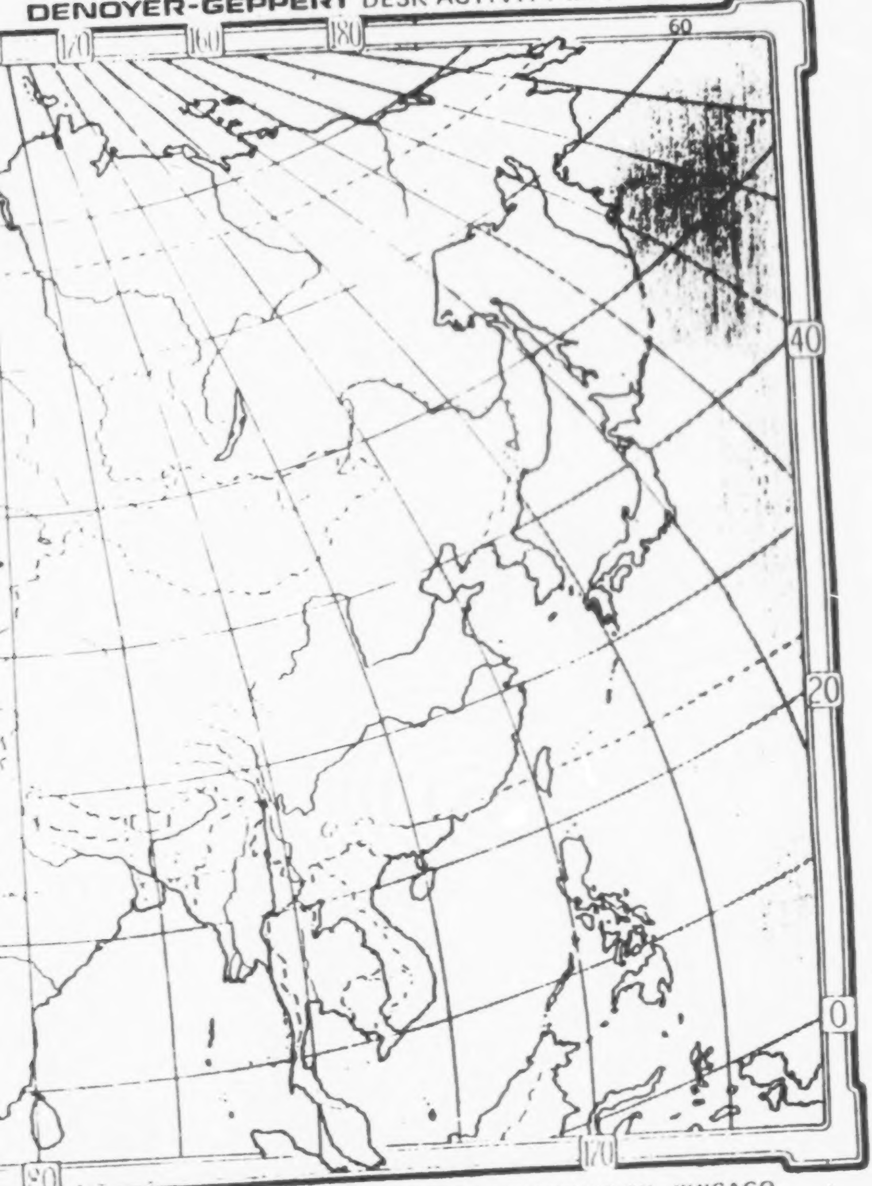
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AILABLE

Chinese Inventions - Can You Name Them?

by the East Asian Institute Curriculum Project,
Columbia University

Silk

The Chinese knew how to produce silk at least by 1300 B.C., but not until the second century B.C. did it begin to be exported to Europe, and not until about 550 A.D., when monks who had travelled to China brought back silkworm eggs, did the West learn the Chinese secret of silk-making.

The Chinese traded silk with the Roman Empire and then with Byzantium. In return they received such items as wool, glass, and asbestos. Through the silk trade world's two great empires in the first century A.D. -- Rome and Han China-- were linked, as Roman women wore Chinese silks. The overland trade route between China and the Mediterranean was called the "Silk Route" because China exported so much of this fabric to the West.

Tea

Tea drinking originated in China and spread throughout the world. Whether a country calls the beverage "tea" (or some variant thereof) or "chai", as in Russia, depends on whether it came over the sea route or the land route from China. The sea route originated in Fukien province on China's coast, where the word for the drink in the Fukien dialect is "te". The land route originated in the north, where the term for the drink is "cha". Even today in northern England, people often speak of "having a cup of cha", although the more common term in England is "tea".

Porcelain

Porcelain, also called "china," is a type of clay pottery that was invented in China by using clay with special minerals. Chinese porcelain was exported throughout the world, and eventually the secret mineral ingredients were discovered by Europeans in 1709. Europeans began to experiment with porcelain -making only after they saw and admired the Chinese porcelains.

Paper

Paper was first invented in China about 105 A.D. Its use then spread to Chinese Turkestan in central Asia, the Arab world (c.751 A.D.), Syria, Egypt, Morocco, Spain (c. 1150 A.D.), southern France, and the rest of Europe.

Printing

The Chinese invented both block printing, to reproduce the Confucian classic that had often been carved on stone, and moveable type. It appears that Europe learned about block printing from China and did not invent it separately. One possible source of the spread of block printing from China is playing cards, which the Chinese also invented and introduced to Europe. Another is paper money, first printed in China in the tenth century A.D. and later introduced to Europe.

Gunpowder

Gunpowder was invented in China c. 1000 A.D. and probably spread to Europe during the Mongol expansion of 1200-1300 A.D. , but this is not proven. The use of gunpowder in Europe was first recorded in 1313. Europeans used gunpowder for cannons, while the Chinese used it primarily for firecrackers. Despite such early knowledge of explosives and their use, China did not pursue the development of weaponry as did the West, and ironically it was through the use of cannons and guns that the Europeans were able to dominate China in the late 1800's.

Chinese Inventions - Can You Name Them?
P. 2

Compass

Historians believe that the Chinese invented the magnetic compass and used it for navigation c. 1100 A.D. Arab traders sailing to China probably learned of the Chinese method of sailing by compass and returned to the West with the invention.

Alchemy

(Chemistry) The Taoist search for the elixir of life (a life-extending potion) led to much experimentation with changing the state of minerals. The Chinese practice appears to have spread first to the Arab world and the to Europe. Chinese alchemy predates that of the Egyptians in Alexandria and other cities by about two centuries, beginning by 133 B.C.

Civil service

Exams for government services were introduced in both France and England in the 1800's, apparently inspired by the Chinese practice instituted almost two thousand years earlier, in 165 B.C.

Grain storage

Henry A. Wallace, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture from 1933 to 1940, introduced governmental storage of excess grain after reading the dissertation of a Chinese student at Columbia University on Confucian economic policies. Wallace adapted the Confucian notion of government grain purchases to provide for times of scarcity, and he introduced the practice in the United States to deal with overproduction due to mechanization and resulting depressed agricultural prices.

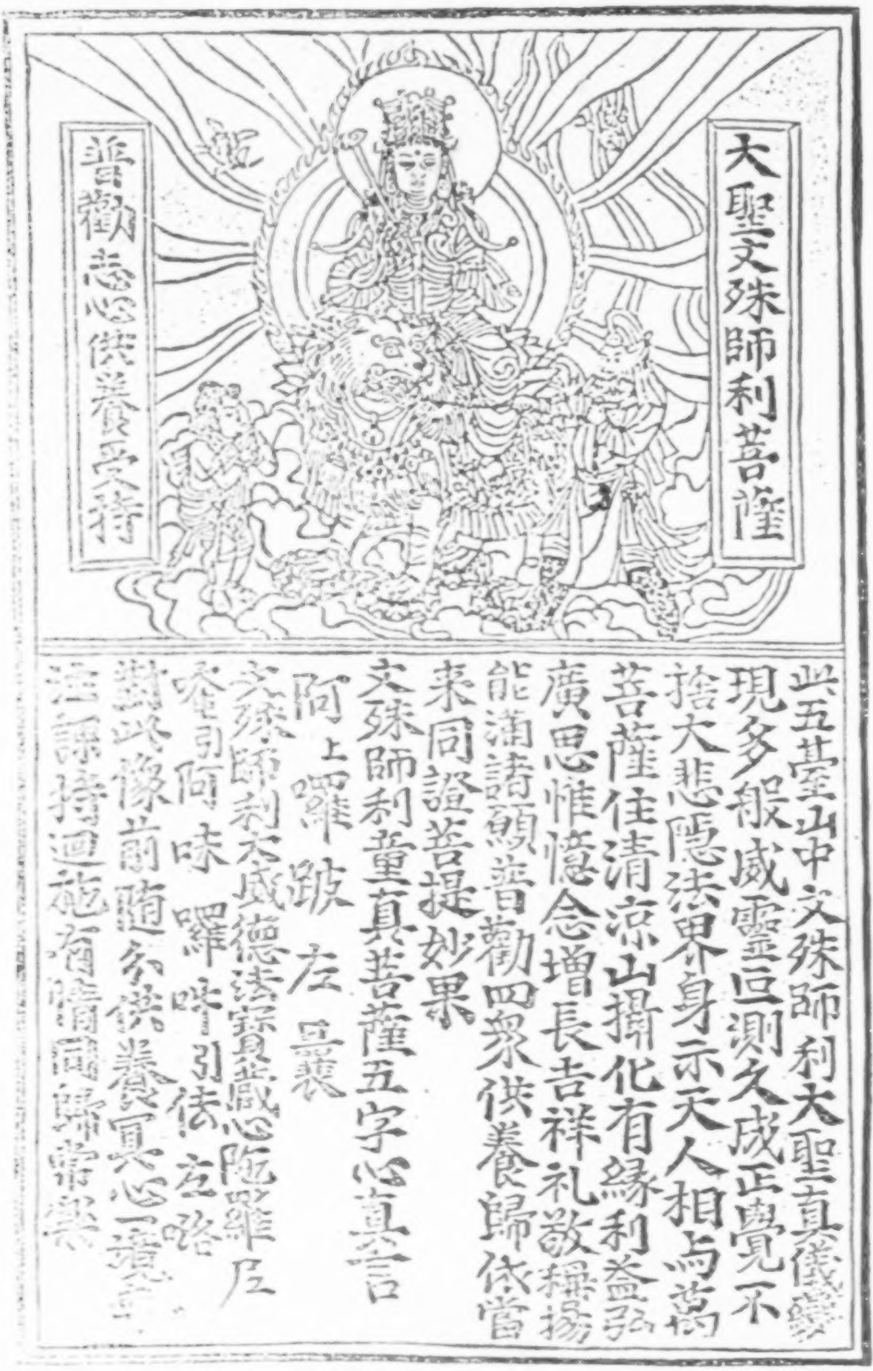
Other

Some of the West's most popular fruits–peaches, apricots, and citrus fruits—came from China, as did some of the most common flowers, such as chrysanthemums. The West also learned of goldfish and wallpaper from China and may have adopted the Chinese idea of the folding umbrella.

Many Western political and social thinkers admired the Chinese bureaucratic system of government. In particular, the German philosophers and mathematician Leibnitz (1646-1716), the Frenchman Voltaire (1694-1778), and the French political economists of the late 1700's, know as the Physiocrats, were inspired by Chinese though, as was America's Ralph Waldo Emerson.

10th C. wood block print

This Buddhist wood block print, dating from the tenth century, was presented to a shrine by a worshiper as a votive offering.



大聖文殊師利菩薩

普勸志心供養受持

此五臺山中文殊師利大聖真儀變現多般威靈叵測久成正覺不捨大悲隱法界身示天人相与萬菩薩住清涼山攝化有緣利益弘廣思惟憶念增長吉祥礼敬稱揚能滿諸願普勸四眾供養歸依當來同證菩提妙果

文殊師利童真菩薩五字心真言

阿（上）囉　跛　左　曩

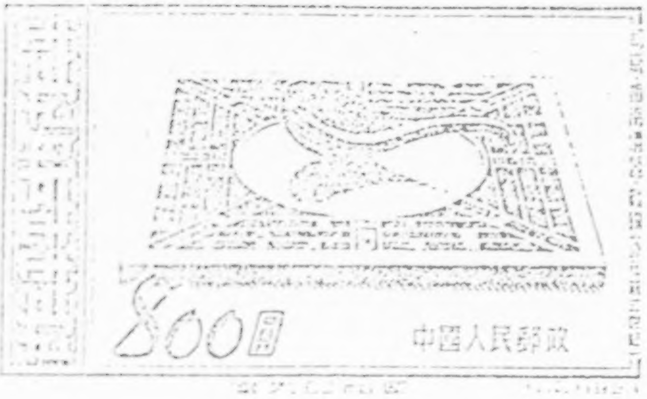
文殊師利大威德法寶藏心陀羅尼

唵（引）阿　味　囉　吽（引）佉　左　唂

對此像前隨分供養冥心一境專注課持迴施有情同歸常樂

TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

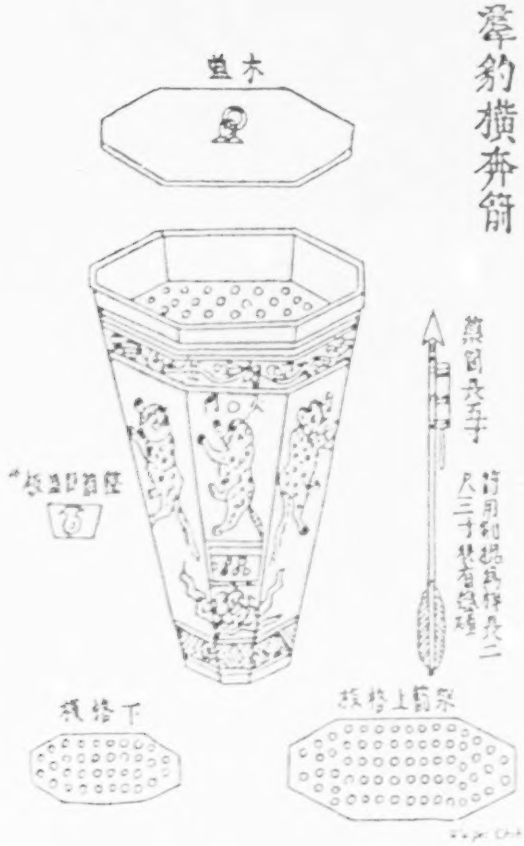
Lodestone Compass, Han Dynasty (207BCE-220CE)



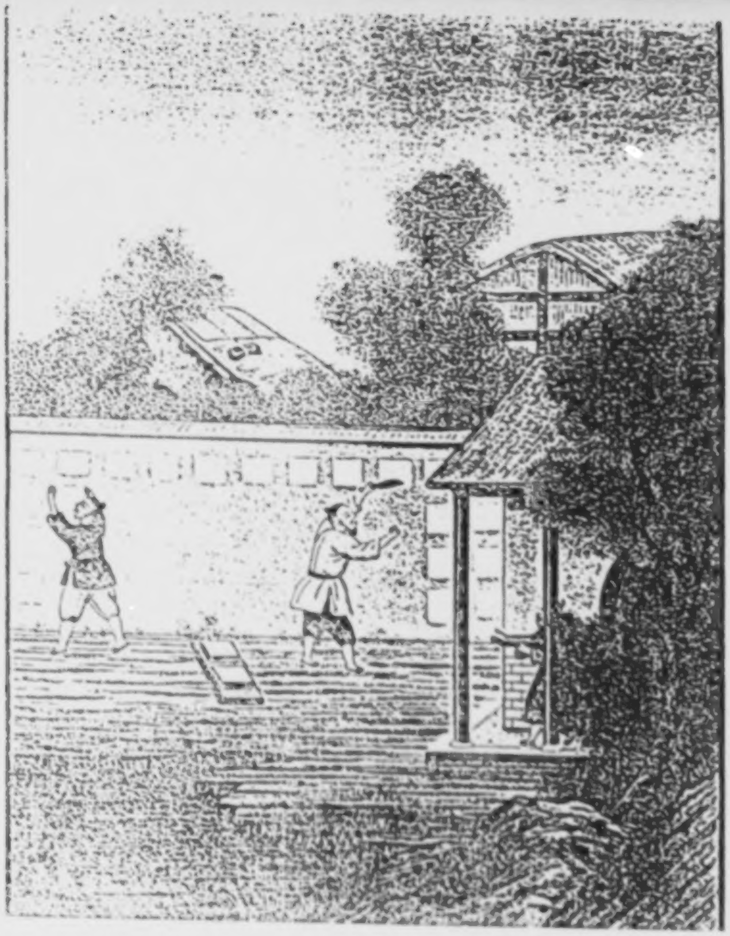
PRIVATE COLLECTION

A stamp showing a model of a lodestone compass

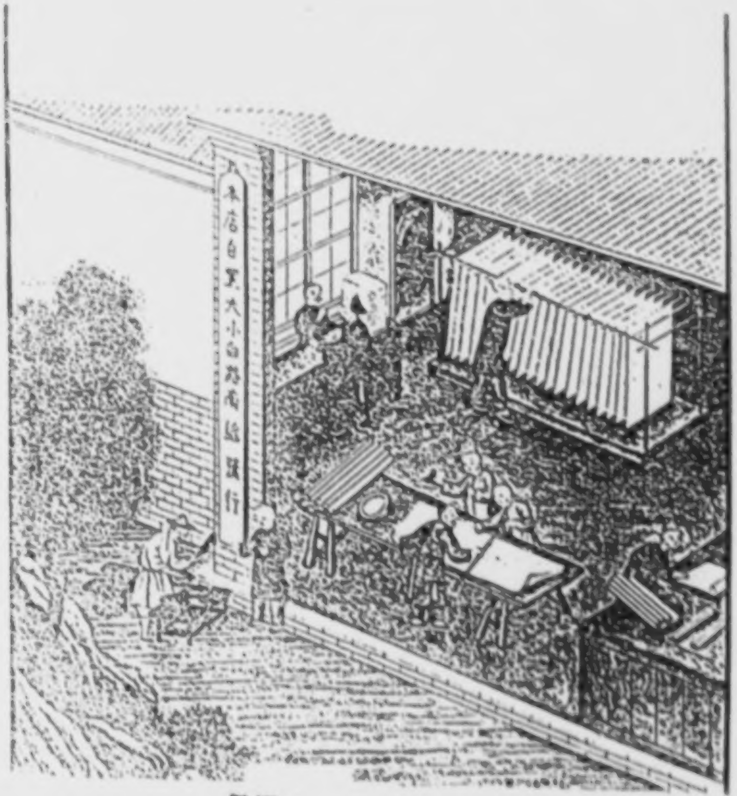
Gunpowder developed during Han (207BCE-220CE)


羣豹橫奔箭
木盖
下格板
架箭上格板

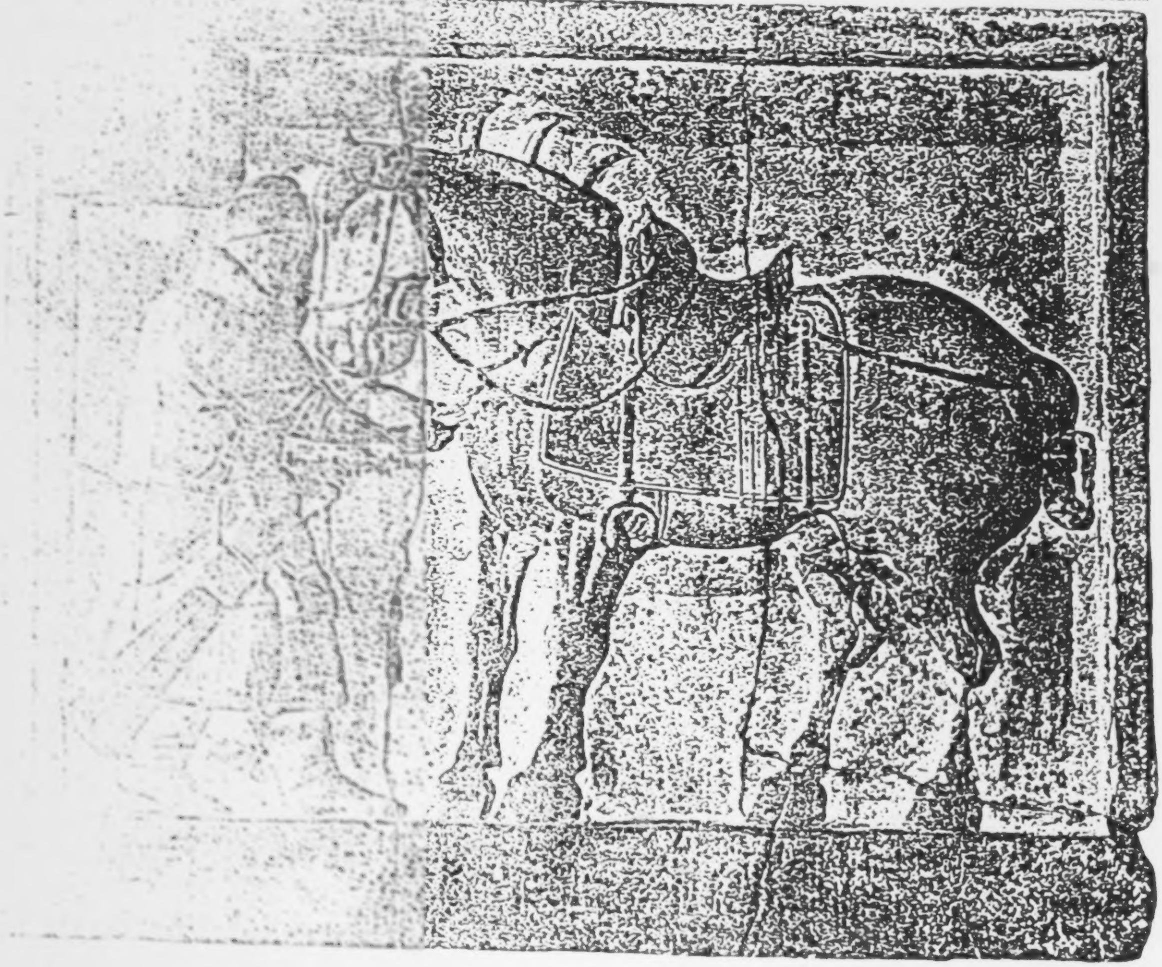
One use of gunpowder was to propel arrows. These noisy weapons were launched from decorated boxes, like the one above, and powered by a powder-filled capsule strapped to the shaft.



Paper Making Invented Second Century C.E.



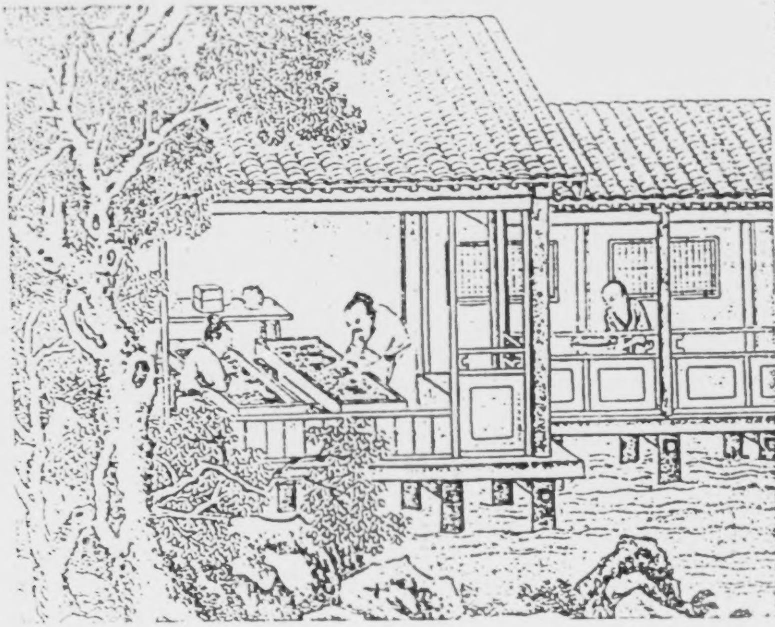
Long stirrups Tang Dynasty (618-906)



THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA

Short stirrups, used by the Chinese when mounting a horse, soon gave way to long stirrups, such as those shown in this T'ang dynasty relief. Long stirrups enabled a rider to maintain his seat easily, even while galloping.

Making Ink as early as Han (202 BCE-220 CE)

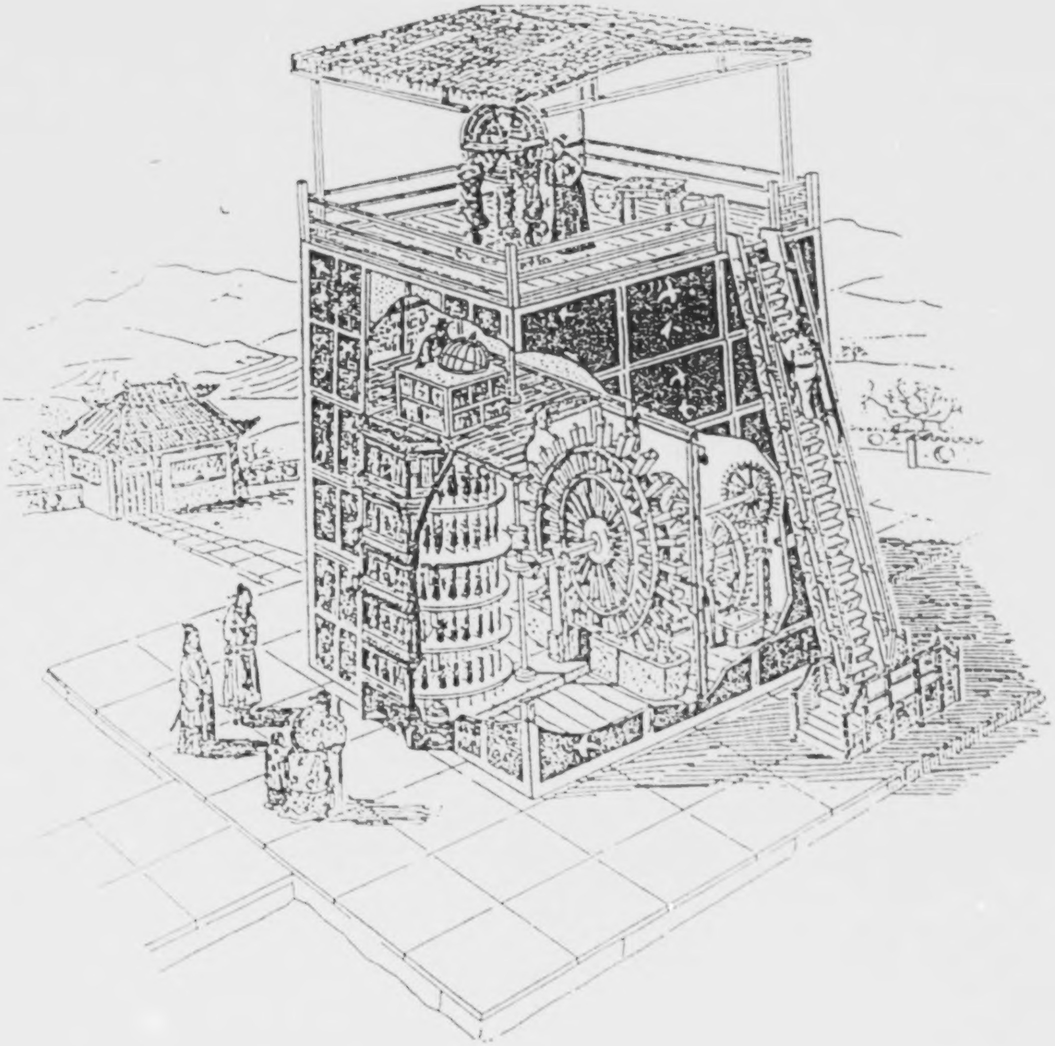


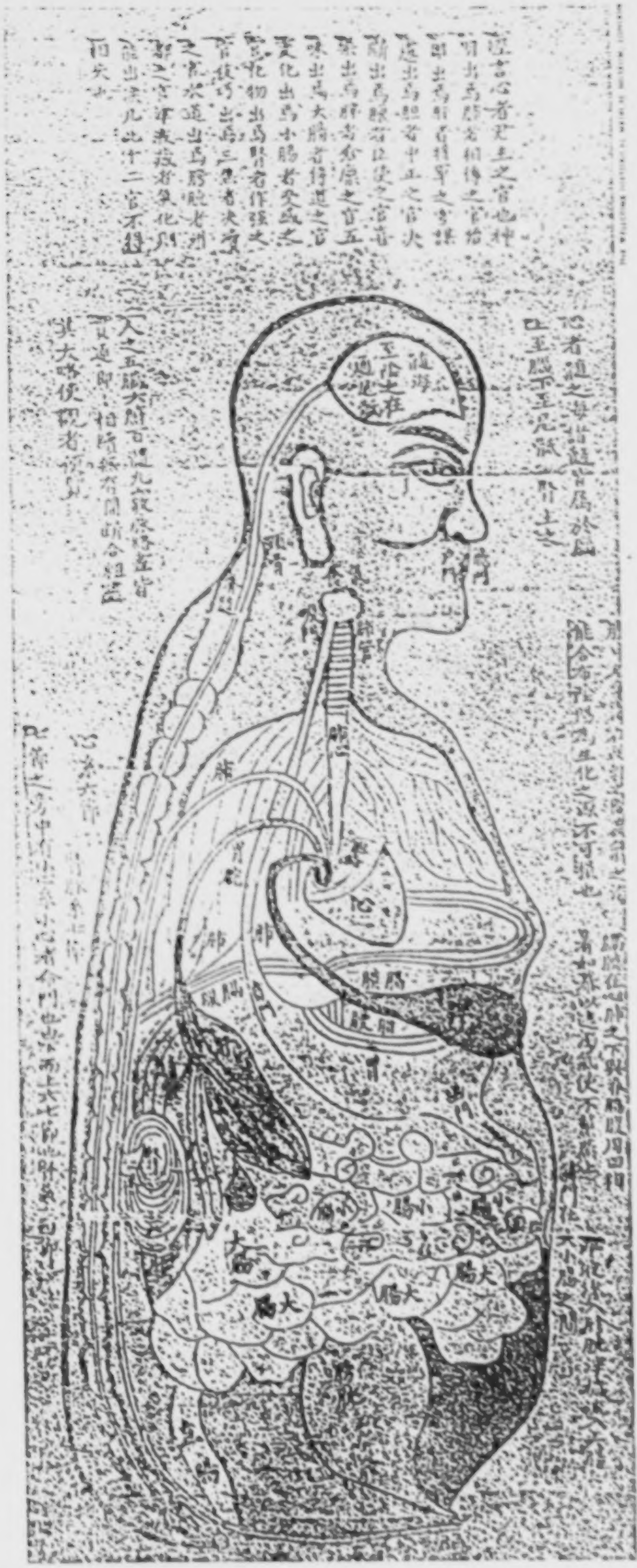
NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM COLLECTION, TAIPEI, TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA

As early as the Han dynasty the Chinese were making inks out of lampblack and a gummy binding substance. In later times powder, made from rhinoceros horn, crushed pearls, or spices, was added to the mixture. This Ch'ing dynasty print shows workers pressing carbon into flat cakes, which were dissolved in water to make ink.

*28.

Astronomical clock tower 11th C.





Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)Anatomical chart

Student Handout

Global Inventions
Trade in our Everyday Lives

Following is a list of common, everyday items. Where do you think they originate? Match the city, nation, or world area with the invention or discovery. (Some places will be used more than once.)

1. pajamas ________________
2. bed ________________
3. cotton ________________
4. silk ________________
5. clock ________________
6. glass ________________
7. bathtub ________________
8. toilet ________________
9. steam radiator __________
10. soap ________________
11. chair ________________
12. buttons ________________
13. shoes ________________
14. china plate ________________
15. fork ________________
16. spoon ________________
17. coffee ________________
18. sugar ________________
19. milk & cream ____________
20. chicken (eggs) ___________
21. butter ________________
22. rubber ________________
23. umbrella ______________
24. train ________________
25. cigarette ______________
26. paper ________________

United States

India

Italy

Arab States

Persia(Iran)
Southeast Asia

England

China

Asia Minor(Turkey)

Europe

Near East

Ancient Egypt

Ancient Greece

Ancient Rome

Ancient Gaul(France)

Ancient Mexico

Now read the article, "One hundred Per Cent American" and check your answers.

Student Handout

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICAN

By Ralph Linton

There can be no question about the average American's Americanism or his desire to preserve this precious heritage at all costs. Nevertheless, some insidious foreign ideas have already wormed their way into his civilization without his realizing what was going on. Thus dawn finds the unsuspecting patriot garbed in pajamas, a garment of East Indian origin; and lying in a bed built on a pattern which originated in either Persia or Asia Minor. He is muffled to the ears in un-American materials: cotton, first domesticated in India; linen, domesticated in the Near East; wool from an animal native to Asia Minor; or silk whose uses were first discovered by the Chinese. All these substances have been transformed into cloth by methods invented in Southwestern Asia. If the weather is cold enough he may even be sleeping under an eiderdown quilt invented in Scandinavia.

On awakening he glances at the clock, a medieval European invention, uses one potent Latin word in abbreviated form, rises in haste, and goes to the bathroom. Here, if he stops to think about it, he must feel himself in the presence of a great American institution: he will have heard stories of both the quality and frequency of foreign plumbing and will know that in no other country does the average man perform his person hygiene in the midst of such splendor. But the insidious foreign influence pursues him even here. Glass was invented by the ancient Egyptian, the use of glazed tiles for floors and walls in the Near East, porcelain in China, and the art of enameling on metal by Mediterranean artisans of the Bronze Age. Even his bathtub and toilet are but slightly modified copies of Roman originals. The only purely American contribution to the ensemble is the steam radiator, against which our patriot very briefly and unintentionally places his posterior.

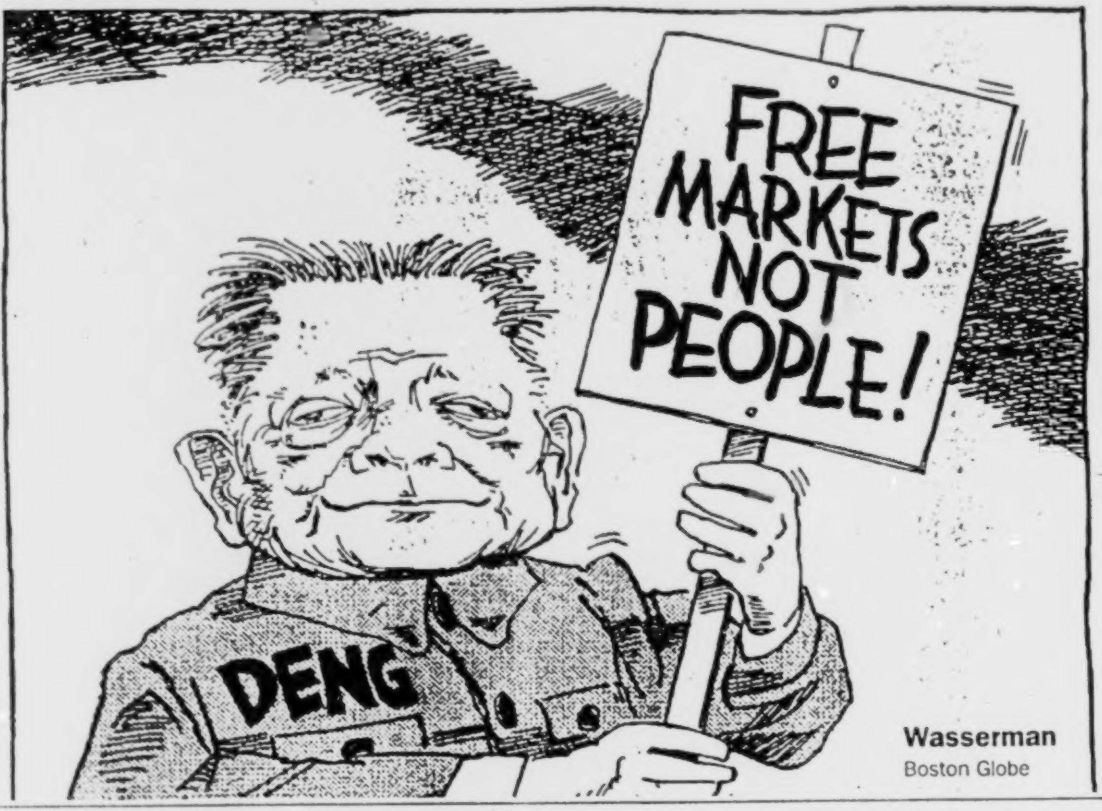
In this bathroom the American washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. Next he cleans his teeth, a subversive European practice which did not invade America until the latter part of the 18th century. He then shaves, a masochistic rite first developed by the heathen priests of ancient Egypt and Sumer. The process us made less a penance by the fact that his razor is of steel, an iron-carbon alloy discovered in either India or Turkestan. Lastly, he dries himself on a Turkish towel.

Returning to the bedroom, the unconscious victim on un-American practices removes his clothes from a chair, invented in the Near East, and proceeds to dress. He puts on close-fitting tailored garments whose form derives from the skin clothing of the ancient nomads of the Asiatic steppe and fastens them with buttons whose prototypes appeared in Europe at the close of the Stone Age. This costume is appropriate enough for outdoor exercise in a cold climate, but to us quite unsuited to American summers. Nevertheless, foreign ideas and habits hold the unfortunate man enthrall even when common sense tells him that the authentically American costume of gee strings and moccasins would be far more comfortable. He puts on his feet coverings made from hide prepared by a process invented in ancient Egypt and cut to a pattern which can be traced back to ancient Greece, and makes sure the are properly polished, also a Greek idea. Lastly, he ties about his neck a strip of bright-colored cloth which is a survival of the shoulder shawls worn by 17th century Croats. He gives himself a final appraisal in the mirror, an old Mediterranean inventions, and goes downstairs to breakfast.

Here a whole new series of foreign things confronts him. His food and drink are placed before him in pottery vessels, the popular name of which --china-- is sufficient evidence of their origin. His fork is a medieval Italian invention and his spoon is a copy of a Roman original. He will usually begin the meal with coffee, an Abyssinian plant first discovered by the Arabs. The American is quite likely to need it to dispels the morning after effects of over-indulgence in fermented drinks, invented in the Near East; or distilled ones, invented by the alchemists of medieval Europe. Whereas the Arabs took their coffee straight, he will probably sweeten it with sugar, discovered in India; and dilute it with cream, both the domestication of cattle and the technique of milking having originated in Asia Minor.

If our patriot is old fashioned enough to adhere to the so-called American breakfast, his coffee will be accompanied by an orange, domesticated in the Mediterranean region, a cantaloupe domesticated in Persia, or grapes, domesticated in Asia Minor. He will follow this with a bowl of cereal made from grain domesticated in the Near East and prepared by methods also invented there. From this he will go on to waffles, a Scandinavian invention, with plenty of butter, originally a Near-Eastern cosmetic. As a side dish he may have the egg of a bird domesticated in Southeastern Asia or strips of the flesh of the animal domesticated in the same region, which have been salted and smoked by a process invented in Northern Europe.

Breakfast over, he places upon his head a molded piece of felt, invented by the nomads of Eastern Asia, and, if it looks like rain, puts on outer shoes of rubber, discovered by the ancient Mexicans, and takes an umbrella, invented in India. He sprints for his train -- the train not the sprinting, being an English invention. At the station he pauses for a moment to buy a newspaper, paying for it with coins invented in ancient Lydia. Once on board he settles back to inhale the fumes if a cigarette invented in Mexico, or a cigar invented in Brazil. Meanwhile, he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites by a process invented in Germany upon a material invented in Germany upon a material invented in China. As he scans the latest editorial pointing out the dire results to our institutions of accepting foreign ideas, he will not fail to thank a Hebrew God in an Indo-European language that he is a one hundred per cent (decimal system invented by the Greeks) American (from Americus Vespucci, Italian geographer).


FREE MARKETS NOT PEOPLE!
DENG

Wasserman
Boston Globe

TRIBUNE 8/22/95

Background for the Teacher

Bafa Bafa is a commercially available simulation which provides students with communication skills and cultural understanding. It is used by government and business organizations for training purposes. In this simulation the **Alpha** culture holds a surprising number of Chinese values such as strong in-group identity, patriarchal society, and harmony. The **Beta** culture holds values which could be attributed to western states such as profit motive, litigious, and task orientation.

Bafá Bafá

A CROSS-CULTURE SIMULATION

by R. Garry Shirts

What happens in Bafá Bafá?

Participants live and cope in a "foreign" culture and then discuss and analyze the experience. There are two cultures in the simulation. The Alpha culture is a warm, friendly, patriarchal society with strong in-group out-group identity. The Beta culture is a foreign speaking, task oriented culture. Once the participants learn the rules, customs and values of "their" culture they visit the other culture. The visitor is generally bewildered and confused by the strangeness of the foreign culture. Bewilderment often turns to intolerance and hostility once the visitor returns home. "They're strange, real strange, that's all I can say. They're making funny sounds and weird gestures. Just be careful when you go over there." But in the post-simulation discussion they come to understand that there were reasons behind the behavior they observed. With this realization their attitudes change from one of hostility to understanding. Through discussion this experience is then generalized to attitudes towards other groups in the real world.

Who is it for?

Anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, instructors of communication skills, minority studies, language, women's studies, as well as any training program, course or situation in which it is important for the participants to have an experiential understanding of the meaning of culture. For example, the game is used by the Peace Corps, the Civil Rights Commission, American Field Service, the Census Bureau, and many other government and business organizations.

What is the unique feature of Bafá Bafá?

Probably the most unique feature of BAFÁ BAFÁ is that the interest and involvement reaches a climax in the discussion after the simulation rather than during the simulation itself. It is during the discussion that the mysteries of each of the cultures are unraveled and the participants compare perceptions of one another's culture.

What does Bafá Bafá teach?

BAFÁ BAFÁ simulation is often used to introduce the notion of cultures then followed up with a discussion and analysis of specific cultures and the way they are formed.

Betans speak a "foreign" language made up of combination of vowels and consonants. It is easy to learn and use but difficult to understand if one doesn't know the rules governing its use. When Alphans hear the language, they often won't even believe that anything is being said, "It's gobbledy gook." Others feel intimidated by it and withdraw from the culture, creating an impossible communications barrier. Some are able to make themselves understood very easily with gestures, sign language and facial expressions. Each of these reactions creates excellent opportunities to discuss and analyze the communication process: the use of body language, feelings created by language, language snobbishness, and the attitudes one must have to learn a foreign language.

Many instructors use BAFÁ BAFÁ to help students understand how stereotypes of other groups and cultures get formed and perpetuated. "They're cold, greedy, all they do is work," are some of the words which Alphans use to describe the Betans. The Betans, on the other hand, come to believe that the Alphans are "lazy, unfriendly to outsiders, and don't like females."

As in life, these stereotypes become so strong and useful during the game that many students do not want to give them up. Unlike life, however, there is an opportunity during the analysis and discussion of the simulation to examine the stereotypes in a non-threatening and constructive manner. The fact that the students are not only the perpetrators of stereotyping but also the victims, makes it possible to confront the students with a mirror image of their own behavior. This mirror image allows them to see and understand the negative effect of stereotypes in a way that is not possible with lectures, films and readings.

By the end of the discussion on stereotyping the students can see the value of description over evaluation. The importance of asking, "In what ways are they different from us?" and "What ways are they the same?" rather than "What is good or bad about their way of life?"

What does Bafá Bafá teach?

After playing BAFÁ BAFÁ, participants report that they learned that:

1. What seems logical, sensible, important and reasonable to a person in one culture may seem irrational, stupid and unimportant to an outsider.
2. Feelings of apprehension, loneliness, lack of confidence are common when visiting another culture.
3. When people talk about other cultures, they tend to describe the differences and not the similarities.
4. Differences between cultures are generally seen as threatening and described in negative terms.
5. Personal observations and reports of

35.

ORDER FORM

Yes, I want to order:

	ACCESS	
___	Instructor's Manual	$ 5.00
	BAFA BAFA	
___	12-35 student kit	$[redacted]00
	CRISIS	
___	35 student kit	$[redacted].00
___	**GUNS OR BUTTER**	$[redacted].00
___	**HUMANUS**	$[redacted].50
	METROPOLITICS	
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	NAPOLI	
___	35 student kit	$[redacted].00
	PLEA BARGAINING	
___	18 student kit (1 courtroom)	$[redacted].50
___	35 student kit (2 courtrooms)	$[redacted].00
___	**RELOCATION**	$[redacted].00
	STARPOWER	
___	18-35 student kit	$[redacted].00
___	**TREBEDIES ISLAND**	$[redacted]50
___	**WHERE DO YOU DRAW THE LINE**	$[redacted]50
___	**Catalog**	$ 1.00

Price of catalog can be applied toward first purchase of $10.00 or more. Enclose coupon (see page 9).

☐ I wish to receive more information about the simulations for other age groups which I have circled. RAFA' RAFA', EXPLORERS I, IMPORT, NEW CITY TELEPHONE COMPANY, POLICE PATROL, ROARING CAMP, POWDERHORN, TALKING ROCKS.

☐ I wish to receive more information about the new simulations (see page 8) which I have circled, as information becomes available: THE PRIVACY GAME, THE READING GAME, SIMULATURE.

Unless otherwise specified, all games accommodate classroom size groups

☐ Payment enclosed $________

☐ Please bill me

☐ Review

Review policy:
I understand that if after reviewing the game, I find it will not serve my needs, that I can return it free of charge within 30 days so long as it is unused.

Ship to: ______________________________

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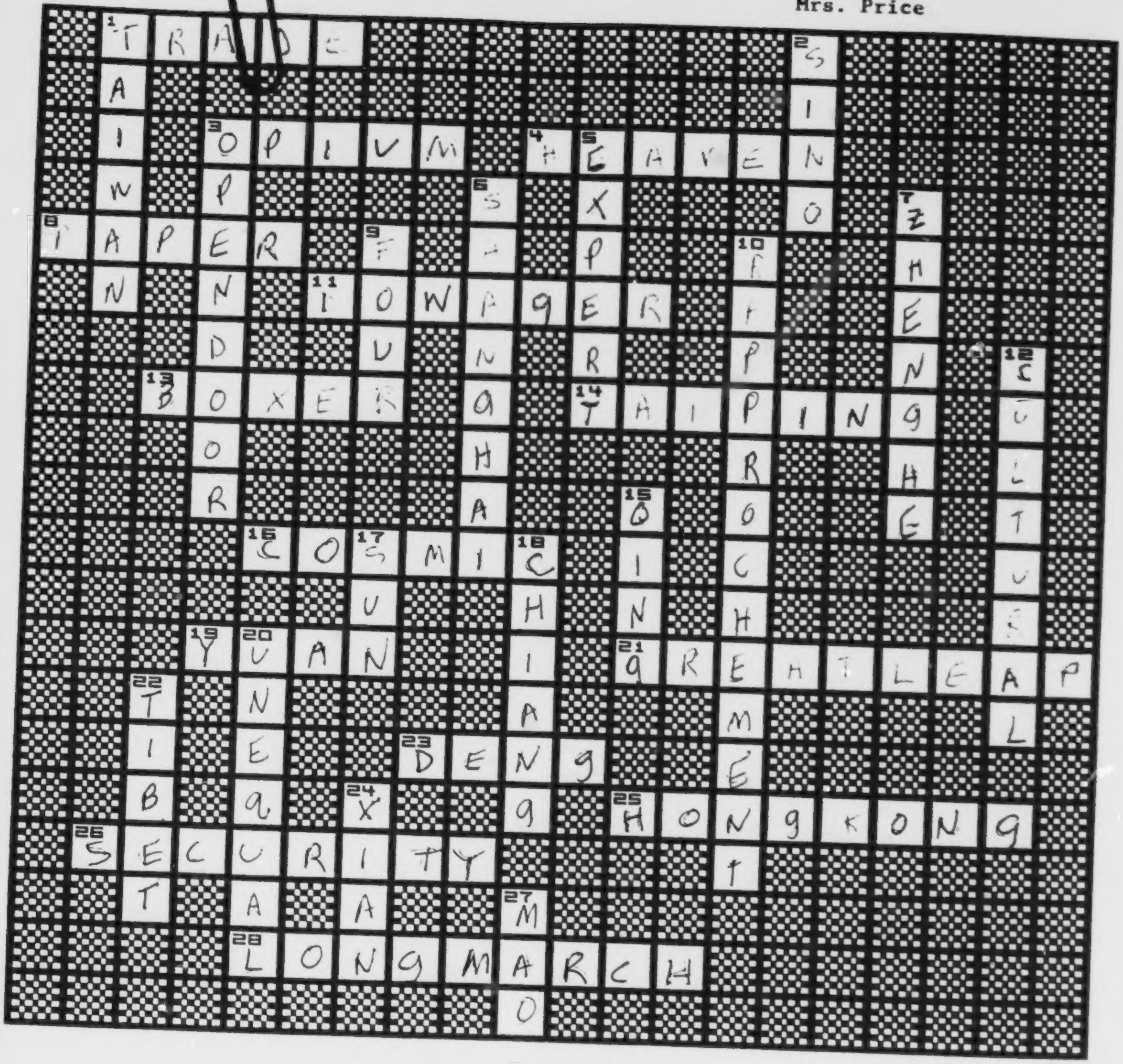
36.

national Studies
Mrs. Price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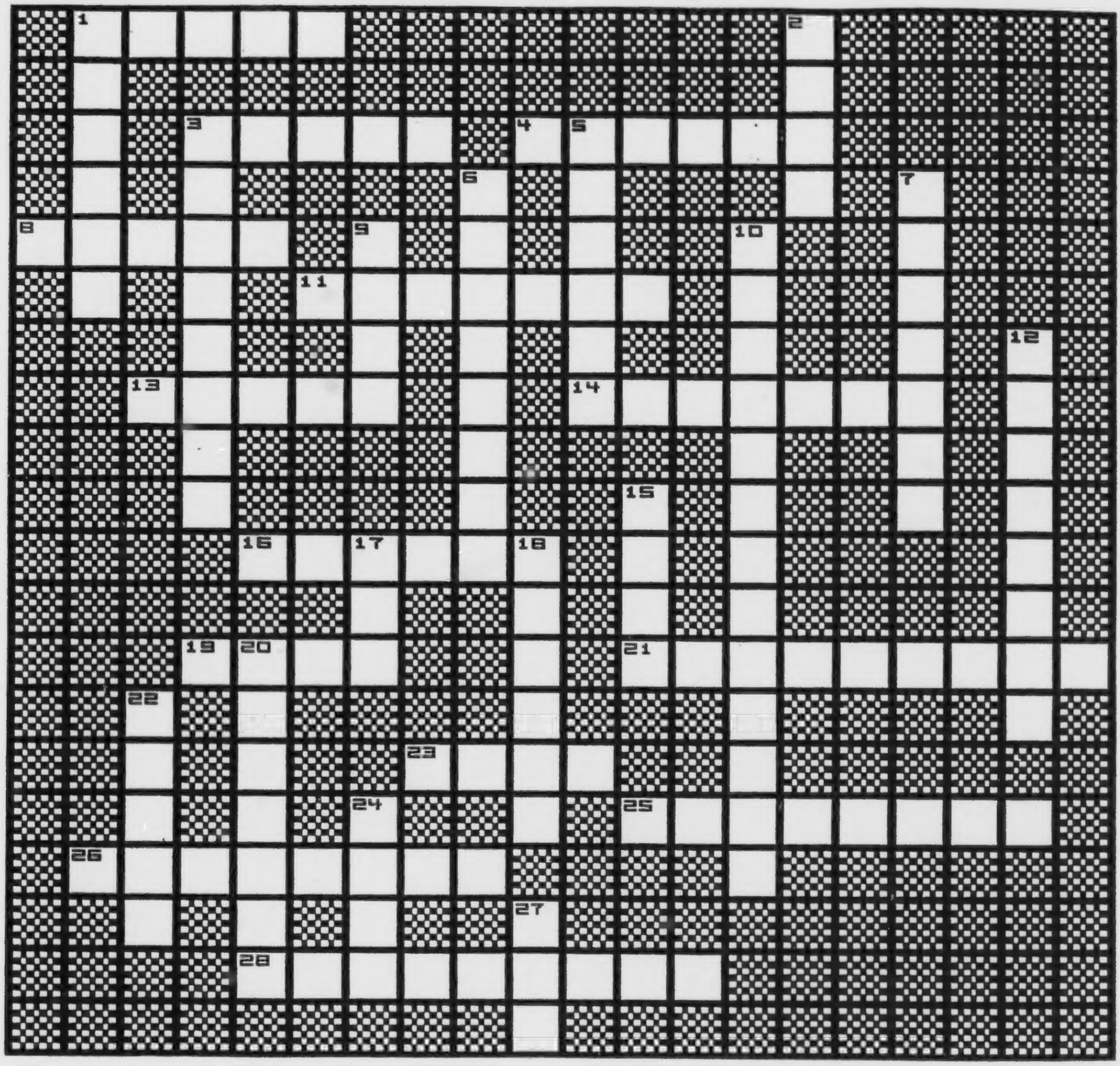
5 EXPERT
6 SHANGHAI
7 ZHENGHE
8 TAPER
9 FOUR
10 RAPPROCHEMENT
11 DOWAGER
12 CULTURAL
13 BOXER
14 TAIPING
15 QING
16 COSMIC
17 SUN
18 CHIANG
19 YUAN
20 UNEQUAL
21 GREATLEAP
22 TIBET
23 DENG
24 XIAN
25 HONGKONG
26 SECURITY
27 MAO
28 LONGMARCH

CONTEMPORARY CHINA

International Studies
Mrs. Price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1. In the 1930's England sought to restore the balance of _____ in their own favor.
3. Product introduce by England into China to accomplish the task of #1 across.
4. Early 1900's Nationalists questioned whether Qing monarch still held the mandate of ______
8. When China was easily defeated by Japan in 1895 China became viewed as a _____ tiger.
11. Last empress of Qing Dynasty, Tzu Hsi.
13. 1900 rebellion of Chinese people against exploitation of Western merchants: Expel foreigners.
14. 1853-1864 Rebellion demanding equal distribution of land, end footbinding, end Manchu demands
16. Type of city considered center of the universe centeredd around the north star such as Chang-an
19. Military leader of Nationalists to whom Sun yat-sen offered presidency after 1911.
21. 1958 Movement to end Soviet alliance and collectivize farms in China.
23. "It does not matter if the cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice."
25. Treaty Port to be released from British control in 1997 by Treaty of Nanjing.
26. Taiwan lost its seat on this powerful U.N. Council in 1972, in favor of P.R.C.
8. 1934 Communist movement after Purge of Nanjing, to gain support in countryside for Mao

DOWN CLUES

1. Chiang Kai-shek and Kuomintang fled to after October 1, 1949
2. July 7, 1937 began second ____/Japanese War at Marco Polo Bridge.
3. "Everybody could have access, but nobody could have control"
5. Slogan of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: Red and ______.
6. Communique signed by U.S. and China in 1972, after Ping Pong Diplomacy of Kissinger and Nixon
7. Admiral of the Jewel Ship Fleet, the "Columbus" of China.
9. Led by Jiang Qing to maintain Mao's strict party line after his death in 1976.
10. The masterpiece of Nixon's foreign policy - restoring diplomatic ties with China
12. Red Guard took Communist principles to countryside using Mao's "little red book".
15. Manchu Dynasty 1644 - 1911
17. George Washington of modern China, author of three people's principles.
18. Leader of April 12, 1927, Purge of Nanjing, and first President of Taiwan Nationalists, 1949.
20. "me-too ism"
22. Tribute State annexed by Ch'ien Lung Emperor (1736-1796)
24. Greatest city in the world, Ancient Chinese capital, destroyed by Genghiz Khan.
27. Founder and leader of Chinese Communist Party, architect of Hundred Flowers Campaign

39.

"*Guanxi*" Capitalism
Mary A. Price

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The U.S. and Human Rights in China: A Simulation

by Elisabeth Sperling
The Horace Mann School
231 West 246th St., Riverdale, NY 10471
Tel. (718) 548-4000

I. Topic/Rationale

This game ties together all the major themes in my Modern World History course: the relations between the Western, developed world and the majority, "developing" world; the increased interdependence of the global community; the progress of liberal, rights-based ideology and the obstacles to such progress; issues of nationalism, including national pride, national interest, and the right to national self-determination; and strategies for promoting international peace and stability in the long term. Since the students study events relating to these themes all year, this game can serve as a crowning activity at the end of the year.

II. Grade Level

This game is intended for my ninth grade classroom, but could be tailored for use in any high school classroom, grades nine through twelve.

III. Time Needed

This game is flexible. As described, it would probably take about seven days. If the teacher saw fit to have the students research their positions beyond the materials included, the activity could last two weeks or longer. Alternatively, the teacher could shorten the activity by narrowing its focus to just the U.N. debate (leaving out the MFN debate) for a four-day activity; or the teacher could focus on the issue of Tibet, for a one-day activity. Of course, the Tibet debate could expand into a long unit as well. Again, the game is flexible.

IV. Essential Question, Objectives

The essential question that students address in this simulation game is: "How should the United States approach China on the issue of human rights?"

Through this simulation game, students will explore two ways that the United States government has approached the issue of human rights in China: by condemning Chinese human rights abuses through the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and by threatening to revoke Most Favored Nation trading status.

Many issues surround the essential question. The following questions give only a partial sample of questions that the students may confront:

Are human rights culturally relative? Should all governments protect the same rights?

Do basic economic needs of the majority take precedence over political rights?

Is it fair for developed countries to hold developing countries to the human rights standards of developed countries?

Are human rights in China our responsibility?

Can the United Nations or the United States government have a significant effect on the way China treats its citizens?

Will economic development and economic engagement with free societies promote the advancement of rights and freedoms in China?

Would economic or political isolation of China hasten the advance of freedom there or lead to worse repression and perhaps a tragic global conflict?

Is the strategy of "constructive engagement" analogous the pre-WWII appeasement strategy?

When two speakers directly contradict each other, how should one decide whom to believe?

In the course of this activity, the students will practice many skills: reading comprehension, summary, discernment between strong evidence and weak evidence, presenting an argument orally, debating with an opposing viewpoint, constructing a personal point of view that takes each side into consideration, and presenting that point of view persuasively in writing.

V. Activities

A. Introduce the main issues of the game

The teacher might like to introduce the main issues of the game either in a short lecture or a discussion of a short reading that gives an overview, such as the chapter entitled "Taming the Dragon" in *China Wakes* or "Human Rights and the Rule of Law" and "China's Foreign Relations" in *Understanding China* (see references, below). However, since both of these readings argue in favor of a constructive engagement policy, the teacher might like to start the game without giving the students any common background, beyond defining the term "Most Favored Nation".

B. Assign a part to each student.

Twenty parts are included. Each part is labeled with a number and a heading that names the character that the student will represent. Many parts include more than one reading, so that the student will have extra background on the issues he or she will present. If there are more than twenty students, more parts can easily be added to the game, either by having students divide some of the longer character descriptions in two, or by creating new characters. The students or teacher can easily create new characters by consulting with the references (part VII, below). Here is a list of the twenty parts included, along with a phrase summarizing each character's position. In this cast of characters, numbers 1-10 participate in the United Nations debate; numbers 11-20 participate in the MFN debate.

1. Representative from the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues: describes massive and systematic human rights violations in China.
2. Xiao Qiang, of the Asia Culture Forum for Development: Chinese people want and need human rights.
3. Niels Helveg, Foreign Minister of Denmark: United Nations must condemn human rights abuses in China. Developing nations are being paid off; developed nations must not be intimidated.
4. Dr. Zhang Shuyun, a doctor who escaped from China: details human rights abuses in Shanghai orphanage.
5. Tibetan monk in exile: China violates human rights in Tibet.

6. Ambassador Wu Jianmin, head of the Chinese Delegation to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights: developed countries impose double standard regarding human rights.
7. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen: dialogue and confrontation are incompatible; China promotes human rights.
8. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Shen Guofang: public condemnations only harm U.S. - China relations.
9. Reporter from the Xinhua News Agency: reports about abuse in orphanages are false.
10. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Tang Guoquiang: China promotes human rights in Tibet.

11. Mr. Roth, Representative from Wisconsin: extend MFN because it's in the U.S. interest.
12. Diana Feinstein, Senator from California: Constructive Engagement.
13. Frank Shrontz, Chairman of the Boeing Co.: extend MFN permanently.
14. John Smith, Jr., Chief Executive and President of General Motors:

extend MFN permanently.

15. William Clinton, President of the United States: de-link MFN from human rights issues.

16. Dr. James Dobson, of "Focus on Family", a Christian Organization: cut off MFN, because China persecutes Christians and is a dangerous international bully, analogous to Hitler's Germany.
17. Mr. Cardin, Representative from Maryland: cut off MFN, because of Chinese use of slave labor.
18. Mr. Solomon, Representative from New York: cut off MFN--stand up to financial interests, stop putting profit before principle.
19. Frank R. Wolf, Representative from Virginia: cut off MFN because of multiple human rights abuses.
20. Nancy Pelosi, Representative from California: cut off MFN because trade does not alleviate human rights abuses and weapons proliferation.

For homework, the students

- read their individual packets carefully, marking the strong points to support their position in the debate.
- make notes of their five strongest points on five notecards, with an additional sentence explaining what makes those five arguments persuasive.
- make name tags for themselves and a signs to identify themselves during the panel discussion (I usually tape the signs to the front of the desks).

C. The students conference with their allies.

In class, students meet in four groups: the "Condemn China" group (characters 1-5), the "Defend China" group (characters 6-10), the "Extend MFN" group (characters 11-15), and the "Cut off MFN" group (characters 16-20). In their groups, the characters share their top five points and advise each other in narrowing their arguments down to their top three points, according to the persuasiveness of the arguments and the complementarity with other arguments to be made by the group.

D. The students debate.

In the first debate, characters 1-10 testify before the U.N. Human Rights Commission, each presenting three points for or against the resolution condemning China. I suggest a format that alternates sides: the parts are well-matched for such a format. The remaining students--who will later play characters 11-20--at present represent the members of the Commission. They must listen to the panelists' presentations and take notes. A rebuttal and question-and-answer period follows; questions may be posed by the members of the Commission or by panelists to each other. Finally, the commission votes. Members of the commission may be called upon to give a brief explanation for why they voted as they did.

In the second debate, the members of the Commission take on their roles as characters 11-20, and take their places on the panels to testify before the U.S. Congress. The students who testified before the U.N. commission now take seats in the audience to play the roles of members of the U.S. Congress. In a mirror image of the first debate, they listen, ask follow-up questions, and then vote.

E. The students write essays expressing their own positions.

After the class debates, each student writes a short essay that defends a combined U.N./MFN strategy towards China. The essay must present at least three supporting arguments and refute at least two opposing arguments.

Alternatively, students can keep journals to record how their thinking evolved each day of the game, from learning their own positions, bolstering their view by speaking with their allies, and then hearing the opposing viewpoints. For each day, they could record the most impressive arguments they heard, an explanation of why they found these arguments to be powerful, questions that were raised in their minds or in the panel discussion, how they pursued answers to those questions, how these questions reverberated with issues we have discussed earlier in the year, whether those questions were answered satisfactorily, whether the answers changed the students' judgments on the essential questions, and why or why not.

F. Debriefing discussion.

With their thoughts already hammered out in the debating and writing process, the students, no longer playing a role, discuss their final opinions and the process by which they formed them. They may comment on how the simulation game worked as a learning experience: what parts were difficult, what parts were enlightening, how they grew as learners and how their vision of the world changed.

VI. Assessment

Students should be evaluated on their presentations as well as their written work. They should be presented with the evaluation criteria at the start of the the game.

Criteria may include the following:

In the panel discussions:

- showed accurate understanding of the reading
- chose strong arguments
- presented arguments clearly
- cited specific evidence
- responded to questions with additional evidence
- posed challenging and relevant questions to other panelists

In the formal essay:

- opens with interest-grabbing introduction
- proposes clear thesis
- presents organized argument
  - each paragraph has a clear topic sentence
  - arguments are clearly tied to thesis
  - logical transitions bridge from one argument to the next
- answers each part of the question
- presents powerful evidence
- successfully refutes substantial opposing arguments
- ends with powerful conclusion: summarizes and gives the greater significance of the argument
- uses clear and correct sentences (grammar and spelling, appropriate word choice)

In the journal essays:

- shows close attention to the panel discussions
- shows open mindedness in considering the issues
- persistently pursues a train of thought or trains of thought
- struggles with the toughest dilemmas
- connects this issue with similar issues we have considered or other situations that the student has experienced

VII. References/Materials

The web site of the Chinese Consulate in New York:
http://www.nyconsulate.prchina.org/
This web site gives a wealth of information about China and the official Chinese government point of view.

Human Rights Watch/Asia, *China: Chinese Diplomacy, Western Hypocrisy,*

and the U. N. Human Rights Commission. New York: March, 1997. This report tells the story of how this issue played out in 1997, and gives details about the Chinese efforts to win allies on the Commission. It can be ordered for four dollars by calling (212) 290-4700, along with thirty -three other reports on China, at prices ranging from three dollars to fifteen dollars.

Kristof, Nicholas and Sheryl Wudunn. *China Wakes.* New York: Vintage Books, 1995. Two *New York Times* correspondents chronicle their experiences from 1989 to 1984 in China. They start from a strong human rights perspective and a gripping description of the Tiananmen Square massacre, but move to an appreciation for the advances that China makes during those five years and a more complex view.

Starr, Bryan David. *Understanding China: a Guide to China's Economy, History , and Political Structure.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1997. A succinct, easy-to-read introduction to China today.

1. Representative from the International Federation of Human Rights League

UNITED
NATIONS

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Economic and Social
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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Fifty-third session
Item 10 of the provisional agenda

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

Written statement submitted by the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues, a non-governmental organization in special consultative status

The Secretary-General has received the following written statement which is circulated in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV).

[28 February 1997]

GE.97-10888 (E)

1. The International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH) and its partner organization Human Rights In China (HRIC) are extremely concerned about the ongoing massive and systematic violations of human rights in the People's Republic of China. Despite the encouraging signal sent by some changes made to the Criminal Procedure Law, in practical terms there was no improvement in the human rights situation in 1996. The economic liberalization and reform have not translated into an institutional and political reform. Those who in China peacefully call for these reforms and seek to achieve real social stability based on democratic dialogue, respect for human rights and the accountability of the Government are the most visible, and therefore the most exposed, in the Chinese society. The treatment of the dissident community is a barometer for the authorities' attitudes towards human rights for the Chinese people as a whole, and reveals that guarantees for basic rights in Chinese society are virtually non-existent.

2. In spite of constitutional guarantees, the rights to freedom of opinion and expression are routinely restricted. In the last few years several journalists, including Gao Yu, have been sentenced to prison terms for "leaking State secrets". For reporting policy decisions that had already been mentioned in the Hong Kong press, Gao Yu received a six-year sentence. The Law on the Preservation of State Secrets confers the authority to classify information very broadly, without defining what is considered "harmful to the security of the State". This law is used to repress individuals who do not have access to State secrets but who are involved in the democracy and human rights movement, such as Li Hai, sentenced to nine years' imprisonment in 1996 for collecting information about prisoners. Furthermore, individuals who petition the Government are systematically harassed or detained. Liu Xiaobo was sentenced to re-education through labour after issuing an open letter asking the Government to respect religious freedom, freedom of speech and the press and the right to form political parties. Also sent to re-education through labour in 1996 were Fu Guoyong, Chen Longde and Wang Donghai, who together wrote a petition demanding the reassessment of the 1989 democracy movement. The treatment of such activists is an indication of the ability of people throughout the country to speak about the violations of human rights and the social problems engendered by the rapid economic changes. FIDH and HRIC are also extremely concerned about the Chinese authorities' announced intentions to repeal or amend laws to come into force after July 1997 in the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region with the effect of restricting the freedoms of association and assembly and reducing protection for human rights.

3. Although the revised Criminal Procedure Law contains some encouraging measures, regarding such matters as the right to counsel, a number of reforms long pursued by Chinese legal scholars themselves have yet to be enacted. They concern chiefly a clearer definition of presumption of innocence, the procurement and use of evidence and the right to appeal. The trials of prominent dissidents in 1996 offer a clear illustration of political manipulation of judicial procedures. Former student leader Wang Dan was sentenced to 11 years after a three-hour-long trial closed to the public at which judges totally ignored defence arguments and repeated requests from him and his lawyers for additional testimony to be presented. He was found guilty of "conspiring to subvert the Government" when all he did was write articles

advocating for democracy and human rights. FIDH and HRIC firmly believe that Wang Dan's trial was unfair, did not give him the opportunity to have his case considered impartially, and that the verdict had been decided in advance. Li Hai was tried behind closed doors in May 1996 after one year in incommunicado detention in a secret location. The verdict was announced seven months after the trial. Li Hai was sentenced to nine years in prison for "prying into and collecting State secrets", namely "information about people sentenced for criminal activities during the June fourth 1989 period" which he had obtained mainly through visiting prisoners' families.

4. Denial of the right to a fair trial is particularly obvious in re-education through labour, which was judged "inherently arbitrary" by the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention in 1993. Since then, however, this form of administrative detention is still being widely used. Ordered by commissions under the authority of the police, re-education through labour is imposed for one to three years (extendable to four years in case of escape attempts or bad behaviour) on those who commit minor offences "not warranting prosecution" and, extensively, on dissidents. People sent to re-education through labour are denied the right to counsel and to fair trial. Although they have a legal right to appeal their administrative sentences, few of them do and in most cases, so far, the courts uphold the sentences. Labour and human rights activist Liu Nianchun, who was sentenced to three years of re-education through labour in July 1996, had his appeal hearing last September. However, he was not notified of the court's decision to reject his until December 1996. In addition to those sentenced to re-education through labour, inmates in all detention facilities are systematically requested to perform forced labour, often from 11 to 16 hours a day.

5. FIDH is deeply concerned about the lack of medical treatment in detention facilities and the authorities' refusal to give inmates and their relatives access to their medical files. This, according to the Special Rapporteur on torture, constitutes a form of torture or cruel and degrading treatment. Nobel Peace Prize nominee Wei Jingsheng, who was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment in December 1995, suffers from angina pectoris, myocardial infarction and high blood pressure, for which he is not receiving proper treatment. A former secretary of ousted Communist Party Chief Zhao Ziyang, Bao Tong, was placed under house arrest immediately after his release from seven years in prison. He and his family have been denied access to his medical files, and he has not been able to see a doctor since he left prison. He suffers from various ailments including a colon condition which may be cancerous and tumors in his thyroid gland. The condition of prisoners of conscience held in mental hospitals, such as Wang Wanxing, is a source of major concern for FIDH and HRIC.

6. Although China ratified the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in 1988, it still has not enacted legal provisions defining the crime of torture. According to official statistics, hundreds of complaints of torture are lodged each year. Inmates in detention centres report that in many places the use of torture is systematic. Inmates are often beaten by cellmates with the connivance of the guards. Unable to withstand the torture and bad conditions in his re-education centre, Chen Longde jumped out of a window, severely injuring

himself. One police officer admitted to Chen's father that he and a group of police officers had beaten Chen Longde with electric batons and clubs, also encouraging other inmates to do the same.

7. Freedom of movement is restricted, as in the case of Wei Jingsheng's former assistant, Tong Yi, who had her passport application turned down by the police, thus preventing her from leaving China. Conversely, blacklists of Chinese nationals living in exile and involved in the human rights movement are maintained, and these people are generally denied entry into China. In 1996 Hong Kong activists and politicians were prevented from travelling to China to present their views on developments in the territory. Inside China, human rights and democracy activists are systematically prevented from travelling freely. In periods such as around the anniversary of the June Fourth Massacre or during visits of foreign dignitaries, they are forbidden from leaving their places of residence or sent on enforced trips. For example, Chu Hailan, wife of Liu Nianchun, was forcibly sent from Beijing to the northern Heilongjiang province, where her husband is detained, to prevent her from having any contact with the visiting United States Secretary of State.

8. Freedom of religion and peaceful religious activities were further restricted by 1994 Government regulations. In 1996 hundreds of unregistered temples and "house churches" were closed or destroyed. In Tibet, the Government's ban on private possession and display of the image of the Dalai Lama has stirred strong resistance. Monks who refuse to denounce the Dalai Lama face expulsion from their monasteries. In many instances, religious activists are detained, such as Bishop Zeng Jingmu, 76, and Christian activist Xiao Biguang, both of whom were sentenced to three years of re-education through labour in 1996. Zeng has already spent 23 years in detention. FIDH and HRIC were also surprised to learn that although China invited the Special Rapporteur on religious intolerance in 1994, Tibetan monk Yulo Dawa Tsering has been under house arrest since his meeting with the Rapporteur.

9. Although the majority of the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are guaranteed by the Chinese Constitution, there is a wide and documented gap between domestic laws and their implementation, leading to massive and systematic violations of human rights. In this period of political transition, FIDH and HRIC call on the Government of the People's Republic of China to declare a general amnesty for all prisoners of conscience. FIDH and HRIC further recommend that the members of the Commission enact a resolution on the human rights situation in China which addresses the above concerns and requests that the United Nations Secretary General submit a report on the human rights situation in China to the next session of the Commission on Human Rights.

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2. Xiao Qiang, of the Asia Culture Forum for Development

UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

53rd Session

Statement by : *Xiao Qiang*

The Asia Culture Forum for Development

Under : Item 10 of the agenda

April 8th, 1997

Mr. Chairman,

I am a representative of the Asia Culture Forum for Development. It is a privilege to have an opportunity to speak to you today.

This is the 7th time that a resolution on China's human rights record has been tabled at this Commission. To show why the problem of China's human rights continues to be relevant to the Commission, I wish to make following two points.

Mr. Chairman,

My first point is that the Chinese people WANT human rights, they deserve human rights, and they demand human rights. Yet we do not hear their voices because they have been totally suppressed by the Chinese authorities.

China's human rights violations are well-documented and widely known. So I need take only one example. According to the Chinese government's own statistics, there are over 2000 "counter-revolutionaries" imprisoned in China. We have good reason to believe that this figure grossly under-represents the true number of people imprisoned for the peaceful expression of their political ideas or religious beliefs. For example, in over 200 recent well-documented cases of political detentions, the charge was not "counter-revolution" but such criminal charges as hooliganism, disturbing social order, and economic crime. These cases therefore do not appear in the government's statistics. Also, the government routinely uses the non-judicial method of administrative detention, called "re-education through labor". This allows them to send human rights activists to labor camps, without trial, for up to three years. These prisoners also do not appear in the statistics.

Mr. Chairman,

The number of political prisoners in China is only an indicator of the suppression of the entire Chinese people; silencing them silences the whole population.

My second point is that China NEEDS human rights. Human rights are not a luxury for the Chinese people, nor should the Chinese leadership be afraid of human rights. Quite the contrary. Human rights are a necessity for China, for without them, the future stability of China is in jeopardy.

The transition currently being undergone in China - fast economic and social change - will be more difficult and violent unless fundamental political and civil liberties are available to Chinese people, so that they can participate in decisions that affect their lives. The current Chinese leadership has no vision and no agenda for political reform. But unless economic freedom is accompanied by political reform, continued stability and prosperity cannot be guaranteed.

For example, there are already serious problems of unemployment, migrant labor, appalling conditions in factories, and corruption RIFE in the commercial and administrative system. Without a peaceful means for people to address these issues, these problems will threaten a crisis and undermine China's economic development.

Mr. Chairman,

I conclude by saying that a China which respects human rights will have a stable and prosperous future, and a stable and prosperous China will be a responsible and valuable member of the international community. Tabling a resolution to highlight human rights problems in China, both helps the Chinese people and facilitates the transformation of China into a humane, free society, which can THEN take its place as one of the truly great nations of the world. That is why the Commission needs to continue directing its attention to the persistent, systematic, institutional violations of human rights in China.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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eration of World Bank and Asian Development Bank projects in Cambodia. The Senate passed a similar resolution in September, focused on the projected elections and the need for continued U.N. human rights monitoring. It also sharply criticized King Sihanouk for giving Ieng Sary an amnesty that might allow him to form a political party and participate in the elections.

The U.S. Senate held up consideration of a bill granting Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status to Cambodia for several months, mainly due to concerns about human rights. Unconditional MFN was finally signed into law by President Clinton on September 25.

CHINA AND TIBET

Human Rights Developments

The Chinese government stepped up its efforts to prevent socioeconomic change from disrupting the political system by tightening controls on freedom of expression and continuing to persecute political and religious dissidents. Business people also faced arbitrary detention and unfair trials. The government intensified repression in Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia, made ominous moves in Hong Kong, and responded to criticism of its treatment of orphans by tightening controls on access to the state orphanage system. In a positive development, legal reforms passed by the National People's Congress in March seemed to herald some modest progress toward due process for criminal suspects. At the same time, international willingness to confront China on human rights issues reached a new low.

A fresh wave of arrests and sentences of the few remaining pro-democracy and human rights activists not already in prison or exile left the dissident movement effectively crushed. On October 30, 1996, Chinese authorities sentenced Wang Dan, the principal student leader of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, to eleven years in prison on charges of conspiring to subvert the Chinese government. He was accused of "colluding" with other dissidents, including Wei Jingsheng, to form discussion groups and appeal for the rule of law, criticizing the government in articles published abroad, accepting a scholarship at the University of California for self-study in Beijing, forming a mutual aid group with other dissidents, and accepting financial help from abroad. No foreign press or observers were permitted inside the courtroom.

Ten months earlier, in December 1995, the country's most prominent dissident, Wei Jingsheng, was finally brought to trial after more than eighteen months in incommunicado detention and sentenced to an additional fourteen years in prison on the political charge of "counterrevolution." In January 1996, he was sent to Jile Prison in Hebei, and in July, news surfaced that hardened criminals had been moved into his cell to provide round-the-clock surveillance. Denied fresh air and exercise, Wei was also refused proper medical treatment for a range of ailments contracted during his previous imprisonment.

A second Tiananmen Square leader, Guo Haifeng, reportedly was sentenced in September to seven years in prison for "hooliganism" for helping a third dissident escape to the United States. He served a previous four-year term. Liu Xiaobo, a literary critic who helped negotiate the withdrawal of students from Tiananmen Square on June 3-4, 1989, was seized on October 7, 1996 and administratively sentenced the next day to three years in a reeducation through labor camp. On September 30, he and dissident Wang Xizhe issued a statement calling for the impeachment of President Jiang Zemin and for meetings with the Dalai Lama over the issue of Tibet's autonomy. Wang, fearing imminent arrest, immediately fled China. The government not only accused him of illegally crossing the Chinese border, but threatened to punish all who assisted in the escape.

Veteran labor rights activist Liu Nianchun was "disappeared" in May 1995 for over a year only to resurface on July 4 when he received a three-year sentence of reeducation through labor over and above time in detention. Liu was sent to a remote prison camp in northeast China.

Other 1989 activists remained in limbo. Li Hai, a graduate philosophy student who spent a year in prison after June 1989, co-sponsored the 1993 "Peace Charter," then was arrested again in May 1995, was tried *in camera* on May 21, 1996 on charges of "leaking state secrets." As of November, he had not been sentenced. In September, Zhang Zongai, a former elected member of the Xi'an People's Congress who had spent five years in jail for denouncing the government crackdown on the 1989 pro-democracy movement, was tried on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" for having written letters seeking guidance from the Taiwan news media on how to bring democracy to China; secondary charges against Zhang included communicating his political views by letter to a friend in the U.S. and conducting an interview with Wang Dan prior to the latter's renewed detention.

Xiao Biguang, a Beijing academic involved in the unofficial labor and church movements, was in detention for over two years before being given the maximum three-year administrative labor reeducation term in 1996. Among others who received administrative sentences during the year were Yao Zhenxiang, a long-time financier of Shanghai's dissident movement who fled to France in 1994 but was arrested soon after voluntarily returning to China in early 1996 having obtained official pledges for his safety; Tan Zihua, a Shanghai resident active during the Democracy Wall period (1979-81); and Chen Longde, a leading human rights activist from Hangzhou who had signed an open letter to the government in May calling for reevaluation of the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

Several political prisoners "freed" after serving their sentences in full were subjected to a variety of post-release restrictions and harassment. Chen Ziming, originally sentenced in 1991 to a thirteen-year term as a "black hand" of the 1989 pro-democracy movement, was released onmedical parole for the second time on October 6, 1996. Parole conditions are stringent. Chen cannot step outside his door, use a telephone, meet with anyone except family members, or publish. Access to medical treatment for his testicular cancer, heart problems and high blood pressure must be negotiated through security officers. Chen's first parole came in May 1994, but was revoked on June 25, 1995, after he took part in a petition drive which asked that China tolerate peaceful political dissent.

Bao Tong, the most senior government official imprisoned after the Tiananmen Square crackdown, was released in May after serving his entire seven-year sentence, but instead of being allowed to return home, he was immediately transferred to the custody of a high-security government compound in the western suburbs of Beijing, where he continued to be held as of October, denied all access to the outside world apart from limited visits by members of his immediate family. His health continued to be a major concern, but access to medical care was restricted.

Torture of China's detainees and prisoners continued, as exemplified by Chen Longde's case. In 1996, one month after his conviction without trial, Chen leapt from a two-story prison walkway in an attempt to avoid repeated beatings and electric shocks from a senior prison official as punishment for his refusal to write a statement of guilt and self-criticism.

Police seized Wang Hui, wife of jailed labor activist Zhou Guoqiang, on May 15 and held her for more than a month. As a result of her treatment, including deliberate withholding of liquids, she tried to commit suicide by hanging. After the police cut her down, she was punished with a severe beating. No reason for Wang Hui's detention was ever given, but she had been active in pressing her husband's suit against the government. On September 22 she was detained again for unknown reasons.

Medical treatment continued to be denied to political and religious prisoners. Chen Ziming, for example, sentenced in 1991 to a thirteen-year term as a "black hand" of the 1989 pro-democracy movement, was believed to be extremely ill with testicular cancer. The Chinese government rejected quiet diplomatic interventions by foreign governments on his behalf.

Business executives and others involved in trade and finance were also at risk in 1996. Hong Yang, an official of the People's Bank of China who had been assigned to work at the Washington D.C. headquarters of the International Monetary Fund, was lured back to China as part of an IMF delegation in December 1995, tried in June for alleged corruption, and sentenced to eleven years, then retried after enormous pressure from the IMF and given a reduced sentence of five years—proving that sustained pressure in individual cases can be effective.

Xiu Yichun, a senior Chinese manager for Shell, and one of her counterparts at the China National Offshore Oil Corporation were detained in early February on charges of obtaining state secrets related to the financing and environmental aspects of Royal Dutch Shell's plans to build an oil refinery in Huizhou, east of Hong Kong. CNOOC was to be Shell's joint venture partner, and the arrests came shortly before Chinese Premier Li Peng was to visit the Netherlands to discuss the project. As of late March, neither family members nor colleagues had been allowed access to Xiu Yichun; as of August, Shell officials had not been able to obtain any additional information. Motivation for the arrests was unclear but may have reflected official concern that Chinese nationals working for foreign firms would use knowledge of local business practices to violate the law.

All labor rights activism outside the confines of the official All-China Federation of Trade Unions remained a major focus of government repression. A 1996 circular cautioned cadres against illegal unions and "anti-government and "anti-socialist" tendencies lurking in state-owned enterprises. Police statistics showed that more than 12,000 strikes, rallies and other forms of industrial action took place nationwide during 1995. In January 1996 Zheng Shaoqing and Chen Rongyan each received two-year labor re-education sentences for organizing a half-day taxi strike in the southern city of Zhuhai early in the month; six others received one-and-a-half year terms, and the licenses of all those who took part were confiscated. The fate of most unofficial labor organizers in China generally remains unknown.

Government moves to restrict freedom of expression and access to information also took place, notably in the form of sweeping new regulations curtailing public access to the Internet, controls on foreign economic news services operating in China, and an insistence by Chinese leaders that the domestic press should report only "good news," avoid disclosing details of the widespread social unrest, and reflect the position of the government and the Communist Party.

The Internet controls, inaugurated by a draft set of rules issued by the State Council in January, required existing computer networks linked to the Internet to "liquidate" and "re-register" with the authorities and to use only those international linkage services provided by specified government departments. All subscribers were ordered to provide a written guarantee that they would not use the Internet for purposes "harmful to the state." This goal was further realized in September, when the government deployed sophisticated technology to block subscriber access to as many as one hundred English and Chinese sites on the World Wide Web, including the *Washington Post*, *Economist*, *Wall Street Journal*, CNN, and *Time* magazine; the Voice of America's Chinese service and, Hong Kong's Democratic Party; a home page of the Tibetan government-in-exile; and overseas dissident sites.

Chinese student efforts to use the Internet for mass mobilization resulted in a government ban in June and July on public protests against the erection by Japanese ultra-right groups of a lighthouse on the disputed Diaoyu Islands, sovereignty over which is claimed by both China and Japan.

In its response to common crime, the

government was indiscriminate. A massive, nationwide offensive on crime known as the "Strike Hard" campaign, the largest since the first such campaign in 1983, was launched in April. In the first six months of the campaign, hundreds of thousands of suspected criminals were arrested, tens of thousands sentenced, and at least 1,500 executed. In one reported case, in Shenzhen in September, the condemned person was executed in full view of several hundred onlookers, despite a long-standing law banning public executions. With its stress on "rapid arrests and rapid sentencing" (summary judicial procedures and government-set targets for the desired number of arrests by public security officials), the anti-crime campaign implied a high incidence of forced confessions, false convictions and wrongful executions. For the first time since 1983, the government extended the campaign to political, religious and ethnic "splittists and separatists." In September, despite officially published evidence that the draconian policy had failed to curb a steadily rising crime rate, the government announced that "Strike Hard" would henceforth be a permanent feature of China's law enforcement scene.

In the Tibetan Autonomous Region and Tibetan areas of Qinghai, Yunnan, Gansu, and Sichuan, the effects of a July 1994 policy conference on Tibet combined with the "Strike Hard" campaign produced more arrests of suspected independence supporters, a stepped-up campaign to discredit the Dalai Lama as a religious leader, crackdowns in rural areas as well as towns, a major push for ridding monasteries and nunneries of nationalist sympathizers, and the closure of those that were politically active. Monks who refused to sign pledges denouncing the Dalai Lama or to accept a five-point declaration of opposition to the pro-independence movement, faced expulsion from their monasteries.

In May, a ban on the possession and display of Dalai Lama photographs led to a bloody confrontation at Ganden and to searches of hotels, restaurants, shops, and some private homes. Over ninety monks were arrested, fifty-three remained in detention as of October despite Chinese official reports that none of the sixty-one arrested were still being held. At least one person and perhaps two others are known to have died in the melee.

Chinese authorities acknowledged that they are holding Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the child recognized by the Dalai Lama but rejected by Chinese authorities as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, "under the protection of the government at the request of his parents." Chadrel Rinpoche, the abbot in charge of the original search team, officially labeled a criminal and a "scum of Buddhism," has been missing along with his assistant, Champa Chungla, since November 4, 1995.

Security forces in Tibet used forms of torture which leave no marks against those suspected of major pro-independence activism. These activists were subject to recurrent "disappearance" during which they were subjected to extremes of temperature, deprivation of food and water, applications of electricity, and forcibly injected drugs. Those caught torturing often escaped with mild censure. A court in Shigatse in Tibet gave a county police chief a suspended jail sentence after convicting him of torturing a suspect. He reportedly told the woman, who spent sixty-five days in the hospital as a result of her injuries, "I am the government policy here. It's no use reporting this to anyone."

The Chinese government also tightened controls in two other autonomous regions, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang. In December 1995, at least ten intellectuals who had formed a group called the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance were arrested, and police broke up peaceful protest demonstrations in support of the alliance. In June the region's Communist Party secretary called for an attack on "splittist" forces which, he said, were trying with Western backing to destroy China's unity. In Xinjiang, the nationwide anti-crime campaign was extended to include a wholesale police and army roundup of alleged Uighur separatists, some of whom were later executed. Underground religious groups were targeted for closure, and all publishing units were forbidden to publish products whose "contents violate party or government policies. . . ." Access to Xinjiang was denied to foreign journalists.

Unofficial Christian and Catholic communities were targeted by the government during 1996. A renewed campaign aimed at forcing all churches to register or face dissolution, resulted in beating and harassment of congregants, closure of churches, and numerous arrests, fines, and sentences. In Shanghai, for example, more than 300 house churches or meeting points were closed down by the security authorities in April alone.

From January through May, teams of officials fanned out through northern Hebei, a Catholic stronghold, to register churches and clergy and to prevent attendance at a major Marian shrine. Public security officers arrested clergy and lay Catholics alike, forced others to remain in their villages, avoid foreigners, refrain from preaching, and report to the police anywhere from one to eight times daily. In some villages, officials confiscated all religious medals. In others, churches and prayer houses were torn down or converted to lay use.

Government statements and policies toward Hong Kong did not bode well for civil liberties after the transition to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, 1997. Its decision to prevent elected members of the Legislative Council from serving their full terms and instead to install an appointed "provisional legislature" to rule the territory for the initial year was one disturbing development. In June, China's top official on Hong Kong affairs said that demonstrations in Hong Kong advocating the overthrow of Chinese rule or independence from China would be banned after July 1997. He had earlier indicated that the Hong Kong press would be subject to vaguely defined but potentially sweeping restrictions including bans on any articles relating to Taiwan or Tibetan independence.

The Chinese government reacted to in- [illegible] problems in the orphanages, exposed in a report by Human Rights Watch in January, by closing off access to many of the institutions to anyone not directly employed there, foreign or Chinese. It also responded to evidence of abuse of children in the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute by detaining and harassing Chinese citizens involved in earlier attempts to investigate the problem.

The one area in which significant advances in human rights protection were made by the government during 1996 was that of legal reform, with the passage in March of a revised criminal procedure law and an administrative punishment law. The former law, among other things, provided for improved access by detained criminal suspects to legal counsel and made progress toward acknowledging the presumption of innocence. The latter, in theory, restricted police authority to sentence suspects without trial to long periods of administrative detention or to hold suspects in "investigative detention" without recourse to any judicial process. Other legislative revisions, however, increased by a month the maximum time-limit a detainee could be held without being formally arrested.

The Right to Monitor

While some legal aid clinics were operating at universities that allowed *de facto* monitoring of and action in support of human rights, no organizations that identified themselves as human rights organizations per se were permitted to function. Legal scholars could and did address problems in the criminal justice system, but anyone who spoke out on behalf of political prisoners or gave information on human right abuses to outsiders, including foreign journalists, risked arrest.

The Role of the International Community

The Chinese government's continued linkage between trade and human rights—threatening to restrict trade or foreign investment in retaliation for human rights criticism—paid major dividends in 1996. Human rights fell nearly to the bottom of the international agenda as Beijing defeated a half-hearted effort led by the European Union (EU) and the U.S. to pass a resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission. China's leaders traveled to various European capitals, and to Bangkok for the first E.U.-Asia summit, encountering little serious human rights criticism. And the Group of Seven (G-7) industrialized countries, at their annual summit in June, disregarded an opportunity to develop a long-term multilateral strategy to promote human rights in China.

The most damaging setback came at the U.N. Human Rights Commission session in Geneva in April, where a resolution criticizing human rights violations in China never even came to a vote. The resolution had been sponsored by the U.S. and the European Union, but the Clinton administration, concerned that it could not gather enough votes to win, was reluctant to lobby governments at the highest levels. Several countries of the EU were more concerned with increasing trade with China than with taking a strong stand in Geneva. The actions of the resolution's sponsors, even with a last-minute lobbying effort by the U.S., ended up being too little, too late, especially given the massive lobbying effort by China. By a vote in the commission on April 23 of twenty-seven to twenty, with six abstaining, China succeeded in pushing through a "no action" motion. A debate or vote on the resolution itself never took place.

No progress whatsoever was made on access by humanitarian organizations to Chinese prisons and detention facilities, but the head of the U.N. Working Group on Arbitrary Detention did visit China in July and at the end of the year was trying to negotiate terms of reference for a more in-depth trip to China by the working group in 1997.

UNICEF, after initially saying it would begin a pilot project to help upgrade staff training in some orphanages, by June expressed disappointment at Beijing's "excruciatingly slow" reforms. Not only was UNICEF denied access to some of the institutions it sought to visit but the U.N. Committee on the Rights of Child, at its meeting in Geneva in June, complained about China's reluctance to provide infant mortality data.

China submitted reports during the year on its compliance with two international human rights treaties, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

European Union

The year began with massive international publicity on the mistreatment of Chinese orphans, sparking a swift response from western governments and international agencies. The European Parliament passed a strong resolution condemning abuses in Chinese orphanages, calling on Beijing to open all child welfare institutions to foreign observers, including UNICEF, and urging the EU to raise the issue during its E.U./China Human Rights Dialogue in Beijing in later January, which it did. In addition, Chinese authorities responded to western criticism by taking first journalists, then diplomats on a guided tour of an orphanage in Shanghai. The U.S. State Department also publicly expressed concern about treatment of orphans and withstood a barrage of criticism from adoption agencies and some families of adopted children, concerned that criticism would lead to a decline in foreign adoption (as it turned out, adoptions increased substantially as a result of the publicity).

In January, the General Affairs Council of the EU adopted a long-term policy for relations between the EU and China, stressing economic engagement and a desire to bring China into the World Trade Organization, while addressing human rights and promotion of the rule of law through its political dialogue with Beijing. The European Parliament was due to draft its own response to the new China policy outlined by the European Commission at the end of 1995 and the European Council in 1996.

These developments set the stage for the E.U.-Asia summit on March 1 and 2 in Bangkok, where Chinese Premier Li Peng met with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Jacques Chirac, aiming to derail a resolution on China and Tibet at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. With a US$2.1 billion Airbus sale in the works, and Li Peng set to visit Paris in April to finalize the deal, France was anxious to appease Beijing by backing off from an agreement with the U.S. to cosponsor the Geneva resolution. Germany, meanwhile, was China's largest trading partner in 1996, with bilateral trade of $18 billion and was also one of Europe's top investors in the country. Negotiations about possible Chinese concessions on human rights in exchange for dropping the resolution were ultimately futile, but the delay gave China a great advantage in lobbying governments worldwide at the highest levels, offering them trade and support in various U.N. bodies in exchange for their votes to keep the measure off the agenda.

Despite appeals on human rights in China and Tibet signed by over 200 French legislators and scattered protests, Li Peng's visit to Paris was hailed by Beijing as marking a "watershed" in its ties with France, and this was followed in July by a six-nation swing by President Jiang Zemin through Europe and Asia. When a vigorous debate on repression in Tibet erupted in the German parliament in June, and Beijing warned that German business interests in China could suffer, Bonn quickly scrambled to restore good relations. An invitation to German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to visit China was temporarily withdrawn, but in September the invitation was renewed, and during his visit in October, Kinkel raised the cases of Wang Dan and Wei Jingsheng. Germany's president was expected to go to China in November. At about the same time relations with Bonn were patched up, Australia's prime minister, John Howard, was also threatened with trade retaliation for planning to meet with the Dalai Lama in Sydney; he proceeded with that meeting anyway.

United States

Human rights clearly took a back seat to commercial and strategic interests in U.S.-China policy throughout the year, as evidenced by the Clinton administration's announcement in July (presaged in a speech by Secretary of State Warren Christopher in May) that it would embark upon a series of high-level meetings with China aimed at improving Sino-U.S. relations, leading to reciprocal summit visits in Beijing and Washington in 1997 without specific human rights preconditions. The U.S. tacitly agreed to downplay human rights in pursuit of closer cooperation on security matters and other issues. The administration's 1994 "delinking" of trade and human rights was thus taken a step further, and President Clinton abandoned any possibility of using U.S. political or economic leverage with Beijing to exert pressure on human rights.

The shift in political will was particularly apparent in the U.S. agreement with China on copyrights, patents and other intellectual property rights issues reached in mid-June. The administration successfully rallied strong bipartisan Congressional support for use of possible trade sanctions to obtain the agreement, while arguing it would deal with other areas of disagreement such as human rights via "strategic dialogue." The debate on Most-Favored-Nation trading status in Congress focused, in part, on the value of "engagement" as the only tool to promote human rights progress but was heavily skewed by business lobbying to do away with the annual MFN renewal process entirely and by the administration's desire to promote "stable" relations with Beijing. By a lopsided vote (286 to 141), the U.S. House of Representatives voted on June 17 to support Clinton's renewal of MFN for another year, which the president proclaimed an endorsement of his overall "engagement" strategy. As political cover, the Houseadopted a nonbinding resolution citing China's poor human rights record, among other concerns, but mandating no policy changes.

The administration's engagement strategy produced few, if any, concrete results during the year. No prisoners were released due to U.S. bilateral or multilateral intervention and any discussions about specific cases were relegated to closed-door meetings. In a meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Jakarta in July, Secretary of State Warren Christopher raised human rights only in a general way, while touting the agreement for a series of high-level visits, including his own trip to Beijing in November (the first since his disastrous visit there in 1994), a prospective visit by Vice-President Al Gore, and a bilateral meeting between Clinton and Jiang at the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) forum in Manila in November. Two weeks earlier, presidential National Security Advisor Anthony Lake went to Beijing and reportedly discussed specific human rights cases, but announced no progress whatsoever, stressing instead the trend toward overall closer relations. Both meetings were also unsuccessful in restarting the formal bilateral human rights "dialogue" suspended by China in 1994.

Christopher met with Qian again at the U.N. in New York in September; human rights concerns, access to prisoners, Tibet and Hong Kong were discussed.

The State Department did issue public statements about specific political prisoners, for example, protesting the continued detention of Bao Tong following completion of his prison sentence, and urging the release of Fu Guoyong, a democracy activist sentenced in September. The U.S. embassy in Beijing, on the other hand, generally took a noticeably low profile on human rights as the new U.S. ambassador, Jim Sasser, who arrived in Beijing in February, concentrated on promoting U.S. business interests. The embassy did try to send an observer to Wang Dan's trial.

The administration supported putting China and Hong Kong on the agenda for discussion at the G-7 summit meeting in Lyon, France on June 27, and language for the final statement was apparently agreed upon, but the discussion was later reconfigured to respond to a major bombing in Saudi Arabia, and the China language was also deleted.

Members of the U.S. Congress continued to be outspoken on human rights throughout the year, sending letters to Secretary Christopher prior to his meetings with Chinese officials in Jakarta and New York, raising questions during Congressional hearings, lobbying the administration on policy decisions with human rights implications, such the Export-Import Bank's decision to provide export credits for the Three Gorges Dam project, called for a full-scale, independent investigation of abuses in Chinese orphanages and for multilateral efforts to ensure U.N. access to them.

On May 30, despite intense lobbying by some corporate interests, the U.S. Export-Import Bank announced it would not provide export credits to U.S. companies involved in the Three Gorges Dam Project. Though the decision was made primarily on environmental grounds, the human rights and social impacts of the project were clearly part of the decision-making process within both the bank and the White House, which had earlier recommended that the bank not fund Three Gorges. In July, the president of the Export-Import Bank, Martin Kamarck, visited China and there were indications that the bank might reconsider its decision if China took certain steps to meet its environmental criteria. Meanwhile, the Export-Import Bank of Japan was due to decide by mid-December 1996 whether it would provide loans to Japanese companies involved in Three Gorges.

Japan

In its policy toward China, Japan continued to emphasize nonproliferation and nuclear testing, for the most part downplaying human rights concerns. It did agree to cosponsor the China resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in April and encouraged China to uphold its international commitments in Hong Kong after the latter's return to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, 1997.

Through its Official Development Assistance (ODA) program, Japan provided China with more than $1.4 billion in aid in Fiscal Year 1996, making it China's largest bilateral donor. There were no known instances during the year of Japan's using its aid leverage for human rights improvements in China. Japan pledged its support for China's entry into the World Trade Organization.

World Bank Assistance

There were no efforts made, by any government, to restrain World Bank funding to China on human rights grounds. its annual lending to China totaled nearly $3 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30. However, a report by Harry Wu in October 1995 that a $125 million World Bank loan for an irrigation project supported forced labor camps in Xinjiang Province led to a World Bank investigation and congressional hearings in July 1996. The bank said it could find no evidence that its operations in Xinjiang benefited forced labor camps, though it acknowledged that the chief operator of its projects there, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), did administer such camps and was responsible for handling security and military in the province. This caused the U.S. Treasury Department to announce, in Senate hearings, that the U.S. would no longer support bank projects affiliated with XPCC until a clearer division was made between its military and civilian operations.

HONG KONG

As the year drew to a close, the chances that Hong Kong's autonomy would be maintained after the July 1, 1997 return to Chinese sovereignty seemed slim. The "one country, two systems" formula for the post-July Special Administrative Region (SAR) was already being systematically eroded, at least in the area of civil liberties, and the Chinese government seemed intent on repealing provisions in Hong Kong's Bill of Rights, dissolving the elected Legislative Council (Legco), undercutting the independence of the judicial system and the executive, and curbing freedom of expression and assembly.

Human Rights Developments

In September 1995, Hong Kong had held an election in which the pro-democratic forces won a majority of the twenty directly elected seats on Legco. On March 24, 1996, the Preparatory Committee, a body hand-picked by the Chinese government to handle transition matters, voted to disband Legco on July 1, 1997 even though its members would have served only two years of their four-year terms. The Preparatory Committee decided instead that in accordance with the Basic Law, the document worked out between Britain and China that will serve as Hong Kong's constitution after July 1, a 400-member Selection Committee would be empowered to select a provisional body to remain in place for one year. An elected body would thus be replaced by an appointed one, and it was not clear whether elections would in fact take place under Chinese rule after the one-year period.

Frederick Fung, chair of the Hong Kong-based political party called Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood who cast the one dissenting vote in this process, was immediately disqualified both from membership in the provisional legislature and from a place on the Selection Committee.

The provisional legislature would have the power to pass laws, approve a new budget for the SAR, and repeal or amend any law it deemed contrary to the Basic Law. The original Sino-British agreement to dissolve the legislature on June 30, 1997 and reconvene it the following day with no change in membership—the so-called through train agreement—was thus effectively scrapped. Pro-democracy activists and lawyers in Hong Kong voiced fears that the provisional legislature would revive draconian colonial security laws, pass new legislation on sedition, subversion and treason which could be used against the nonviolent political opposition, and institute the death penalty.

In addition to replacing the legislature,

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China told a Hong Kong delegation in August that it was planning to set up provisional bodies to replace municipal councils and district boards but was "considering" allowing current members to stay on past 1997.

Freedom of expression also seemed endangered. In April, the deputy director of Xinhua news agency in Hong Kong, which acts as China's "embassy" in the territory, called on the Hong Kong government to "discipline" Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) for failing to give air time on demand to the Preparatory Committee. In June, Lu Ping, head of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office under China's State Council, warned that after the transition the Chinese government would criminalize not only advocacy of certain viewpoints, such as support of Taiwan or Tibetan independence, but also merely publicizing those views. In July, China's information minister suggested that after 1997, local journalists in Hong Kong would be well advised to look to the press in China for "guidance" on what was proper to report. The Chinese government was known to be keeping a blacklist of Hong Kong journalists, the most common form of punishment for such reporters, according to the 1996 report of the Hong Kong Journalists Association, was simply to deny them entry to China. During 1996, journalists from the *Apple Daily*, *Next Magazine*, and *Open Magazine* were stopped at the Chinese border and forbidden to enter.

China continued to insist that it would not provide reports on the situation of human rights in Hong Kong to the U.N. Human Rights Committee set up under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), in violation of its treaty obligation with the United Kingdom. Although the U.K. is a party to that covenant, and China is not, the two countries agreed in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration that the covenant's protections would continue to extend to Hong Kong after 1997. At a meeting in February 1996, China and Britain agreed on a legal mechanism whereby approximately 200 multilateral international treaties would continue to apply to Hong Kong after July 1997. Beijing, however, excluded both the ICCPR and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights from this list.

The fate of some eighty dissidents from the Chinese mainland currently in Hong Kong was a continuing concern, as human rights organizations and some foreign consulates stepped up efforts to ensure their resettlement to third countries before the 1997 transition.

The situation of Vietnamese asylum seekers in Hong Kong continued to be grim, as the Hong Kong government stepped up efforts to repatriate all remaining 14,000 residents of the Vietnamese camps before the transition. Conditions for camp inmates were worse than those for convicted criminals in prisons, particularly in terms of overcrowding and sanitary facilities. Violence was pervasive. On May 10, a major riot broke out inside the Whitehead Detention Center, sparked by asylum seekers who had been denied refugee status protesting forced repatriation. Camp inmates took guards hostage and burned twenty-six buildings and fifty-three vehicles. Hong Kong security forces used no lethal force in quelling the riot, but many observers believed that the inhumane and overcrowded conditions had contributed to the outbreak.

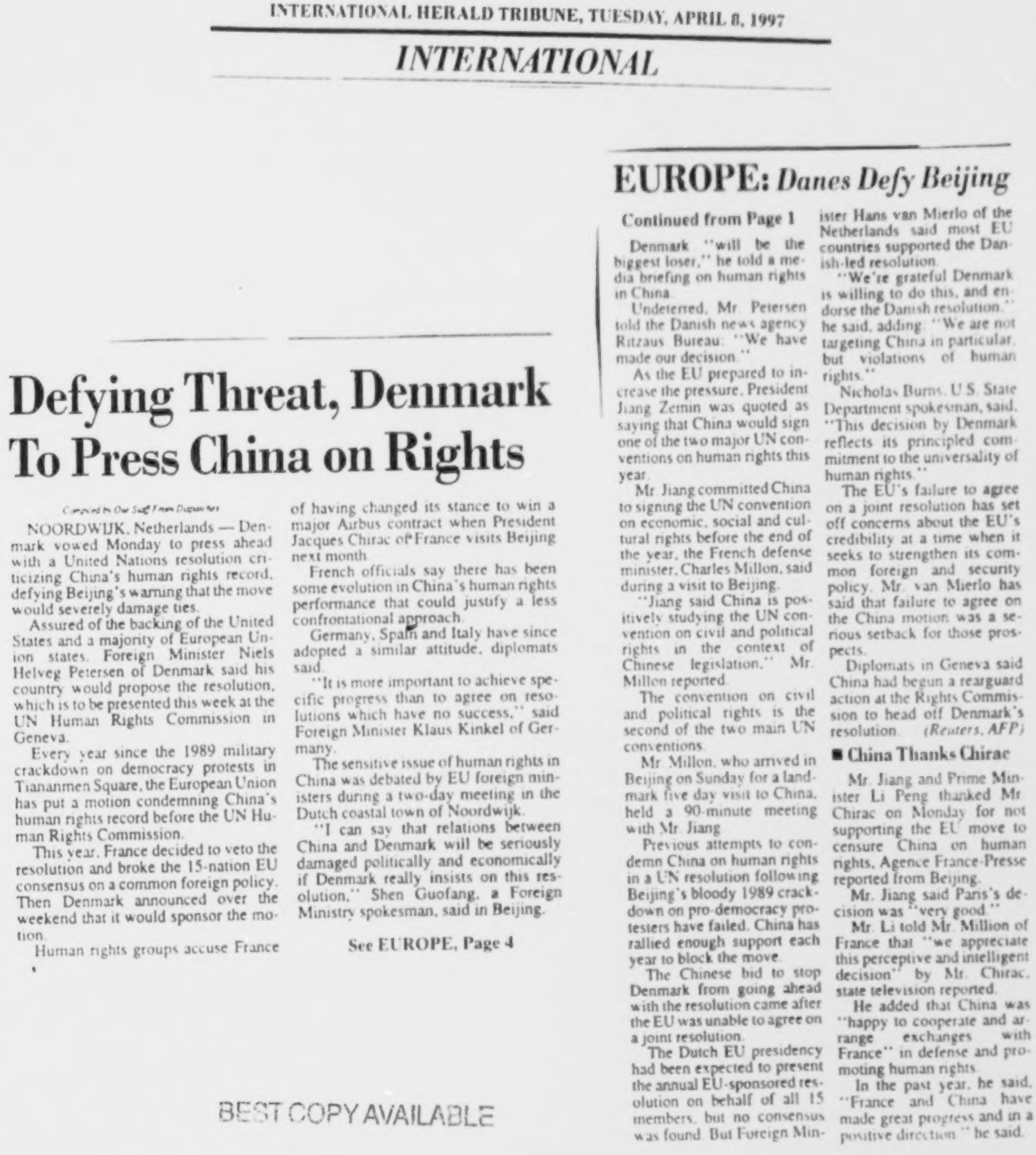
The Right to Monitor

Hong Kong human rights organizations operated freely, although they were increasingly concerned about their ability to do so after 1997. While the Basic Law guarantees freedom of association, it also, under Article 23, bans ties to foreign political organizations, and there is concern that after the transition, the provisional legislature to be appointed with Beijing's approval might pass legislation that construes ties to international religious, philanthropic, or human rights organizations as "political."

The Role of the International Community

It was clear that the international community was worried about the transition, particu-

3. Niels Helveg, Foreign Minister of Denmark



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 1997

INTERNATIONAL

Defying Threat, Denmark To Press China on Rights

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NOORDWIJK, Netherlands — Denmark vowed Monday to press ahead with a United Nations resolution criticizing China's human rights record, defying Beijing's warning that the move would severely damage ties.

Assured of the backing of the United States and a majority of European Union states, Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen of Denmark said his country would propose the resolution, which is to be presented this week at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

Every year since the 1989 military crackdown on democracy protests in Tiananmen Square, the European Union has put a motion condemning China's human rights record before the UN Human Rights Commission.

This year, France decided to veto the resolution and broke the 15-nation EU consensus on a common foreign policy. Then Denmark announced over the weekend that it would sponsor the motion.

Human rights groups accuse France of having changed its stance to win a major Airbus contract when President Jacques Chirac of France visits Beijing next month.

French officials say there has been some evolution in China's human rights performance that could justify a less confrontational approach.

Germany, Spain and Italy have since adopted a similar attitude, diplomats said.

"It is more important to achieve specific progress than to agree on resolutions which have no success," said Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel of Germany.

The sensitive issue of human rights in China was debated by EU foreign ministers during a two-day meeting in the Dutch coastal town of Noordwijk.

"I can say that relations between China and Denmark will be seriously damaged politically and economically if Denmark really insists on this resolution," Shen Guofang, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, said in Beijing.

See EUROPE, Page 4

EUROPE: *Danes Defy Beijing*

Continued from Page 1

Denmark "will be the biggest loser," he told a media briefing on human rights in China.

Undeterred, Mr. Petersen told the Danish news agency Ritzaus Bureau: "We have made our decision."

As the EU prepared to increase the pressure, President Jiang Zemin was quoted as saying that China would sign one of the two major UN conventions on human rights this year.

Mr. Jiang committed China to signing the UN convention on economic, social and cultural rights before the end of the year, the French defense minister, Charles Millon, said during a visit to Beijing.

"Jiang said China is positively studying the UN convention on civil and political rights in the context of Chinese legislation," Mr. Millon reported.

The convention on civil and political rights is the second of the two main UN conventions.

Mr. Millon, who arrived in Beijing on Sunday for a landmark five day visit to China, held a 90-minute meeting with Mr. Jiang.

Previous attempts to condemn China on human rights in a UN resolution following Beijing's bloody 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy protesters have failed. China has rallied enough support each year to block the move.

The Chinese bid to stop Denmark from going ahead with the resolution came after the EU was unable to agree on a joint resolution.

The Dutch EU presidency had been expected to present the annual EU-sponsored resolution on behalf of all 15 members, but no consensus was found. But Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo of the Netherlands said most EU countries supported the Danish-led resolution.

"We're grateful Denmark is willing to do this, and endorse the Danish resolution," he said, adding: "We are not targeting China in particular, but violations of human rights."

Nicholas Burns, U.S. State Department spokesman, said, "This decision by Denmark reflects its principled commitment to the universality of human rights."

The EU's failure to agree on a joint resolution has set off concerns about the EU's credibility at a time when it seeks to strengthen its common foreign and security policy. Mr. van Mierlo has said that failure to agree on the China motion was a serious setback for those prospects.

Diplomats in Geneva said China had begun a rearguard action at the Rights Commission to head off Denmark's resolution. *(Reuters, AFP)*

■ China Thanks Chirac

Mr. Jiang and Prime Minister Li Peng thanked Mr. Chirac on Monday for not supporting the EU move to censure China on human rights, Agence France-Presse reported from Beijing.

Mr. Jiang said Paris's decision was "very good."

Mr. Li told Mr. Million of France that "we appreciate this perceptive and intelligent decision" by Mr. Chirac, state television reported.

He added that China was "happy to cooperate and arrange exchanges with France" in defense and promoting human rights.

In the past year, he said, "France and China have made great progress and in a positive direction," he said.

International Herald Tribune April 16, 1997

China Takes a Slap at

Visits Postponed After Europeans Bac

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China gave Denmark and the Netherlands a diplomatic slap on the wrist Tuesday by postponing official visits in a dispute over their support for a United Nations resolution critical of Beijing's human-rights record.

The Foreign Ministry said China "will delay important exchanges of officials that are under discussion and halt exchanges and cooperation with Denmark on human rights."

Beijing then postponed scheduled visits by two Danish ministers.

Denmark has been the moving force this year behind the sponsoring of a resolution criticizing Beijing's record before the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

Denmark "is interfering in China's internal affairs and hurting the feelings of the Chinese people," the ministry spokesman, Shen Guofang, said.

Copenhagen, he said, "has set up obstacles to the smooth development of relations between the two countries."

China had warned that relations with countries that sponsored the resolution would be affected. Denmark, the Netherlands, the United States and 12 other countries co-sponsored the motion ur-
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protect the cultural identity

Beijing, in turn, prop
Geneva commission a mo
any vote on the resolutio
said China had lined up en
especially among develo
for its motion.

"It looks like a diplomat
China," a diplomat said.

"Everything is going C
another said. "The num
there for anything else."

Similar motions have
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starting the year after th
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pro-democracy movement.

The motion failed in 199
succeeded that year in def
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Denmark took the initia
resolution in Geneva aft
fused to do so, shattering
the European Union.

Besides France, Austr
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to back this year's motion.

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Beijing informed Denmark that planned visits to China by Social Affairs Minister Karen Jespersen in June and Justice Minister Frank Jensen in the autumn had been postponed until further notice, the Danish Foreign Ministry said.

But Copenhagen said a visit by Education Minister Ole Vig Jensen would still go ahead as scheduled in May, as would a private visit by Crown Prince Joachim and Princess Alexandra, set for July.

In The Hague, the Economic Affairs Ministry said China had postponed a Dutch trade mission to Beijing scheduled for June. The mission would have visited China from June 7 to 14 under the leadership of Economic Affairs Minister Hans Wijers.

"The Netherlands government has learned of this Chinese step with disappointment," the ministry said. "The government of the Netherlands will continue to pursue the further development of political and economic relations with China."

"Relations have until now appeared strong enough to raise even as sensitive a subject as human rights in all openness and through all available channels," it added. *(Reuters)*

Denmark exchanges frozen

CHINA has decided to postpone planned important exchange of visits with Denmark, and freeze exchanges and co-operation with the European nation in the human rights area. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Shen Guofang announced at a press conference in Beijing yesterday.

Shen said China consistently attaches great importance and makes continuous efforts in the development of Sino-Danish relations.

He continued that Denmark, however, had shown no consideration for bilateral friendly relations or accepted norms in international relations by intensifying its vain attempts, and taking the lead, in putting forward an anti-China motion to this year's annual meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, and sparing no effort in drawing other countries to its side to confront China.

The activities by Denmark are an interference in China's internal affairs, he said, adding that it hurts the feelings of the Chinese people, damages the good atmosphere of Sino-Danish relations, and sets an obstacle to the smooth development of bilateral relations.

As a result of what Denmark has done, he stated, China has to take a necessary response, including delaying planned important visit [illegible] contact and co-operation with it in the human rights area.

Shen noted that Sino-Danish relations have been harmed since the Danish side have clung obstinately to its course.

"What has taken place is something that the Chinese side does not like to see. We sincerely hope that on human rights issues, Denmark will remove confrontation with China and return to equal dialogue and co-operation, which is in the fundamental and long-term interests of the two countries and two peoples," Shen said.

Shen also said that President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay will pay a state visit to China from April 20-24 at the invitation of Chinese President Jiang Zemin. (Xinhua)

March 1997 Vol. 9, No. 3 (C)

CHINA

Chinese Diplomacy, Western Hypocrisy and the U.N. Human Rights Commission

Abridged for students
to include only parts I, II, III and VIII.

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I. SUMMARY

China appears to be on the verge of ensuring that no attempt is made ever again to censure its human rights practices at the United Nations. It is an extraordinary feat of diplomacy and an equally extraordinary capitulation on the part of governments, particularly the United States and the countries of the European Union, that claim to favor multilateral initiatives as a way of exerting human rights pressure. One of the few remaining international fora to exert such pressure is the annual meeting of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva -- in session this year from March 10 to April 18 -- where countries with particularly egregious human rights records can become the subject of resolutions. Every year save one since 1990, the U.S. and the E.U. have taken the lead, with support from Japan and other governments, in sponsoring a resolution on China, and every year save one, China has successfully blocked even debate on the subject. The threat of a resolution, however, has itself been an effective form of pressure, as illustrated by the time and resources China has spent in trying to counter it.

This report is an analysis of China's diplomatic efforts with respect to key members of the commission over the last three years. It describes a pattern of aggressive lobbying by Chinese officials, using economic and political blandishments, that has worked to undermine the political will in both developed and developing countries to hold Beijing accountable in Geneva, coupled with procrastination and passivity on the part of China's critics, the same governments that have been such vocal proponents of multilateralism.

The report suggests that countries concerned about human rights in China should put more, not less effort into a carefully constructed resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission; that the process of fashioning a resolution and lobbying for its passage is important, whether it ultimately reaches the floor of the commission for debate or not; and that ending all efforts on China at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, as the U.S. and Europe seem to be considering, will be seen in China as a triumph over the West's dominance of international institutions and one that it may want to follow up in fields other than human rights.

As this report went to press, the U.S. and the E.U. were involved in diplomatic negotiations with China on a possible package of limited steps or promises in exchange for dropping a resolution this year and in subsequent years. The U.S. in particular, seemed poised to accept any last-minute gestures that China might make during Vice President Albert Gore's trip to China in late March, midway through the commission's deliberations. But the prospect of obtaining truly meaningful improvements from Beijing on human rights would have been far higher had there been a real threat of a coordinated, high-level lobbying effort behind a resolution in Geneva, the work on which would have had to have begun in September or October 1996. For the U.S. and E.U. to suggest at this late date that a resolution cannot pass is a prophecy they have done their utmost to make self-fulfilling.

Background

A resolution on China at the commission is a curiously potent tool for raising human rights issues, given that it is an unenforceable statement that carries no penalties or obligations. But as the product of the U.N., it has major implications for a country's international image, and even to table a resolution for discussion is considered by many countries, China among them, as a major loss of face. But China considers the U.N. Human Rights Commission an important forum for other reasons as well, including as a vehicle for countering Western "hegemonism," particularly through alliances with governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America. During the 1996 session of the commission, Chinese diplomats made clear that they saw an attempt to seek a resolution on China as an example of this hegemonism, arguing that the North used the commission as a one-way forum through which to confront, judge, and interfere in the internal affairs of developing countries while ignoring abuses in the U.S. and Europe, and that the commission paid too much attention to political and civil rights while neglecting economic, social, and cultural rights and the right to development.[1] In addition to its value to China as a forum to challenge the West, the commission has also become a useful vehicle to play the U.S. off against its erstwhile European allies.

Interest in using the U.N. Human Rights Commission as a forum for criticizing China only emerged after the crackdown in Tiananmen Square in 1989. Beginning in 1990, the annual Geneva meetings were marked by efforts to table mildly worded resolutions urging China to improve its human rights practices and criticizing ongoing violations of international standards. These efforts were defeated before the resolutions could come up for debate by "no-action" motions brought by one of China's friends on the commission -- Pakistan could be counted on in this regard. A "no-action" motion, if passed, meant that the resolution died a quick death before ever coming to debate and vote.

In March 1995, however, the "no-action" motion failed for the first time. China's human rights record was debated, and a resolution sponsored by the U.S. and the European Union lost by only one vote when Russia unexpectedly cast its vote in opposition. It was the closest China had ever come to defeat. In April 1996, by contrast, China again successfully blocked a resolution through the "no-action" procedure, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty with six abstentions. In the year that elapsed between the two meetings, China's human rights record had worsened, but its lobbying had improved and the political will of its critics had weakened.

Visits between China and commission members between April 1996 and March 1997 resulted in more aid packages, new and expanded trade contracts including foreign investment and joint ventures, and promises of improved bilateral cooperation on projects ranging from agriculture to nuclear technology. While it is impossible to definitively document the direct relationship between each visit or aid package and the votes of individual commission members, an overall pattern emerged that may help to explain China's success at muzzling the commission. Clearly, in many countries, much more was at stake than a Geneva vote, as Beijing sought to boost its long-term political and economic relationships and to weaken Taiwan's ties with some capitals. But a major objective during this period was also to defeat the annual Geneva effort.

In 1995 and in 1996, the importance of the outcome in Geneva was clearly reflected in official statements. At the conclusion of the 1995 voting, a foreign ministry spokesman speaking on state radio "expressed its [the Chinese government's] admiration and gratitude to those countries that supported China," and China's ambassador to the U.N. in Geneva said the resolution was "entirely a product of political confrontation practiced by the West with ulterior motives."[2] After the 1996 vote, an article by the official Chinese news agency Xinhua, entitled "'Failure' of Human Rights Resolution Hailed," gloated that the commission "has again shot down a draft resolution against China, marking another failure by the West to use human rights to interfere in China's internal affairs...."[3]

From China's perspective, there were two relatively balanced voting blocs on the commission, and a number of crucial swing votes.[4] One bloc consisted of Asian and African states. The second was composed of western Europe and North and Central America. The swing votes were to be found among some of the new democracies of central Europe, the former Soviet republics, large Latin American countries and a handful of African and Asian nations. China courted them all and pursued its efforts to divide Europe and the United States.

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[1] See, for example, the statements of Chinese diplomats in press releases issued by the U.N. Commission for Human Rights during its 1996 session: Wu Jianmin in Press Release HR/CN/96/03, March 19, 1996, p. 4 and Zhang Jun in Press Release HR/CN/96/13, March 26, 1996, p. 4.

[2] *Washington Post*, "U.N. Rights Panel Votes Down Measure Censuring China," March 9, 1995.

[3] "Failure of UN Human Rights Resolution Hailed," Xinhua, April 24, 1996, in FBIS, CHI-96-081.

[4] Commission members serve for three-year terms, but may serve more than one term.

II. THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES

In 1995, the year the resolution lost by one vote, the U.S. and E.U., which together with Japan were the resolution's co-sponsors, began efforts to get other countries on board as early as December 1994, when then U.S. National Security Adviser Anthony Lake went to Zimbabwe, Gabon and Ethiopia. The Geneva resolution was one of the issues on his agenda. Geraldine Ferraro, then head of the U.S. delegation to the commission, made calls to Latin American capitals.

After that close call, Chinese diplomats and government officials seemed to intensify their efforts to underscore that good economic relations with the world's largest country would be fostered by decreasing pressure on human rights. Overt Chinese pressure, of course, was not always needed: European leaders were well aware that the competitive edge with the Americans could be widened if human rights criticism was left to the latter, especially when the U.S. was already preoccupied with a struggle with China over intellectual property rights and the annual debate over Most Favored Nation status.

The first attempts to derail a resolution on China at the 1996 U.N. Human Rights Commission session took place in Bangkok on March 1 and 2, 1996 when Chinese Premier Li Peng met with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Jacques Chirac at the E.U.-Asia summit. With a US$2.1 billion Airbus contract hanging in the balance and a visit to France by Li Peng set for April, France took the lead in trying to work out a deal whereby in exchange for a few concessions from China, the E.U. and the U.S. would agree to drop the resolution. The nature of the proposed concessions was never made public but was rumored to include an agreement by China to sign and ratify the two major international human rights treaties, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the release of some political prisoners; and an invitation to U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso, to visit China. Ratification without reservations would indeed have been a useful step, but when pressed to give a timetable for ratification, Beijing reportedly backed off, and the deal fell through. Italy -- then in the presidency of the E.U. -- was said to be leaning to the French deal, as was Germany, which with bilateral trade of $18 billion, was China's largest trading partner in Europe and one of Europe's top investors in China. The Europeans did not come on board until ten days after the commission session opened, and then only reluctantly.

The resolution was doomed by a failure of will on the American side as well. The United States was no more eager than its European counterparts to earn China's opprobrium by sponsoring a resolution, and, according to one source, a deliberate decision was made within the Clinton administration sometime in December 1995 to give the resolution less attention than the year before, with the result that lobbying was late, desultory and ultimately unsuccessful.

Despite appeals on human rights in China and Tibet signed by over 200 French legislators and scattered protests, Li Peng's visit to Paris from April 9-13, just before the commission vote, was hailed by Beijing as marking a "watershed" in its ties with France. Li Peng took the opportunity to finalize the Airbus sale in what appeared to be a deliberate slight to the U.S. government and the American company Boeing, hitherto the the largest supplier of aircraft to China. In one reporter's words, China preferred to deal with countries that "don't lecture China about human rights, don't threaten sanctions for the piracy of music, videos and software and don't send their warships patrolling the Taiwan Straits."[5]

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[5] David Sanger, "Two Roads to China: Nice and Not So Nice - Boeing's Strategy is Appeasement; Microsoft Growls," *New York Times*, June 9, 1996.

Li Peng's trip to Europe was followed in July 1996 by a six-nation swing by President Jiang Zemin through Europe and Asia, aimed at closing business deals and enhancing Jiang Zemin's international standing. An important side-effect, if not a deliberate objective of these visits, was to erode the willingness of some European countries to confront Beijing in Geneva. The trip came on the heels of a Chinese threat to impose economic sanctions on Germany in retaliation for a conference on Tibet. The conference was sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, closely linked to Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's Free Democratic Party, and was to be held in Germany in June in cooperation with the Dalai Lama's government-in-exile. The row started over the German government's proposal to provide a subsidy for the conference. Under pressure, government funding was withdrawn, but the conference went ahead with the support of German politicians from all parties. The Chinese government then forced the closure of the foundation's Beijing office. In retaliation, German politicians introduced a motion in the Bundestag criticizing China's human rights record. China then withdrew an invitation to German Foreign Minister Kinkel to visit Beijing.

When Beijing further warned that German business interests in China could suffer, Bonn quickly scrambled to restore good relations. In September the invitation was renewed, and Kinkel went the following month. He did raise the cases of political prisoners Wang Dan and Wei Jingsheng, but the real story was that commercial relations with Germany were back on track, for in November in Beijing, President Jiang and German President Roman Herzog signed four agreements on financial and technological cooperation. The last quarter of 1996 saw multimillion dollar deals signed between China and Germany companies, including a joint venture by Mercedes Benz in Jiangsu province to produce buses; a joint venture by Kogel Trailer to produce specialized auto vehicles; a joint venture of Bayer AC and Shanghai Coating Company to produce iron oxide pigments; and a US$6 billion investment in a petrochemical plant by German chemical company BASF.

China also wooed other European countries. In June, Chen Jinhua, head of China's State Planning Commission, visited Italy. In Milan, he held meetings with leading Italian financial and business interests, discussing how China's ninth five-year plan would lead to the continued opening up of the economy to the outside world. Stressing the growth of bilateral trade, which stood at a record US$ 5.18 billion in 1995, he noted China's potential as a huge market with possibilities for increased Sino-Italian cooperation. In September, Li Peng went to the Hague, just as the Netherlands was poised to take over leadership of the E.U.; in October, Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini led a group of Italian businessmen to Beijing on a "good will" visit; and in November, Li Peng was back in Europe on a visit to Rome, where he and his Italian counterpart pledged to encourage Sino-Italian economic and trade ties.

Britain also worked to bolster its trade with China. When Trade and Industry Secretary Ian Lang met with Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Development Wu Yi in Beijing in September 1996, they agreed to set up working groups on the chemical industry, aeronautics, and energy. In October, Li Lanqing, a vice-premier and vice-chair of the State Council (the equivalent of China's cabinet), traveled to London to meet with Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine, and in November, the two countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding on forming a Sino-U.K. Aerospace Equipment Working Group to promote commercial and technical cooperation in civil aviation.

~~III. LATIN AMERICA~~

~~Latin America was clearly a priority region for China if it was to defeat a resolution at the 1996 commission session. Next to Europe and North America, it was most likely to vote against China. In some cases, this was due to a history of susceptibility to U.S. influence, in others to a democratic transition from an abusive authoritarian past that made the new democracies important allies in efforts to censure grave abuses wherever they occurred. Many Latin American countries, including Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Argentina, Peru and Venezuela, also had serious strains in their bilateral relations with China because of textile and garment "dumping" by the latter. Of all the~~

IV. AFRICA

If the U.S. and Europe and other sponsors of a resolution were serious about a multilateral initiative to exert pressure on China, it was essential that they bring some African members of the commission on board. Admittedly, it would not have been an easy task, given Chinese diplomatic initiatives and interests in the region, but save for some modest measures in 1994 like U.S. National Security Adviser Anthony Lake's discussions (see above), the sponsors put little energy into finding support from African governments.

China, on the other hand, was energetic. Since the end of the Cold War, it has seen African countries as critically important allies, particularly in the United Nations, in the struggle against American "hegemonism."[8] With its history of colonialism and the fact that for the North, it had become the "forgotten continent," Africa has been viewed as a desirable partner in China's efforts to "bypass" the United States.[9] In addition, China had a strong interest in stepping up its diplomacy in the region to counter Taiwan's aggressive campaign to expand ties with some African states.

China embarked on a concerted diplomatic campaign in Africa in mid-1995. Although the main objective may have been to blunt Taiwan's influence, it may not be coincidential that the campaign began after China lost a no-action motion and nearly lost the resolution in Geneva in March 1995, or that the countries singled out in this campaign were also for the most part members of the commission.

In October-November 1995, well before the 1996 session of the commission convened, Li Lanqing traveled to six central and western African countries: Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Gabon, Cameroon and Côte d'Ivoire. Of these, all but Senegal were members of the commission. In November, Qiao Shi, a leading member of the Central Committee and chairman of Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress (China's parliament), went to Egypt, another key member of the commission. All the countries included in these two visits voted with China in the April 1996 "no-action" motion.

By contrast, from September 1995 to March 1996 there were few high-level exchanges between the U.S. and African members of the commission, and when they took place, China was not on the agenda. Angolan president Dos Santos made a state visit to Washington, D.C. on December 8, 1995, for example, but amid the many issues on the U.S.-Angolan agenda, support for a critical position in the U.N. toward China's human rights practices was reportedly not one. Madeleine Albright, then U.S. ambassador to the U.N., visited Angola in January 1996, but apparently made no effort to press for Angola's support at the Human Rights Commission. Angola ranks fourth among China's African trading partners and has consistently voted with China at the Human Rights Commission. If the U.S. was serious about generating international pressure on China through the U.N., its officials would have seen the visits by its officials as an opportunity to put multilateralism into practice and raise the issue of a resolution in Geneva.

Ethiopia, a key member of the commission, exchanged visits with European and American officials, with development assistance and security the main issues at stake. German President Herzog visited Ethiopia in January 1996, during which he signed an aid agreement for the purchase and transport of fertilizers, and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi spent two days in Paris, meeting with the French prime minister and with President Chirac. In neither case was there any indication that the China vote was on the agenda, and a source close to the U.S. delegation to Geneva told Human Rights Watch that no attempt was made to lobby Ethiopia for its vote.

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[8] "Profit and Prejudice: China in Africa," *China News Analysis*, No.1574, December 15, 1996, p. 6.

[9] "Profit and Prejudice: China in Africa," *China News Analysis*, No.1574, December 15, 1996, p. 6.

China appeared to have stepped up its efforts to ensure a similar victory in the 1997 session. Following the end of the 1996 commission meeting in April, all fifteen African members of the commission sent or received high-ranking visitors from China. In May 1996, according to Chinese reports, President Jiang himself "crossed a thousand mountains and rivers to enhance friendship, deepen unity and learn from the African people," visiting a total of six countries as he covered the continent "from North to South, from East to West." Of the six countries, four, Ethiopia, Egypt, Mali and Zimbabwe, were members or about to become members of the commission. At a meeting of the Organization of African States, Jiang stressed that China would be an ally in Africa's drive to develop; and, in fact, over twenty-three agreements and protocols on Sino-African cooperation were signed in May alone. They primarily provided for basic construction projects in transport and energy.[10]

- During meetings in Beijing in May 1996, two days before he left for his African tour, President Jiang pledged economic and military support for Mozambique, which rotated on to the commission in time for the 1997 session; at the same time, Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian discussed details of the bilateral ties between the two nations' militaries and provided Mozambique with quantities of new weapons. Sino-Mozambiquan relations went into a tailspin in 1996 when China abruptly pulled out of an agreement to build a new parliament building. The visit in May was an effort to repair relations but it could also help produce a pro-China vote in the commission this March.

- Jiang Zemin was present in Zimbabwe in May 1996 when Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Wu Yi signed agreements for US$10 million in grants and an additional US$10 million in loans, as well as other agreements on trade, reciprocal protection of investment and technological and economic cooperation. Earlier an agricultural group from China studied the possibilities of importing cotton and tobacco from Zimbabwe. In 1995, the first time Zimbabwe voted on a China resolution in Geneva, it voted for the no-action motion and against the China resolution; in 1996 it again voted in favor of no action on China.

- Following Jiang Zemin's May 1996 visit to Mali, China signed agreements on economic and technological cooperation during meetings in Beijing between Premier Li Peng and Mali's president, and the Chinese vice-minister of agriculture signed an agreement to assist Mali in building a number of factories. In 1996, when Mali voted on the China question for the first time, it voted in favor of the no-action motion.

- Jiang Zemin also traveled to Ethiopia in May on a good will visit during which four cooperation agreements were signed. China-Ethiopian economic relations have been minimal compared with China's relationships with other African countries. Before Jiang's visit, Chinese journalists made much of an Ethiopian irrigation project completed with help from thirty-eight Chinese experts. In 1990, Ethiopia voted for a no-action motion and then went off the commission until 1995, when it voted in favor of the no-action motion but abstained when the resolution itself was voted on. In 1996 it again voted in favor of no action.

- Algeria was already considered in the China camp. Jiang Zemin and the president of Algeria met in Beijing in October to discuss bilateral relations and to sign six documents including one protecting and encouraging reciprocal investment. Algeria has had a strong and continuous relationship with China which helped with a heavy water research reactor, and has been involved in irrigation, agricultural, and research projects including a three-star hotel in Algiers. In January 1997, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen paid a quick visit to Algeria, meeting with the foreign minister to discuss strengthening bilateral cooperation.

- Uganda became a member of the commission in time to vote with China on the 1996 no-action motion. While the commission was still meeting in April 1996, Li Zhaoxin, China's vice-minister of foreign affairs, agreed to provide US$3.6 million to cover the costs of a national stadium. In January 1997, at the request of the Ugandan government, China agreed to send technical personnel for two years to provide guidance in connection with the stadium project.

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[10] "Profit and Prejudice: China in Africa," *China News Analysis*, No.1574, December 15, 1996, p. 3.

- Li Peng and the president of Gabon, meeting in Beijing in August 1996, stressed the importance of their relationship and their support for the rights of developing nations. Gabon abstained in 1992 on a no-action motion but has since voted solidly in the Chinese camp.

- When Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei met with the Guinean Foreign Affairs Minister in Guinea in April while the commission meeting was still in session, he thanked him for Guinea's support on the human rights issue. Guinea, a new member of the commission as of the 1996 session, voted for no action on the China resolution.

- During a visit to South Africa, China's largest trading partner in Africa, in May 1996, Wu Yi negotiated promises of expanded trade ties and reciprocal "most favored nation trading status." The importance of China to South Africa's economy was underscored in December 1996 when President Nelson Mandela abruptly abandoned diplomatic support for Taiwan and recognized Beijing as the sole representative of China.

- Buhe, the vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress paid a goodwill visit to Benin in December 1996. Although Benin had voted with China in 1996, it abstained on both the no-action motion and the resolution itself in 1995.

Both the timing and the high-profile nature of most of these exchanges highlight the likely difficulties of getting African countries to abstain on a China resolution, let alone vote in favor, in 1997. If the U.S. and Europe had been committed to seeing a resolution pass, both would have had to have engaged in intensive lobbying beginning in late 1996.

V. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

~~After March 1995, high-level Chinese officials logged considerable mileage traveling to the Russian Federation and to two former Soviet republics, Belarus and the Ukraine. All three countries were to be 1996 commission members, Belarus for the first time, and the Ukraine for the first time since 1990.~~

~~In 1995, after Russia helped to defeat a no-action motion, its delegates switched their vote and the resolution itself failed as a result. It seemed logical in 1996, that if China were to avoid another near embarrassment, it would have to guarantee Russia's vote on the no-action motion itself. Not since 1990 had Russia voted not to send a resolution to the floor. Furthermore, it was generally agreed that the Belarussian president, anxious for reunification with Russia, would vote with Russia. Of course China had other political and economic stakes in its relations with Central and Eastern Europe that may have been the driving force behind much of the activity outlined below; but with the Geneva vote so important to Beijing, lining up commission members was a likely factor.~~

~~In June 1995, Li Peng visited all three states. During his visit to Belarus, there was agreement on bilateral cooperation in trade, science, technology, manufacturing, and agriculture. In the Ukraine, he signed a note worth 8.5 million *renminbi* (approximately US$1.7 million) in economic assistance. In August, as a follow-up to the June visits, the vice-minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (MOFTEC) led a trade delegation to the region.~~

~~While the E.U. and the U.S. were procrastinating, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso announced on February 10, before the sudden announcement of his resignation, that he had received and accepted in principle an invitation from China to visit. The timing of the invitation was clearly an effort to try to undermine the already dim prospects for a successful resolution by demonstrating China's openness to cooperation on human rights with the U.N.~~

VIII. CONCLUSION

For the last two years, the diplomacy surrounding a China resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission has been marked by a sorry lack of will and outright hypocrisy on the part of those countries that purport to defend human rights. The U.S. and E.U. member governments in particular have watched in near-silence as penalties for dissent in China steadily increased. The one tool that even U. S. and European critics of a vocal human rights policy were willing to support was a resolution in Geneva because it was by definition multilateral and less damaging, it was thought, to bilateral relations.

But by 1997, American and European leaders appeared ready to take any promise the Chinese government was willing to make as evidence of progress on human rights and as a pretext for backing out of a resolution. At the same time, it had ensured that no such resolution could ever pass by holding off so long on the lobbying needed to build support at the commission even as China was engaged in steady and effective lobbying of its own. The U.S. and Europe have sent a clear message that powerful countries will be allowed to abuse international standards with impunity. That signal is a disservice to the United Nations and to the cause of human rights.

Human Rights Watch/Asia
Human Rights Watch is a nongovernmental organization established in 1978 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East and among the signatories of the Helsinki accords. It is supported by contributions from private individuals and foundations worldwide. It accepts no government funds, directly or indirectly. The staff includes Kenneth Roth, executive director; Michele Alexander, development director; Cynthia Brown, program director; Holly J. Burkhalter, advocacy director; Barbara Guglielmo, finance and administration director; Robert Kimzey, publications director; Jeri Laber, special advisor; Lotte Leicht, Brussels office director; Susan Osnos, communications director; Jemera Rone, counsel; Wilder Tayler, general counsel; and Joanna Weschler, United Nations representative. Robert L. Bernstein is the chair of the board and Adrian W. DeWind is vice chair. Its Asia division was established in 1985 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Asia. Sidney Jones is the executive director; Mike Jendrzejczyk is the Washington director; Robin Munro is the Hong Kong director; Patricia Gossman is the senior researcher; Zunetta Liddell is the research associate; Jeannine Guthrie is NGO liaison; Mickey Spiegel is a consultant; Paul Lall and Olga Nousias are associates. Andrew J. Nathan is chair of the advisory committee and Orville Schell is vice chair.

Web Site Address: http://www.hrw.org
Gopher Address: gopher://gopher.humanrights.org:5000/11/int/hrw
Listserv address: To subscribe to the list, send an e-mail message to majordomo@igc.apc.org with "subscribe hrw-news" in the body of the message (leave the subject line blank).

4. Dr. Zhang Shuyun, a doctor who escaped from China

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Headline: 80,000 die in Chinese orphanages: Report

Date: January 6, 1996
Page: A1
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Section: News

Author: Michele Landsberg TORONTO STAR The Toronto Star

Topics: orphans
child abuse and neglect
fatalities
investigations
human rights
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Text:
A stunning report released today by Human Rights Watch/Asia charges that at least 80,000 Chinese infants and children have been deliberately done to death in state orphanages.

China, which officially admits to a total of only 100,000 orphans in institutions, heatedly denies the well-documented claim that only 20,000 are present and accounted for.

In a furor that repeats the much smaller scandal I wrote about last year - when a British documentary called The Dying Rooms first revealed the deliberate starvation of abandoned baby girls in China - the government again insists the story is fabricated by enemies seeking to damage its reputation.

But the nearly-400-page report, called Death By Default, is meticulously researched, its conclusions backed by government statistics, death certificates and photographs of infant corpses heaped in orphanage morgues.

The cruel, purposeful deaths by medical neglect and starvation were carried out ''with the tacit approval of senior political leaders,'' the report charges.

Human Rights Watch, a respected non-governmental organization, compiled its ghastly revelations with the help of Dr. Zhang Shuyun, a doctor who escaped from China in March, 1995, after working for five years at Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute.

Clandestine photographs were provided by another escaper, Ai Ming, a 23-year-old disabled orphan who survived in the institute.

During her time at the Shanghai orphanage - touted by Chinese authorities as a shining model for the rest of the country - Zhang and several of her colleagues protested the entire system of selecting certain children, often the less attractive or difficult ones, to be marked for death. The protest was met with an official ''investigation'' in 1992, the dismissal of all critical staff members, the promotion of a known sexual abuser, and a tough ban on negative press coverage.

The orphanage was cleaned up as a showplace to encourage foreign adoptions, and from then on, hundreds of unwanted babies and disabled children were shuttled quietly to a second, remote institution on rural Chongming Island, shrouded in deepest secrecy.

Human Rights Watch says that it has ''serious suspicions and fears as to the likely fate'' of the children there.

Official Chinese figures themselves show that 77.6 per cent of the children admitted to the Shanghai institution in the late '80s and early '90s - the vast majority of them healthy baby girls - died. Actually, the over- all mortality rate there was 90 per cent, Human Rights Watch says.

''The brutal treatment of orphans in Shanghai, which included deliberate starvation, torture and sexual assault, continued over a period of many years and led to the unnatural deaths of well over 1,000 children between 1986 and 1992 alone,'' the report says.

A chillingly methodical system was designed to diffuse the culpability of the staff and to lend a gloss of medical routine. Medical staff would meet for a process known as ''summary resolution'' in which certain infants would be selected for starvation. The children were frequently sedated to prevent their struggling or escaping. Once the child was visibly on the point of death, orphanage doctors would be asked to perform a ''consultation,'' which ''served as a ritual marking the child for termination of care, nutrition and life-saving intervention.''

The child would be removed to a ''waiting for death room,'' and death duly followed within an average of one to seven days. Doctors would fill out certificates giving the cause of death as ''mental deficiency'' or ''cleft palate.'' After the government investigation and cover-up, staff adopted a more brazen style, reporting almost all deaths as due to ''third-degree malnutrition.''

Human Rights Watch says that all Chinese state orphanages are dumping grounds or death camps. The official statistic of 100,000 orphans is ''implausibly low; even if it were accurate, however, the whereabouts of the great majority of China's orphans would still be a complete mystery.''

The crimes are all the more hideous because, contrary to previous Western media reports, there is more than enough money in the system to clothe and feed all the children. Moreover, ''the crisis, both nationwide and in Shanghai, is known to the top leadership of China's Ministry of Civil Affairs,'' the authors allege.

The babies are killed to maintain a stable orphanage population, thus masking the huge failure of the one-child family policy.

In one four-day period of December, 1991, 15 children in the Shanghai orphanage died. At least nine of the deaths were caused by hypothermia. The children, ages 2 months to 7 years, had been left for more than 24 hours tied to ''potty chairs'' in freezing weather, wearing thin cotton clothes. Investigators called to the scene by dissident staff noted the blue-black swellings on the limbs of the tightly bound babies, and the fact that several were already unconscious. But the orphanage's Party Secretary flatly refused to save them, and all died.

An elected city council member who made a covert visit to the orphanage's morgue at about this time later testified that ''there were seven bodies piled up there . . . I wept at what I saw. The children's corpses hadn't even been properly shrouded and they were no more than bags of skin and bone. It was unspeakable.''

In hot weather, children's bodies were allowed to deteriorate so badly that city crematorium workers had to be bribed to remove the corpses with ''one small carton of juice'' per body.

Ai Ming, the young man who escaped, has given graphic evidence of forced child labor and torture. Punishments for misbehavior ranged from ''making a kid stand with his head against a wall for a whole morning or evening'' to ''scalding your butt with really hot water'' to the ''choking on water treatment:'' hanged upside down with one's head submerged in water to the point of nosebleeds and near-suffocation.

Three of the horrifying deaths documented in the report:

* Sun Zhu, a baby girl, admitted in good health at the age of 1 month, and died two months later from starvation ''so hungry she had tried to chew the flesh off her hand.''

* Jian Xun, a deaf and mute boy admitted in good health at the age of 7, died at the age of 11, ''severely skeletal,'' weighing 23.6 kilograms less than when he had been admitted. For the last months of his life, he was placed in diapers, tied to his bed by the hands and feet 24 hours a day. His knee joints were red, chafed and swollen due to beatings with a wooden stick.

* Di Quiang, age 12, disabled, marked for ''summary resolution,'' drugged and tied to his bed. He was briefly untied during a visit from foreigners, fled to a bathroom and drank urine from a toilet. He died soon after from ''third-degree malnutrition.''

Human Rights Watch is demanding that the Chinese government make a full, public investigation, bring the criminals to justice, permit Chinese families to adopt abandoned babies and allow scrutiny by its own citizens and by international monitors - something China agreed to when it ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991.

Can Canada, Prime Minister Jean Chretien and his ''Team Canada'' colleagues who visited China in 1994 and inked billions of dollars in trade deals, demand any less? How much longer will we ignore mass murder in the interests of trade and profits?

Landsberg's regular Saturday column is on page H1.

Caption:
Photo (AP) Page A16 TIED TO BED: Jian Xun, 11, is shown at Shanghai orphanage where he died in 1992. Human Rights Watch/Asia alleges he was starved to death.

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NewsBank, inc. - *NewsBank NewsFile* - Article with Citation

Source: Congressional Record

Headline: ORPHANAGES IN CHINA [Part 1 of 2]

Date: January 24, 1996 Length: 7754 words

Topics: senators (U.S. Congress)
transcripts
orphanages
child abuse and neglect
China
Pell, Claiborne

Text:
Mr. PELL. Mr. President, our attention should be drawn to a horrifying report issued this month by the respected human rights organization, Human Rights Watch/Asia, titled ''Death by Default: A Policy of Fatal Neglect in China's State Orphanages.'' The allegations raised in ''Death by Default'' are more than a little disturbing; they are shocking. Mr. President, I ask that the report's ''Summary and Recommendations'' be submitted for the Record.

The report paints a grim picture of the lives of China's youngest, least fortunate citizens. With well-documented details from one institution--the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute--and publicly available statistics for orphanages nationwide provided by China's Ministry of Civil Affairs, the report indicates that orphans in most of China's state-run institutions are living in horrible conditions with little hope for survival. Statistics provided by the Ministry allow Human Rights Watch to conservatively estimate a national death rate in China's orphanages of 25 percent. Critics of the report charge that terrible conditions and high death rates are to be expected in a developing country because of a lack of adequate funding, but ''Death by Default'' again uses official documents to show otherwise. The report shows, for example, that from 1989 to 1992 employees' salaries at state-run orphanages nationally increased at close to twice the rate of expenditures for the children. The question does not seem to be

[[Page S342]]

one of having funding, but one of how that funding is used.

This report relies heavily on documents and pictures taken by a former doctor and a former inmate at the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute for its most harrowing sections. It provides pictures of emaciated children and children tied to their beds, and stories of medical neglect, dying rooms, beatings and rapes by orphanage officials, and children carrying the corpses of other children to the orphanage's morgue. These nightmarish allegations are made worse by documented accounts of how the doctor and others tried in vain to raise the issue of conditions at the orphanage with city government officials. An investigation into the situation was apparently stonewalled and later stopped completely by senior officials. The report notes that conditions at the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute have since improved remarkably and it is now open to visitors, even foreigners. But the report strongly indicates that the Shanghai No. 2 Social Welfare Institute, which is not open to the public, may be carrying on many of these same abuses.

Mr. President, I have not visited either of these institutes in China and cannot personally vouch for the accuracy of ''Death by Default.'' But I can say that the evidence it presents to support its allegations is compelling enough for me to join Human Rights Watch/Asia in calling on government officials in Beijing to reopen the investigation into the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute and to review conditions at state-run institutions nationally. I also urge the U.S. Embassy in Beijing to raise the issue of child welfare with Chinese Government officials at the highest levels. The U.S. Government cannot credibly claim to champion human rights issues globally if it ignores the brutal treatment of young children documented by this report.

This is not the first public report on the state of China's orphanages. The British Broadcasting Corporation and other media organizations have looked at conditions in them before. But I want to commend Human Rights Watch/Asia for again bringing this serious matter to public attention with such a carefully researched document. I hope it is widely read and its recommendations taken in Beijing.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Death by Default: A Policy of Fatal Neglect in China's State Orphanages

I. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

China's Orphans and Human Rights

In response to widespread criticism of its human rights record, the Chinese government has frequently argued that the international community places too much emphasis on civil and political rights, while neglecting the more basic rights to food, shelter, and subsistence--rights which China claims to have secured for its citizens more effectively than some democratic countries. In accordance with the country's post-1949 political tradition, China's leaders assert that economic well-being forms the basis for the enjoyment of all other rights, and that the protection of economic rights can therefore justify restrictions on civil liberties.

In some important respects, China's record in protecting social and economic rights may serve as a model for the rest of the developing world. Levels of well-being, as measured by social indicators such as literacy and life expectancy, are considerably higher in China than in other countries at comparable stages of development, and in some cases higher than those in much wealthier nations.

But China's claim to guarantee the ''right to subsistence'' conceals a secret world of starvation, disease, and unnatural death--a world into which thousands of Chinese citizens disappear each year. The victims are neither the political activists nor the religious dissidents who dominate the international debate over human rights in the People's Republic; they are orphans and abandoned children in custodial institutions run by China's Ministry of Civil Affairs. This report documents the pattern of cruelty, abuse, and malign neglect which has dominated child welfare work in China since the early 1950s, and which now constitutes one of the country's gravest human rights problems.

Human Rights Watch/Asia has now pieced together at least a fragmentary picture of conditions for abandoned children throughout China, including staggering mortality rates for infants in state institutions and the persistent failure of official statistics to track the vast majority of orphans, whose whereabouts and status are unknown.

The evidence--largely official documents cited in detail below--indicates that the likelihood of survival beyond one year, for a newly admitted orphan in China's welfare institutions nationwide, was less than 50 percent in 1989. The documents also show that overall annual mortality at many of China's orphanages is far higher than that documented in any other country. In Romania in December 1989, for example, when foreigners first visited the grim state orphanages housing abandoned and handicapped children and were outraged by what they found there, a representative of the France-based humanitarian group Medecins du Monde stated that the 1989 death rate from infectious disease and neglect was 40 percent, in one home that was particularly abusive. In the Chinese provinces of Fujian, Shaanxi, Guangxi and Henan, overall annual mortality among institutionalized orphans that year ranged from 59.2 percent to 72.5 percent.

When sustained over an extended period, moreover, any of the above annual rates means far higher actual mortality. We estimate that in China's best-known and most prestigious orphanage, the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute, total mortality in the late 1980s and early 1990s was probably running as high as 90 percent; even official figures put the annual deaths-to-admissions ratio at an appalling 77.6 percent in 1991, and partial figures indicate an increase in 1992. Neither institutional welfare policy nor the size of the orphanage system have changed notably since then, while the crisis of abandoned children continues unabated, due in part to China's one-child policy. In the case of Shanghai, there have been cosmetic improvements at the orphanage itself since 1993, designed to encourage foreign adoption, but there is evidence that many disabled infants and children are now simply transferred to a facility outside the city, where access for outsiders is extremely rare and where, according to numerous reports received by Human Rights Watch/Asia, the children are grossly mistreated.

Unlike their Romanian counterparts, the management and staff of China's orphanages cannot claim that their shortcomings result from a lack of funding or from inadequately paid employees. Dispelling a misconception reflected in nearly all Western media coverage of the issue to date, Human Rights Watch/Asia's research confirms that many Chinese orphanages, including some recording death rates among the worst in the country, appear to enjoy more than sufficient budgets, including adequate wages, bonuses, and other personnel-related costs. Expenses for children's food, clothing, and other necessities, however, are extremely low in institutions throughout the country.

The crisis, both nationwide and in Shanghai, is known to the top leadership of China's Ministry of Civil Affairs. Conditions at the Shanghai orphanage are well known to the local political elite and by members of the Politburo. But the government reaction has been to maintain a facade of normalcy, to punish dissenters who have sought to expose abuses and, in certain crucial cases, to promote those responsible for the abuses.

A Nationwide Crisis

Abandonment of children surged in China during the 1980's, in part due to the one-child population control policy and in part due to policies restricting adoption by Chinese couples who are not childless. The national statistics on mortality cited in this report do not contain a gender breakdown, but anecdotal and journalistic reporting on orphanages nationwide reveals that the vast majority of children in orphanages are, and consistently have been during the past decade, healthy infant girls; that is, children without serious disabilities who are abandoned because of traditional attitudes that value boy children more highly. The financial and social problems that these children are perceived to constitute are made more acute by the fact that Chinese couples are not permitted to adopt them, for the most part.

Reports of inhumane conditions in Chinese orphanages have attracted growing international concern in recent years, prompted chiefly by the country's greater openness to foreign press coverage and charitable work financed from abroad, as well as a dramatic increase in overseas adoptions from the People's Republic. Although some scattered allegations have succeeded in bringing to light grave abuses against China's orphans, there has been virtually no effort to place these charges in context through systematic research on the country's institutional welfare system.

The Chinese government's own statistics reveal a situation worse than even the most alarming Western media reports have suggested. In 1989, the most recent year for which nationwide figures are available, the majority of abandoned children admitted to China's orphanages were dying in institutional care. Many institutions, including some in major cities, appeared to be operating as little more than assembly lines for the elimination of unwanted orphans, with an annual turnover of admissions and deaths far exceeding the number of beds available.

In any case, the majority of abandoned children in China never reach the dubious security of a state-run orphanage. Many are sent instead to general-purpose state institutions, where they are confined indiscriminately with retarded, disabled, elderly, and mentally disturbed adults. Although the statistical evidence is unclear, the limited eyewitness information available suggests that death rates among children held in these facilities may be even higher than in China's specialized orphanages.

In addition, Chinese official records fail to account for most of the country's abandoned

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infants and children, only a small proportion of whom are in any form of acknowledged state care. The most recent figure provided by the government for the country's orphan population, 100,000 seems implausibly low for a country with a total population of 1.2 billion. Even if it were accurate, however, the whereabouts of the great majority of China's orphans would still be a complete mystery, leaving crucial questions about the country's child welfare system unanswered and suggesting that the real scope of the catastrophe that has befallen China's unwanted children may be far larger than the evidence in this report documents.

Evidence From Shanghai

In addition to nationwide statistics on the condition of China's institutionalized children, Human Rights Watch/Asia has recently obtained a large quality of internal documentation from one of the most prominent specialized orphanages in the country, the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute. Based on these documents, which include medical records and other official files recording the deaths of hundreds of children, and on the testimony of direct witnesses who left China in 1995, Human Rights Watch/Asia has concluded that conditions at the Shanghai orphanage before 1993 were comparable to those at some of the worst children's institutions in China, several of which have already been exposed in journalistic accounts in the West. Since 1993, a program of cosmetic ''reforms'' has transformed the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute into an international showcase for China's social policies, while an administrative reorganization of the city's welfare system has largely concealed the continuing abuse of infants and children.

Ironically, the Chinese government has praised Shanghai's municipal orphanage extensively as a national model for the care of abandoned and disabled children. In addition to frequent flattering coverage in China's official media, the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute receives considerable financial support from Chinese and international charities and hosts a steady stream of private and official visitors. Behind the institution's glossy official image, however, lies a pattern of horrifying abuse. The brutal treatment of orphans in Shanghai, which included deliberate starvation, torture, and sexual assault, continued over a period of many years and led to the unnatural deaths of well over 1,000 children between 1986 and 1992 alone. This campaign of elimination could be kept secret through the complicity of both higher- and lower-level staff, and because the city's Bureau of Civil Affairs, responsible for the orphanage, also runs the crematoria, where starved children's corpses were disposed of with minimum oversight, often even before a death certificate has been filled out by the attending physician. In addition, officials of various Shanghai municipal agencies knowingly suppressed evidence of child abuse at the orphanage, persistently ignored the institute's high monthly death figures, and in 1992, quashed an investigation into orphanage practices.

Conditions in the Shanghai orphanage came close to being publicly exposed in the early 1990s as a result of pressure by concerned orphanage employees, local journalists and sympathetic Shanghai officials. By 1993, however, virtually all the critical staff members were forced out of their positions and silenced. The orphanage leadership was assisted in its efforts to cover up the truth by three of the city's top leaders: Wu Bangguo, Shanghai's Communist Party secretary; Huang Ju, the city's mayor; and Xie Lijuan, deputy mayor for health, education, and social welfare. Wu, Huang, and Xie were fully informed of the abuses occurring at the Children's Welfare Institute, but took no action to halt them or to punish those responsible, acting instead to shield senior management at the orphanage and to prevent news of the abuses from reaching the public. Meanwhile, Wu Bangguo and Huang Ju have risen to positions of national prominence in China's ruling Politburo.

The cosmetic changes at the Shanghai orphanage since 1993 have been engineered by Han Weicheng, its former director. Although he was a major perpetrator of abuses there, Han was promoted to an even more senior position within the municipal welfare bureaucracy. At about the same time, the orphanage was opened to visitors and large numbers of children from the city's orphanage began to be transferred to another custodial institution, the Shanghai No. 2 Social Welfare Institute. Located on Chongming Island, a remote rural area north of Shanghai, the No. 2 Social Welfare Institute, which is ostensibly a home for severely retarded adults, has been transformed since 1993 into a virtual dumping ground for abandoned infants delivered to the orphanage. While the city government has aggressively promoted the adoption of healthy or mildly disabled orphans by visiting foreigners, reports from visitors to the orphanage in 1995 indicate that infants with more serious handicaps are generally diverted to the Chongming Island institution within weeks or months of their arrival. Human Rights Watch/Asia has not been able to ascertain the mortality rates of children at the No. 2 Social Welfare Institute, but has collected credible reports of severe mistreatment and of staff impunity. Extreme secrecy surrounds the functioning of the Chongming Island institution, raising serious suspicions and fears as to the likely fate of children transferred there.

Perversion of Medical Ethics

Some Western observers have charged that the phenomenally high death rates among China's abandoned children result from neglect and lack of medical training on the part of orphanage employees. Anecdotal evidence from foreign charity workers and adoptive parents has painted a grim picture of decrepit and poorly financed institutions run by demoralized and unskilled nursing staff.

However, medical records and testimony obtained by Human Rights Watch/Asia show that deaths at the Shanghai orphanage were in many cases deliberate and cruel. Child-care workers reportedly selected unwanted infants and children for death by intentional deprivation of food and water--a process known among the workers as the ''summary resolution'' of childrens' alleged medical problems. When an orphan chosen in this manner was visibly on the point of death from starvation or medical neglect, orphanage doctors were than asked to perform medical ''consultations'' which served as a ritual marking the child for subsequent termination of care, nutrition, and other life-saving intervention. Deaths from acute malnutrition were then, in many cases, falsely recorded as having resulted from other causes, often entirely spurious or irrelevant conditions such as ''mental deficiency'' and ''cleft palate.''

The vast majority of children's recorded at the Shanghai orphanage thus resulted not from lack of access to medical care but from something far more sinister: an apparently systematic program of child elimination in which senior medical staff played a central role. By making unfounded diagnoses of mental retardation and other disorders, these doctors have helped to disseminate the widespread belief--which appears to be quite inaccurate--that virtually all of China's abandoned children are physically or mentally handicapped. Worse, the Shanghai orphanage's medical staff then used these supposed disabilities as a justification for eliminating unwanted infants through starvation and medical neglect. Such unconscionable behavior by doctors in China's most advanced and cosmopolitan city points to an ethical crisis of immense proportions in the country's medical profession.

This corruption of medical ethics reflects broader trends in Chinese law and health policy, including recent debates in the National People's Congress, the country's nominal legislature, on legalizing euthanasia for the incapacitated elderly. Official press reports indicate that the Chinese government may also have given serious consideration to allowing euthanasia for handicapped children, but has declined to do so for fear of the international repercussions. The medical evidence suggests, however, that just such pseudo-eugenic practices may have been carried out at the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute. At the very least, the city's abandoned infants, even when not genuinely disabled, became the victims of a policy of deliberate and fatal neglect resulting in their wholesale death by default.

Reports from the Shanghai orphanage also indicate that medical staff there misused their authority in other ways. In several cases, children who were accused of misbehavior or were in a position to expose abuses at the orphanage were falsely diagnosed as ''mentally ill'' and transferred to psychiatric hospitals against their will; in one case, a teenage girl named Chou Hui was imprisoned for four months to prevent her from testifying that she had been raped by orphanage director Han Weicheng. Many other children were given powerful drugs without any apparent medical justification, in order to control their behavior. Human Rights Watch/Asia calls on the leaders of the Chinese medical profession to denounce these gross ethical violations and to take urgent steps to improve standards of medical ethics in China.

The Need For A Worldwide Response

The enormous loss of life occurring in China's orphanages and other children's institutions calls for immediate action by the international community. The United Nations and its specialized agencies must take the lead in investigating conditions in China's child welfare system and in bringing these abuses to an end. Governments throughout the world must make the treatment of China's abandoned children one of their highest priorities as they continue to press for improvements in the country's human rights record.

The People's Republic of China ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in December 1991, and submitted its first implementation report to the U.N. Committee on the Rights of the Child in 1994. The Chinese government has thus submitted itself voluntarily to international monitoring on the treatment of its minor citizens. Nevertheless, the evidence compiled in this report shows that China's policies towards abandoned infants and children are in clear violation of many articles of the convention. Human Rights Watch/Asia urges the Committee on the Rights of the Child to place conditions in the Chinese child welfare system at the top of its agenda for the coming year. Specialized agencies working on children's issues in China, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization, should also make a thorough reform of the country's orphanage system their highest priority. We further call for an immediate investigation into abuses against institutionalized children in China by the Special Rapporteur on

Extrajudicial Executions, who investigates patterns of deliberate state action resulting in death.

Action by the United Nations and its agencies must be accompanied by a strong response from national governments. Bilateral pressure on China to ensure the rights of abandoned infants and children should be give at least as high a priority as demands to free political and religious detainees or to end torture and ill-treatment in the country's prisons. Protecting the lives of China's orphans must remain at the top of the agenda in any future human rights dialogue with the Chinese authorities.

Despite the Chinese government's generally hostile attitude towards Western human right organizations, Human Rights Watch/Asia believes that many government and Communist Party officials will recognize the need for immediate action to resolve this humanitarian crisis. Other branches of the Chinese government must hold the Ministry of Civil Affairs and its officials fully accountable for the atrocities being committed against China's orphans. Human Rights Watch/Asia calls on the authorities to take immediate steps to bring an end to these abuses and offers its full cooperation to the Chinese authorities in formulating the necessary reforms. A list of the organization's recommendations follows.

Ending Impunity in Shanghai

Most Chinese citizens familiar only with official media reports on the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute accept the authorities' claim that conditions for the city's orphans are exemplary. This report shows that the fate of most abandoned children in Shanghai is, in fact, much the same as elsewhere in China. Until 1993, the majority of infants brought to the institute died there within a few months of arrival, and the minority who survived to older childhood were subject to brutal abuse and neglect.

Indeed, the only genuinely unique feature of the Shanghai orphanage appears to be its success since 1993 at generating revenue for the municipal Civil Affairs Bureau. The city's newly reorganized child welfare system now presents the municipal orphanage as its acceptable public face, serving as an advertisement for both charitable giving and profitable foreign adoptions, and a ban on negative media coverage of the Children's Welfare Institute has been in force since 1992.

Human Rights Watch/Asia believes that the spectacular financial success of the Shanghai policies is the real motive behind official praise of the city's child welfare system as a national model. We fear that efforts to duplicate the Shanghai experience elsewhere in China are likely to further worsen conditions for the country's abandoned children, and to strengthen the vested interest of the Ministry of Civil Affairs in obstructing genuine reforms.

Any attempt to improve the treatment of Chinese orphans must therefore begin by reopening the official investigation into misconduct within the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau, launched in 1991 and abruptly terminated the following year. Above all, such an inquiry would seek the widest possible publicity for any evidence of wrongdoing uncovered and would pursue appropriate legal sanctions against bureau employees found responsible for abusing children and causing avoidable deaths.

Such an inquiry will confront the fact that a number of people associated directly or indirectly with abuses at the Shanghai orphanage continue to hold positions of authority, and many have since been promoted or otherwise risen in status. The beneficiaries of this apparent impunity range from ordinary staff members such as the child-care worker Xu Shanzhen, certified as a ''model worker'' in early 1995 despite her brutal abuse of a retarded child, to the former Communist Party secretary of Shanghai, Wu Bangguo, who reportedly ordered media coverage of the scandal suppressed and has since been appointed vice-premier of China.

However, these obstacles make it all the more imperative that swift action be taken at the most senior levels to break the cycle of impunity. Human Rights Watch/Asia urges the Chinese authorities to take the following immediate steps:

(1) The highest government and Communist Party officials in the country should publicly state their determination to investigate unnatural deaths and abuse of children in welfare institutions run by the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau.

To demonstrate this commitment, the authorities should immediately reopen the 1991 inquiry into conditions at the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute. The leadership of the new investigation should be entirely independent of both the Shanghai municipal government and the Ministry of Civil Affairs. Such an inquiry could be led by a specially appointed committee of delegates to the National People's Congress or the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Members of the committee should include medical and legal professionals and should be drawn from throughout the country.

Pending the outcome of the investigation, all management personnel at the institution should be suspended from their positions and replaced by an independent leadership group, preferably including a number of qualified medical doctors, which would aid the authorities in gathering evidence about conditions at the orphanage. Administrative authority over the city's custodial welfare system should be temporarily transferred from the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau to another government department, possibly the Shanghai Public Health Bureau.

(2) The authorities should emphasize that institute staff members implicated in criminal offenses against children, including murder, rape, assault, sexual abuse, and financial corruption, will be tried and punished according to Chinese law. Criminal penalties should be applied as well to those responsible for administrative violations, such as falsification of medical records and unlawful disposal of corpses, which constitute, among others, the crime of ''dereliction of duty'' (duzhi zui) under China's Criminal

Code.

In reopening the investigation, the authorities should place particular emphasis on the practices of ''summary resolution'' before 1993, whereby children were intentionally killed through deprivation of food and medical care. Public statements by senior officials should stress that all such incidents, where they can be verified, will be prosecuted to the full extent under Chinese law.

(3) The scope of theinvestigation should be extended beyond the original terms of the inquiry launched in 1991, and should examine evidence of complicity by senior Shanghai officials in shielding the management of the Children's Welfare Institute. Criminal charges of ''dereliction of duty'' should be brought against present and former city officials who appear to have knowingly suppressed evidence of child abuse at the orphanage. Among the officials so implicated, in official documents cited in this report, are Wu Bangguo, the former Communist Party secretary of Shanghai; Huang Ju, Shanghai's former mayor; Xie Lijuan, the city's deputy mayor, and Sun Jinfu, director of the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau.

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5. Tibetan monk in exile

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INSIDE TIBET: A COUNTRY TORTURED--PART I

by Loretta Tofani
Inquirer Staff Writer

When It Comes to Human Rights in China, the United States Has Been Backing Off, Reluctant to Risk Trade by Using It As Leverage. To Tibetans, That Spells No Relief from the Routine and Ruthless Assaults Exacted by the Chinese Police.

BODIES SCARRED, SPIRITS UNBROKEN

Each time the cattle prod stung her back with an electric current, Lobsang Choedon said, she could feel her skin "sizzle."

Then came electric shocks to her face, mouth and arms. Choedon was 16, a Buddhist nun, and she was being punished for a tiny act of defiance against the Chinese Communist government: On Feb. 3, 1992, Choedon, in her burgundy robes, walked to the Jokhang, Tibet's most sacred temple, with five other young nuns. There, they prayed. Then they chanted these words: "Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Independence for Tibet. Peace to the world."

Within minutes, Choedon was arrested. She said police threw her in a van, then beat her and kicked her with metal-toed boots. When she arrived at the jail, she said, police shocked her face, mouth and arms repeatedly with a 7,000-volt cattle prod.

"Then I went numb," Choedon recalled last month in an interview in India, where she has lived since 1995. "Then the next day, all the pain hit me again."

She was sentenced without trial and served three years in prison. Three other nuns imprisoned with her also were tortured repeatedly, she said. They were not as fortunate as Choedon. They died after their torture--at ages 18, 19 and 24.

In Tibet, a land occupied by China since 1949, torture and intimidation are facts of life for Tibetans caught up in a Chinese campaign to eradicate Tibet's religion, nationality and culture. In hundreds of interviews over the last two years, Tibetans have said Chinese police routinely arrest, jail and torture people who question Chinese authority, even in the most mundane ways.

Tibet, known primarily for its Buddhism and scenic mountains, was invaded by China over a 10-year period beginning in 1949. The Tibetan government--headed by the nation's spiritual and political leader, the Dalai Lama--fled to exile in India in 1959, when China seized control of Lhasa, the capital.

Tibetans interviewed in India, Nepal and Tibet said Chinese police and prison guards beat prisoners with chains, metal rods, and wooden sticks spiked with nails--usually while the victims are shackled or hanging from a ceiling. The most common instrument of torture, the Tibetans said, is the electric cattle prod, used in most countries to herd cows weighing up to 1,200 pounds. The police ram the prods into prisoners' mouths, rectums and vaginas, according to Tibetans who have been imprisoned.

Their accounts have been verified by medical examinations and polygraph tests.

The former prisoners also report that police have held them in water while shocking them, branded their flesh with hot irons, kicked and beat them while they were on the ground, ordered trained dogs to attack and bite them, and locked them in concrete "coffins" for days or months at a time.

Virtually all Tibetans arrested for political reasons are tortured, according to interviews with hundreds of Tibetans, most of whom had been in prison.

China's official response to these findings was given last week by Lu Wen Xiang, first secretary in the press office of the Chinese Embassy in Washington: "This is not government policy. Chinese law forbids torture in jail....I can't say this never happens. It depends on certain people."

China regards Tibet as part of China, saying China's activities there are an internal matter.

While atrocities in Bosnia and other countries command world attention, China has managed to keep the struggle in Tibet quiet. As the sole remaining superpower, the United States is the only nation with the political and economic leverage to pressure China into curbing human-rights abuses. It has condemned China's human-rights policies, but has not taken tough measures such as economic sanctions.

For the last 16 years, China has requested--and received--most-favored-nation trade status, which allows it to export goods to the United States with low tariffs. The United States has denied such trade status to eight countries--including North Korea and Cuba--citing human-rights violations and other policy differences.

In 1995, China sold $45.5 billion in goods to the United States. Some of China's profits from exports to America are used, indirectly, to fund China's military and police activities in Tibet--including its suppression of Tibetans. This year, for the first time, China for several months surpassed Japan as the country accounting for the United States' largest trade deficit.

On Nov. 24, President Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin agreed to exchange state visits over the next two years. That announcement, coupled with the Clinton administration's policy of seeking more engagement with China, suggests that the United States will further de-emphasize human rights in its dealings with China. Human Rights Watch Asia, an international human-rights group, assailed the Clinton strategy, saying: "Clinton seems to be on the verge of selling out on human rights."

Winston Lord, assistant secretary of state for East Asian affairs, told reporters on Nov. 24 that the Clinton administration is still working hard to protect human rights. He said that was one of many important Asian issues, along with trade and nonproliferation. "We believe that regular, high-level dialogue is the most effective way to make progress on all these issues, including human rights," he said.

The U.S. position on Tibet is divided. Congress passed a 1991 resolution calling Tibet an independent nation occupied by China; the U.S. State Department considers Tibet a part of China.

The United Nations also considers Tibet a part of China. The Dalai Lama has abandoned calls for full Tibetan independence and proposed that Tibet be granted autonomy over its domestic affairs while China controls defense and diplomatic issues. China has rejected the plan, and most Tibetans still insist on total independence.

Human-rights groups have alleged for years that China has oppressed and killed Tibetans. The Inquirer's detailed and verified accounts of the experiences of political prisoners provide documentation of the torture. And Tibetans say China has embarked on a new phase of intimidation intended to eliminate the Buddhist faith and culture that has defined Tibet for centuries--and to extinguish all hopes of Tibetan independence.

"The Chinese are practicing cultural genocide in Tibet," the

Dalai Lama said in an interview in Dharmsala, India.

Visits to Tibet and interviews with Tibetans show that Chinese oppression has intensified in several ways in recent years.

Tibetans are at times arrested for no stated reason, taken from their homes or places of work by Chinese police.

Authorities have forced teachers in Tibet to teach in Chinese. Usually, only one course is taught in Tibetan--Tibetan language.

They have forced out Tibetan shopkeepers and turned over their shops to Chinese merchants.

They have intensified efforts at "reeducation" by sending large contingents of Chinese soldiers into monasteries to interrogate every monk and nun individually about their allegiance to the Dalai Lama.

These interrogations are called "examinations." Those who refuse to renounce the Dalai Lama--which would be similar to a Christian denying Jesus Christ--are not allowed to remain in the monasteries. Some are jailed and tortured, Tibetans say.

According to monks in Lhasa, the Chinese have warned that they intend to one day extend the examinations to all Tibetans.

The Chinese also have forced monks to remove photos of the Dalai Lama from monasteries. When monks at Ganden Monastery resisted on May 7, police opened fire, wounding several and arresting dozens, according to relatives of Ganden monks.

Children in middle schools in Lhasa also were told this year that they must not carry photos of the Dalai Lama or wear red cords that are blessed by a lama.

And thousands of Tibetans, imprisoned without due process, face torture and, in a few cases, death.

Like the Dalai Lama, more than 130,000 Tibetans have fled Tibet. Others continue to leave, most by taking a dangerous, two-week trek through the Himalayas, where the frozen bodies of other Tibetans who had attempted to escape are sometimes found embedded in ice along the trail, according to Tibetans who have made the journey.

China benefits economically and logistically from its control of Tibet. It takes lumber, gold and uranium; it uses prisoners for mining and logging, according to former political prisoners. China also uses Tibet to test nuclear weapons and bury nuclear waste, despite Tibetans' opposition to nuclear weapons.

Tibet is also a tourist attraction--especially for Buddhists and mountaineers--drawing millions of dollars every year, much of it enriching China's government. In addition, Tibet is an important military zone, sharing a border with India, Nepal, Bhutan and Burma.

China has drastically changed Tibet's borders; much of what formerly was considered to be Tibet is now labeled as "Chinese provinces" on modern Chinese maps.

China's grip on Tibet is so tight that Lhasa, as well as much of the countryside, is patrolled by hundreds of thousands of Chinese soldiers and police. Undercover agents--posing as bicyclists, tourists, monks, businessmen--spy on Tibetans and visitors. The Chinese have paid some Tibetans to help spy and torture their countrymen.

Tibetans have not taken up arms. A pacifist people who practice Buddhism, Tibetans believe all living things are sacred. They do not believe in swatting flies, much less in attacking their enemies.

"We feel that our national struggle using the nonviolence principle is almost a new experiment on this planet," the Dalai Lama, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, said in the interview this year in Dharmsala. "Of all the countries with problems in the world, only Tibet is responding with nonviolence, because life is sacred to Tibetans--even one life is important. The basic human nature is to have gentleness and compassion."

The Dalai Lama has become a thorn to the Chinese by traveling the world--from Hollywood to Paris--to focus attention on China's actions in Tibet.

While China has destroyed thousands of Tibetan monasteries, businesses and villages, it has built at least 89 jails, detention centers and other facilities where Tibetan dissidents are tortured. Today, there are 2,000 political prisoners in Tibet, according to various estimates. Virtually all of them have been tortured, former prisoners say.

Tibetans are being stunned with electricity, starved and--occasionally--beaten to death, according to former prisoners. Since 1990, Amnesty International has documented the deaths of 24 Tibetans through torture. Between 1949 and 1979, Chinese authorities killed 1.2 million Tibetans, according to the Tibetan government in exile. Tibet's population before 1949 was six million.

The U.S. State Department says that "tens of thousands" of Tibetans were killed by the Chinese, "and close to 100,000 were imprisoned" during the 1950s.

"First they want to eliminate the monks and the nuns because we're politically active," said Jamphel Tsering, 28, a monk interviewed while trekking out of Tibet who said he was tortured repeatedly over five years. "Then they want to grind down the rest of the population. They're trying to destroy our whole culture and our belief system."

In interviews, Tibetans explained why they willingly took actions that would lead to certain torture.

"I feel angry," said Dawa Kyizom, a Tibetan student, now in India, who said she was tortured in jail after helping to make a Tibetan flag that was raised at a monastery. "The anger makes me have no fear. Most Tibetans have no fear. This is what makes us speak out for Tibetan independence and go to prison."

Lobsang Gyatso, a monk who has numerous wide scars on his stomach from torture, expressed a common sentiment--one steeped in Tibetan Buddhist religion and culture, which accepts suffering as part of life. When the police placed a burning hot shovel on his stomach, Gyatso said, "I thought, 'Whatever I'm suffering, I'm suffering for a cause. I have to suffer for the Tibetan people.'"

After a Chinese police officer repeatedly shocked Gyatso with an electric cattle prod, Gyatso felt another emotion typical of Tibetan Buddhists: compassion.

"I felt very sorry for the Chinese man," Gyatso said. "He had orders from the Chinese government to torture me. He would have lost his job if he didn't do it. The Chinese people are not so bad, but the government is very evil."

China has relocated 7.5 million Chinese to Tibet, according to studies commissioned by the Tibetan government in exile.

The country now houses more Chinese than Tibetans, who number 4.6 million. China offers economic incentives for working-class Chinese to emigrate to Tibet, while making it more difficult for ordinary Tibetans to earn a living.

Human-rights groups say that Tibetans own 25 percent of businesses in Lhasa, down from nearly 100 percent 40 years ago.

In May 1993, Chinese officials said that massive Chinese migration into Tibet was successful. They termed it "the final solution."

"We are a minority in our own country," said Sonam Dolkar, 25, a seamstress. "We are in our own country speaking a foreign language. It makes me very angry. There is no inner peace among Tibetans now."

Dolkar fled Tibet in 1992 with her daughter. They now live in India.

Over the years, China demolished virtually all of Tibet's 6,000 ancient monasteries and nunneries. At those that have been rebuilt, the number of monks and nuns continues to decline because of intensified enforcement of a quota imposed by the Chinese government.

At Drepung Monastery, the number of monks has fallen to about 500--from about 7,000 before the Chinese occupation.

"The Chinese have made my country into rags," said Tashi Lhundrup, 29, a monk who was jailed during a freedom demonstration. With scars on his ankles and wrists, he fled to Nepal two months ago, after being released from jail.

The torture victims said that police sought "confessions" in which prisoners admitted they had written or said they wanted independence for Tibet. Police also demanded answers to questions like these: Isn't Tibet better off under Chinese rule? Don't you think you were wrong to challenge Chinese rule? Haven't you changed your mind about independence for Tibet?

Tibetans who had been arrested said that because of their strong beliefs, they answered the Chinese honestly, saying they wanted freedom for Tibet.

The result, they said, was usually hours of torture every day.

Relatively few political prisoners have trials or appear in courtrooms before judges. Most say they were simply handed a document in prison stating their sentence and crime--often "saying counter-revolutionary words." Some say they were simply released after being tortured for months, without being charged.

Because police are in charge of the prisons in Tibet, there is no separation of powers. The police and army officers who arrest citizens are the same people who deal with them in prison.

Nuns and monks are expelled from their nunneries and monasteries after they are arrested. When they get out of prison, they are forbidden by Chinese policy from rejoining their religious orders. As a result, many choose to leave their country and their families so they can practice their religion. Most of them have settled in India.

Laypeople who were political prisoners said they were unable to get jobs after being released from jail; they said their telephones are tapped by police; they and their families often are visited by police; and they are constantly followed by police. Therefore, many leave their country.

6. Ambassador Wu Jianmin, head of the Chinese Delegation to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
PERMANENT MISSION AT GENEVA

Please check against delivery **(Translation)**

STATEMENT BY H.E. AMBASSADOR WU JIANMIN, HEAD OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION UNDER ITEM 10 AT THE 53RD SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

(APRIL 8, 1997)

Mr. Chairman,

The item on country-specific situations has been a hot issue at the Commission on Human Rights. We had hoped that the discussion of Item 10 could help promote human rights around the world. However, this hope is shattered by the harsh realities. Item 10 has become the most politicized and confrontational issue. This has deeply disturbed many developing countries and those upholding justice. More and more countries have expressed their dissatisfaction. Last year, on the second day of the Commission session, eleven representatives from developing countries speaking under Item 3 voiced their opposition to confrontation and politicization and called for dialogue and cooperation. This year, also on the second day of the session, seventeen representatives from developing countries spoke under Item 3. They made a stronger appeal for cooperation and against confrontation. It is not difficult to understand the way they feel, for they are the victims of the North-South confrontation at the Commission on Human Rights.

After the end of the Cold War, the East-West confrontation at the Commission was replaced by the North-South confrontation which has lasted five years. It is provoked by the North and imposed on the South. Some countries of the North are collaborating with each other in a dubious undertaking to turn the Commission into a court for trial of the developing countries, while they themselves would become the high and mighty judges. Since 1992, the Commission has adopted altogether seventy-two country resolutions. Almost all of them are directed at the developing countries. This is no coincidence. As the representative from a developing country, I cannot help asking, are they qualified to pass judgment on the developing countries? The answer is NO. Because:

First, the majority of these developed countries do not have a decent human rights record in history. During the industrialization process, they had for a long time violated the human rights of other countries systematically and on a large scale. The Western countries had been engaging in the trade of black slaves for about four centuries. According to the estimate by Mr. W.E.B DuBois, the well-known Afro-American historian, altogether about one hundred million black people lost their lives in the course of the slave trade. This is the darkest period of human history and a shame to the civilization of the mankind. Its devastating consequences have not been eradicated up until now. Africa remains the poorest continent of the world. Did the slave traders of the developed countries ever give a thought to the human rights of the black people? Today, basked in affluence, have they given a thought to compensating the African countries?

Since the fifteenth century, the Western countries had waged colonial wars for several centuries. They massacred the people of the colonies and plundered their wealth on a large scale. Did they ever give a thought to the human rights of the people of the colonies?

Secondly, the developed Western countries have the unshirkable responsibility for the human rights problems the world faces today. According to the statistics of the United Nations, among the 5.7 billion people all over the world, 1.3 billion are suffering from hunger. I would like to ask the representatives from the developed countries, "Do you know what starvation means?" It means that the survival of a human being is under threat. If survival could not be guaranteed, could there be any human rights to speak of? How come 1.3 billion people are living in poverty? Does it have nothing to do with the aggression, exploitation and plundering by the colonialists in the past? Isn't it the consequence of the irrational international economic order established by the developed countries? With less than 15% of the global population, the developed countries possess more than 50% of the world's wealth, while the poor people, constituting 20% of the world's population, only possess 1.4% of the world's wealth. Is it fair?

Thirdly, the human rights records of the developed countries are far from perfect. Let's take that largest developed country for an instance. The black people account for 12% of its whole population. However, among all the congressmen at different levels, only 5% are black, and there is only one black senator among the 100. This is only a superficial phenomenon. Behind it, we see racism that plagued the country for hundreds of years still running amok.

China is often a major target of censure by a number of developed countries under Item 10. But I can tell them proudly that, although the ethnic minorities amount to only 9% of the Chinese population, their representatives in the National People's Congress account for 14.7% of the whole. Even the Luoba ethnic group with a population of only 2,000 has its representative in the NPC.

Mr Chairman,

A large number of developing countries are fed up with the atmosphere of confrontation and politicization at this Commission. They have appealed time and again for an end to it. Yet, some developed countries stubbornly cling to confrontation. Their statements under this item sound like indictments in a tribunal, and are presented with intolerable arrogance. Why do they cling to confrontation? There are at least three reasons.

First, to revive the old dream of colonialists. What they are concerned about is not the human rights situation in the developing countries, but their own pursuance of power politics and hegemonism under the pretext of human rights. In the past, they conquered the colonies in blood and fire. Today, they dream of reconquering the developing countries under the banner of the so-called human rights.

Secondly, to divert public attention. With the mass media under their control, they find it very convenient to label the developing countries as human rights violators, thus drawing the public attention to the discussion of the so-called human rights violations in those countries. In this way, the massive violation of human rights in their own countries, such as racism, discrimination against women, xenophobia and maltreatment of migrant workers could be cast to the winds.

Thirdly, to shift the blame onto others. Today, as globalization is accelerating, many problems have transcended national boundaries. Take the drug use and trafficking for example. This is a serious violation of human rights. The developed countries often put the blame on the countries of production. There is no denying that drugs are mainly produced in the developing countries. But another indisputable fact is that the drug markets are predominantly located in the developed countries. If the markets vanish or shrink, a dramatic decrease of production would occur. While failing to take effective measures to control and reduce their domestic demand for drugs, the developed countries direct the spearhead of anti-drug struggle against the developing countries, as if the drug problem were mainly caused by the developing countries. Consequently, the public indignation in the developed countries is diverted towards the developing countries, and the governments of the developed countries can emerge unscathed.

Mr. Chairman,

The Commission on Human Rights is the principle body for the consideration of human rights issues in the UN system. Its annual sessions draw the human rights experts from countries all over the world. It could have made meaningful contributions to the promotion and protection of human rights in the world. However, the Commission has squandered a great deal of time, resources and energy on the North-South confrontation. It is high time we put an end to this situation. For that purpose, the Chinese delegation would like to propose the following:

I. The Commission should encourage cooperation and reject confrontation. Confrontation intensifies mutual hostility and leads the Commission astray. Past experience has proved that confrontation is a blind alley and holds no future for the Commission. Let us turn back and get on the way of dialogue and cooperation as pointed out by *the Untied Nations Charter and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*. This is the only correct way for the promotion of the human rights cause.

II. The Commission should encourage democracy and oppose the practice of imposing on others by a few developed countries. Many developed countries have the propensity to make prescriptions for developing countries. Western democracy is one of their panaceas. However, in international relations, they never mention democracy. Instead, they try unscrupulously to impose their own will, values and positions on others. This cannot be tolerated. Democracy is an important principle for the promotion of the healthy development of international relations and must be upheld without reserve in the Commission.

III. The Commission should abide by the principle of equality and mutual respect and oppose the practice of the big oppressing the small, the strong bullying the weak. Sovereign equality is the primary principle laid down in the UN Charter as the cornerstone of the United Nations. However, this principle is often trampled on by some developed countries. They deem themselves superior to others and make the developing countries that constitute more than 85% of the world's population the target of their accusation. This is a gross violation of the principle of equality which is not only the basic principle of human rights, but also the foundation for fruitful cooperation. Only when the principle of sovereign equality and mutual respect is sincerely adhered to and dialogue and cooperation encouraged, can the Commission make great achievements in promoting the human rights cause.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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VOTING SHEET

THE TIBET BUREAU
UN Affairs
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

International
Service
for Human
Rights

"No-Action"

Resolution N° L 90

Agenda item 10

Subject China/Tibet

introduced by Italy

Vote requested by China

Date [illegible]/4/[illegible]

Time 5.20pm

MEMBERS	YES	NO	Abstention	Absent
ALGERIA	✓			
ANGOLA	✓			
AUSTRALIA		✓		
AUSTRIA		✓		
BANGLADESH	✓			
BELARUS	✓			
BENIN	✓			
BRAZIL		✓		
BHUTAN	✓			
BULGARIA		✓		
CAMEROON	✓			
CANADA		✓		
CHILE		✓		
CHINA	✓			
COLOMBIA			✓	
COTE D'IVOIRE	✓			
CUBA	✓			
DENMARK		✓		
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC		✓		
ECUADOR		✓		
EGYPT	✓			
EL SALVADOR		✓		
ETHIOPIA	✓			
FRANCE		✓		
GABON	✓			
GERMANY		✓		
GUINEA	✓			
HUNGARY		✓		
INDIA	✓			
INDONESIA	✓			
ITALY		✓		
JAPAN		✓		
MADAGASCAR	✓			
MALAWI		✓		
MALAYSIA	✓			
MALI	✓			
MAURITANIA	✓			
MEXICO			✓	
NEPAL	✓			
THE NETHERLANDS		✓		
NICARAGUA		✓		
PAKISTAN	✓			
PERU	✓			
PHILIPPINES			✓	
REPUBLIC OF KOREA			✓	
RUSSIAN FEDERATION			✓	
SRI LANKA	✓			
UGANDA	✓			
UKRAINE	✓			
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND		✓		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		✓		
VENEZUELA			✓	
ZIMBABWE	✓			
TOTAL	27	20	6	

7. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen

3. China says U.N. rights censure doomed to fail

BEIJING, March 7, 1997 (Reuter) - Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said Friday any attempt to censure China for rights abuses at the U.N. Human Rights Commission was doomed to fail.

"Since the beginning of the 1990s, the United States and EU countries have for six consecutive years tabled anti-China resolutions in Geneva, and every time they have suffered defeat," Qian told a news conference.

"If they insist on doing the same this year, the outcome will be the same as in the past," Qian said when asked to comment on a possible move to censure China at a commission meeting in Geneva for human rights violations.

The London-based human rights watchdog group Amnesty International has said China will likely escape censure for the seventh year in a row at the U.N. forum, which opens Monday, because Washington and Brussels have been lax in lobbying for support for a resolution.

An Amnesty spokesman, Mark Ogle, said the organization was "pessimistic" about a resolution on China being adopted.

Qian said China preferred dialogue on the basis of equality and mutual respect to confrontation on human rights.

"As you know, dialogue and confrontation are incompatible, and it is impossible to have both. We prefer to have dialogue," Qian said.

Amnesty has accused the United States and the European Union of protecting allies who are violators from scrutiny by the U.N. Human Rights Commission -- including China, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

Jose Ayala Lasso, the outgoing U.N. human rights chief, on Wednesday defended his diplomatic approach, saying speaking out against abuses did not always bring results.

Ayala Lasso, criticized by human rights groups and some diplomats for his relatively low public profile, claimed his quiet diplomacy had produced results in China and Cuba where public pressure had failed.

In China, he said the proof of success of his low-key approach was an unconditional invitation for him to visit the country, accused by the West of widespread abuses. A date was never set for the visit, however.

Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Tang Guoqiang hit out at some western states Thursday for turning a blind eye to their own shortcomings while condemning China's record.

"It is an objective fact that human rights violations exist on a wide-scale in the United States," Tang said, adding that the failings of the West included racial discrimination, xenophobia, ethnic strife and social injustice.

He said that criticism of China was not about human rights but about imposing values on other countries.

The wide gap in views on human rights has led to considerable tension between China and the West, particularly since June 1989 when China called in the army to crush pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

In its annual report on human rights, the U.S. State Department accused Beijing of effectively silencing public dissent in 1996 through jailings, intimidation or exile.

China considers dissidents like Wei Jingsheng, dubbed the father of China's modern democracy movement and a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize, common criminals.

X. Active Participation in International Human Rights Activities

China recognizes and respects the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations related to the protection and promotion of human rights. It appreciates and supports the efforts of the UN in promoting universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and takes an active part in UN activities in the human rights field. China advocates mutual respect for state sovereignty and maintains that priority should be given to the safeguarding of the right of the people of the developing countries to subsistence and development, thus creating the necessary conditions for people all over the world to enjoy various human rights. China is opposed to interfering in other countries' internal affairs on the pretext of human rights and has made unremitting efforts to eliminate various abnormal phenomena and strengthen international cooperation in the field of human rights.

In April 1955, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai signed the "Draft Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference" (also known as the "Bandung Declaration") at the Asian and African Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia. The communique declared that the conference fully supports the fundamental principles concerning human rights laid down in the UN Charter, and made the "respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" the first of the ten principles of peaceful coexistence. In May of the same year, Zhou Enlai, speaking at an enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, said that "the ten principles contained in the Bandung Declaration also include respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations ... All these are the principles that have been consistently advocated by the Chinese people and adhered to by China."

In his speech during the general debate at the 41st session of the United Nations General Assembly held in 1986, the Chinese foreign minister, when mentioning the 20th anniversary of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, pointed out that "the two covenants have played a positive role in realizing the purposes and principles of the UN Charter concerning respect for human rights. The Chinese government has consistently supported these purposes and principles." In September 1988, the Chinese foreign minister pointed out in his speech at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly that the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" is "the first international instrument which systematically sets forth the specific contents regarding respect for and protection of fundamental human rights. Despite its historical limitations, the Declaration has exerted a farreaching influence on the development of the post-war international human rights activities and played a positive role in this regard."

China has taken an active part in the UN activities in the sphere of human rights. Since resuming its lawful seat in the United Nations in 1971, China has sent its delegation to attend every session of the UN Economic and Social Council and of the UN General Assembly, and has taken an active part in deliberation of human rights issues and stated its views on the issue of human rights, making its contributions to enriching the connotation of the concept of human rights. Chinese delegations attended as observers the UN Human Rights Commission's sessions in 1979, 1980 and 1981. China was elected a member of the Human Rights Commission at the first regular session of the UN Economic and Social Council and has been a member ever since. Since 1984 the human rights affairs experts recommended by China to the Human Rights Commission have been continually elected members and alternate members of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The Chinese members have played an important role in the sub-commission. They have become members of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the Working Group on Communications affiliated to the sub-commission.

China has taken an active part in drafting and formulating international legal instruments on human rights within the UN, and has sent delegates to participate in working groups charged with drafting these instruments, including the UN Convention on the Rights of Children, the International Convention on the

Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the Declaration on the Protection of Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. The meetings of these working groups paid much attention to the suggestions and amendments put forward by China. Since 1981 China has participated in every session of the governmental experts group organized by the UN Commission on Human Rights to draft the Declaration on the Right to Development and made positive suggestions until the Declaration on the Right to Development was passed by the 41st session of the UN General Assembly in 1986. China energetically supported the Commission on Human Rights in conducting worldwide consultation on the implementation of the right to development and supported the proposal that the right to development be discussed as an independent agenda item in the Human Rights Commission. China has always been a cosponsor country of the Human Rights Commission's resolution on the right to development.

Since 1980 the Chinese government has successively signed, ratified and acceded to seven UN human rights conventions, namely the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crimes of Apartheid, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The Chinese government has always submitted reports on the implementation of the related conventions, and seriously and earnestly performed the obligations it has undertaken.

China has always upheld justice and made unremitting efforts to safeguard the right of third world countries to national self-determination and to stop massive infringements on human rights. As is well known, China has for many years made unremitting efforts to seek a just and reasonable resolution of a series of major human rights issues, including the questions of Cambodia, Afghanistan, the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, South Africa and Namibia, and Panama.

China pays close attention to the issue of the right to development. China believes that as history develops, the concept and connotation of human rights also develop constantly. The Declaration on the Right to Development provides that human rights refer to both individual rights and collective rights. This means a breakthrough in the traditional concept of human rights and represents a result won through many years of struggle by the newly-emerging independent countries and the international community, a result of great significance. In the world today the gap between the rich and the poor becomes wider and wider. Social and economic growth in many developing countries is slow, and one-third of the population in developing countries still live below the poverty line. To the people in the developing countries, the most urgent human rights are still the right to subsistence and the right to economic, social and cultural development. Therefore, attention should first be given to the right to development. China appeals to the international community to attach importance and give attention to the developing countries' right to development and adopt positive and effective measures to eliminate injustice and unreasonable practice in the world economic order. An earnest effort must be made to improve the international economic environment, alleviate and gradually eliminate factors disadvantageous to developing countries and establish a new international economic order. Factors which have a negative influence on the right to development, such as racism, colonialism, hegemonism and foreign aggression, occupation and interference must be eliminated. A favorable international environment must be created for the realization of the right to development.

Over a long period in the UN activities in the human rights field, China has firmly opposed to any country making use of the issue of human rights to sell its own values, ideology, political standards and mode of development, and to any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries on the pretext of human rights, the internal affairs of developing countries in particular, and so hurting the sovereignty and dignity of many developing countries. Together with other developing countries, China has waged a resolute struggle against all such acts of interference, and upheld justice by speaking out from a sense of fairness. China has always maintained that human rights are essentially matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a country. Respect for each country's sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs are universally recognized principles of international law, which are applicable to all fields of international relations, and of course applicable to the field of human rights as well. Section 7 of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations stipulates that "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state...." The Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations, and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, which were all adopted by the United Nations, contain the following explicit provisions: "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatsoever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State," and every state has the duty "to refrain from the exploitation and the distortion of human rights issues as a means of interference in the internal affairs of States, of exerting pressure on other States or creating distrust and disorder within and among States or groups of States." These provisions of international instruments reflect the will of the overwhelming majority of countries to safeguard the fundamental principles of international law and maintain a normal relationship between states. They are basic principles that must be followed in international human rights activities. The argument that the principle of non-interference in internal affairs does not apply to the issue of human rights is, in essence, a demand that sovereign states give up their state sovereignty in the field of human rights, a demand that is contrary to international law. Using the human rights issue for the political purpose of imposing the ideology of one country on another is no longer a question of human rights, but a manifestation of power politics in the form of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such abnormal practice in international human rights activities must be eliminated.

China is in favor of strengthening international cooperation in the realm of human rights on the basis of mutual understanding and seeking a common ground while reserving differences. However, no country in its effort to realize and protect human rights can take a route that is divorced from its history and its economic, political and cultural realities. A human rights system must be ratified and protected by each sovereign state through its domestic legislation. As pointed out in a resolution of the UN General Assembly at its 45th session: "Each State has the right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems." It is also noted in the resolution of the 46th conference on human rights that no single mode of development is applicable to all cultures and peoples. It is neither proper nor feasible for any country to judge other countries by the yardstick of its own mode or to impose its own mode on others. Therefore, the purpose of international protection of human rights and related activities should be to promote normal cooperation in the international field of human rights and international harmony, mutual understanding and mutual respect. Consideration should be given to the differing views on human rights held by countries with different political, economic and social systems, as well as different historical, religious and cultural backgrounds. International human rights activities should be carried on in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences, mutual respect, and the promotion of understanding and cooperation.

China has always held that to effect international protection of human rights, the international community should interfere with and stop acts that endanger world peace and security, such as gross human rights violations caused by colonialism, racism, foreign aggression and occupation, as well as apartheid, racial discrimination, genocide, slave trade and serious violation of human rights by international terrorist organizations. These are important aspects of international cooperation in the realm of human rights and an arduous task facing current international human rights protection activities.

There is now a change over the world pattern from the old to the new, and the world is more turbulent than before. Hegemonism and power politics continue to exist and endanger world peace and development. Interference in other countries' internal affairs and the pushing of power politics on the pretext of human rights are obstructing the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In face of such a world situation, China is ready to work with the international community in a continued and unremitting effort to build a just and reasonable new order of international relations and to realize the purpose of the United Nations to uphold and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms.

8. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Shen Guofan

China Warns U.S. on Human Rights Resolution

Beijing Pressure Appears to Have Killed Measure Condemning Its Record on Freedoms

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, April 10—China warned today that the United States risks damaging ties by backing a U.N. resolution condemning China's human rights record and said that Denmark's sponsorship of the measure would "become a rock that smashes on the Danish government's head."

China appeared close to success in its aggressive campaign to split Western nations and beat back censure at the U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva for the seventh straight year. China has managed to undermine support for the resolution mainly by threatening economic retaliation against other countries, without making concessions on human rights issues or releasing any leading political prisoners.

Today, in one of the final blows to the resolution, Australia announced it will drop public criticism of China in favor of a formal bilateral dialogue with Beijing on human rights. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang welcomed Australia's decision as "sensible" and said China is willing to discuss human rights if Canberra does not confront Beijing over the issue.

France, Germany, Spain and Italy already have decided against endorsing the Danish resolution, which Denmark and the United States formally introduced today at the 53-member rights commission meeting. Japan and Canada are wavering.

The imminent defeat of the resolution points to a sense of futility among countries that backed the measure in the past and to the extensive efforts Beijing has made to win allies and intimidate critics in foreign capitals.

China has made a special effort to woo France, which last month became the first European nation to break ranks and oppose the resolution.

Political cover was provided for the French by Chinese National People's Congress Chairman Qiao Shi, who trumpeted the development of the rule of law in China in a visit to Paris late last month and held out the possibility of further political reforms. This week in Beijing, Chinese President Jiang Zemin told French Defense Minister Charles Millon that China will sign the United Nations' International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights by the end of the year. Jiang called France's position on the human rights resolution "wise and far-sighted."

Millon expressed hope that a European Union ban on military sales to China gradually will be lifted. He said he and Chinese officials discussed possible exchanges of military technology as well as high-level visits and a joint strategic commission. All military sales to China have been banned by the EU since Chinese army troops crushed student-led demonstrations for democracy in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

Millon was in Beijing to prepare for a visit next month by French President Jacques Chirac, who hopes to sell billions of dollars' worth of airplanes made by the European consortium Airbus Industrie. China bought 30 airliners from Airbus last April in a $1.5 billion deal signed during a visit to France by Premier Li Peng. Other leading French companies are pressing to win Chinese contracts in nuclear power, telecommunications and auto manufacturing. In his meeting with Millon, Jiang said the prospects for Sino-French trade are good.

"France used to be a banner of human rights and democracy in the world. Now for billions of dollars of orders, it has betrayed French tradition and history," the New York-based Chinese exile group Human Rights in China said in a statement.

On Wednesday, the State Department reaffirmed its support for Denmark's stand. Spokesman Nicholas Burns said Washington had "not seen any significant change in the way China treats its people."

The statement prompted Shen to accuse the United States today of "conniving" with Denmark. "America's continued support for resolutions of this kind at the Human Rights Commission will, of course, harm relations between the two countries," he said. "The U.S. government should resolve this problem from the basis of bilateral relations."

Later today, a spokesman for the U.S. human rights delegation in Geneva issued a statement that "the U.S. is supporting Denmark's resolution because we believe that the Human Rights Commission is a fundamentally appropriate forum in which to discuss the human rights situation in China."

"China knows this, and it also knows that if it wants to improve bilateral relations with the United States, a good starting point would be for it to make progress on improving human rights in China," the U.S. spokesman added.

Shen saved his harshest words for Denmark, which tabled the resolution after a divided EU failed to step forward. "This anti-China resolution will, I think, in the end become a rock that smashes on the Danish government's head. Denmark, the bird that pokes out its head, will suffer the most," Shen said at his twice-weekly press briefing. He also urged Finland to consider its national interests when deciding whether to back the Danish resolution.

China's recent concessions on human right have been small. Early this year, Washington said it would not condemn China before the U.N. commission if Beijing signed two U.N. human right documents, resumed talks with the Red Cross on prison visits and released some leading politica prisoners.

Although Jiang said China will sign the U.N. In ternational Covenant on Economic, Social an Cultural Rights, Shen said Beijing is still consider ing whether to sign the International Covenant o Civil and Political Rights. And while China ha held some talks with the Red Cross, the two side are still far from an agreement that would permi Red Cross visits to Chinese prisons.

Prospects for the release of leading politic prisoners also remain dim.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To read the State Department's report on huma rights in China, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at www.washingtonpost.com

I. The Right to Subsistence-- The Foremost Human Right The Chinese People Long Fight for

It is a simple truth that, for any country or nation, the right to subsistence is the most important of all human rights, without which the other rights are out of the question. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms that everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person. In old China, aggression by imperialism and oppression by feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism deprived the people of all guarantee for their lives, and an uncountable number of them perished in war and famine. To solve their human rights problems, the first thing for the Chinese people to do is, for historical reasons, to secure the right to subsistence.

Without national independence, there would be no guarantee for the people's lives. When imperialist aggression became the major threat to their lives, the Chinese people had to win national independence before they could gain the right to subsistence. After the Opium War of 1840, China, hitherto a big feudal kingdom, was gradually turned into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. During the 110 years from 1840 to 1949, the British, French, Japanese, US and Russian imperialist powers waged hundreds of wars on varying scales against China, causing immeasurable losses to the lives and property of the Chinese people.

-- The imperialists massacred Chinese people in untold numbers during their aggressive wars. In 1900, the troops of the Eight Allied Powers -- Germany, Japan, Britain, Russia, France, the United States, Italy and Austria -- killed, burned and looted, razing Tanggu, a town of 50,000 residents, to utter ruins, reducing Tianjin's population from one million to 100,000, killing countless people when they entered Beijing, where more than 1,700 were slaughtered at Zhuangwangfu alone. During Japan's full-scale invasion of China which began in 1937, more than 21 million people were killed or wounded and 10 million people mutilated to death. In the six weeks beginning from December 13, 1937, the Japanese invaders killed 300,000 people in Nanjing.

-- The imperialists sold, maltreated and caused the death of numerous Chinese laborers, plunging countless people in old China into an abyss of misery. According to incomplete statistics, more than 12 million indentured Chinese laborers were sold to various parts of the world from the mid-19th century through the 1920s. Coaxed and abducted, these laborers were thrown into lockups, known as "pigsties," where they were branded with the names of their would-be destinations. During the 1852-58 period, 40,000 people were put in such "pigsties" in Shantou alone, and more than 8,000 of them were done to death there. Equally horrifying was the death toll of ill-treated laborers in factories and mines run by imperialists across China. During the Japanese occupation, no less than 2 million laborers perished from maltreatment and exhaustion in Northeast China. Once the laborers died, their remains were thrown into mountain gullies or pits dug into bare hillsides. So far more than 80 such massive pits have been found, with over 700,000 skeletons of the victims in them.

-- Under the imperialists' colonial rule, the Chinese people had their fill of humiliation and there was no personal dignity to speak of. The foreign aggressors enjoyed "extraterritoriality" in those days. On December 24, 1946 Peking University student Shen Chong was raped by William Pierson, an American GI, but, to the great indignation of the Chinese people, the criminal, handled unilaterally by the American side, was acquitted and released. Imperialist powers exercised administrative, legislative, judicial, police and financial powers in the "concessions" they had set up in China, turning them into "states within a state" that were thoroughly independent of the Chinese administrative and legal systems. In 1885, foreign aggressors put up a signboard at the entrance of a park in the French concession; in a blatant insult to the Chinese people, it read, "Chinese and dogs not admitted."

-- Forcing more than 1,100 unequal treaties on China, the imperialists plundered Chinese wealth on a large scale. Statistics show that, by way of these unequal treaties, the foreign aggressors made away with more than 100 billion taels of silver as war indemnities and other payments in the past century. Through the Sino-British Treaty of Nanking, the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Shimonoseki, the International Protocol of 1901 and five other such treaties alone, 1,953 million taels of silver in indemnity were extorted, 16 times the 1901 revenue of the Qing government. The Treaty of Shimonoseki alone earned Japan 230 million taels of silver in extortion money, about four and a half times its annual national revenue. The losses resulting from the destruction and looting by the invaders in wars against China were even more incalculable. During Japan's full-scale war of aggression against China (1937-45), 930 Chinese cities were occupied, causing US$62 billion in direct losses and US$500 billion in indirect losses. With their state sovereignty impaired and their social wealth plundered or destroyed, the Chinese people were deprived of the basic conditions for survival.

In face of the crumbling state sovereignty and the calamities wrought upon their lives, for over a century the Chinese people fought the foreign aggressors in an indomitable struggle for national salvation and independence. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, the Boxers Movement and the Revolution of 1911 which overthrew the Qing Dynasty broke out during this period. These revolutionary movements dealt heavy blows to imperialist influences in China, but they failed to deliver the nation from semi-colonialism. A fundamental change took place only after the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, overthrew the Kuomintang reactionary rule and founded the People's Republic of China. After its birth in 1921, the Communist Party of China set the clear-cut goal in its political program to "overthrow the oppression by international imperialism and achieve the complete independence of the Chinese nation" and to "overthrow the warlords and unite China into a real democratic republic"; it led the people in an arduous struggle culminating in victory in the national democratic revolution.

The founding of the People's Republic of China eradicated the forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in the Chinese mainland, put an end to the nation's history of dismemberment, oppression and humiliation at the hands of alien powers for well over a century and to long years of turbulence characterized by incessant war and social disunity, and realized the people's cherished dream of national independence and unification. The Chinese nation, which makes up one-fourth of the world's population, is no longer one that the aggressors could kill and insult at will. The Chinese people have stood up as the masters of their own country; for the first time they have won real human dignity and the respect of the whole world. The Chinese people have won the basic guarantee for their life and security.

National independence has protected the Chinese people from being trodden under the heels of foreign invaders. However, the problem of the people's right to subsistence can be truly solved only when their basic means of livelihood are guaranteed.

To eat their fill and dress warmly were the fundamental demand of the Chinese people who had long suffered cold and hunger. Far from meeting this demand, successive regimes in old China brought even more disasters to the people. In those days, landlords and rich peasants who accounted for 10 percent of the rural population held 70 percent of the land, while the poor peasants and farm laborers who accounted for 70 percent of the rural population owned only 10 percent of the land. The bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie who accounted for only a small fraction of the population monopolized 80 percent of the industrial capital and controlled the economic lifelines of the country. The Chinese people were repeatedly exploited by land rent, taxes, usury and industrial and commercial capital. The exploitation and poverty they suffered were of a degree rarely seen in other parts of the world. According to 1932 statistics, the Chinese peasants were subjected to 1,656 kinds of exorbitant taxes and levies, which took away 60-90 percent of their harvests. The people's miseries were exacerbated and their lives made all the harsher by the reactionary governments who, politically corrupt and impotent, surrendered China's sovereign rights under humiliating terms and served as tools of foreign imperialist rule, and by the separatist regime of warlords who were embroiled in endless wars. It was estimated that 80 percent of the populace in old China suffered to varying degrees of starvation and tens of thousands -- hundreds of thousands in some cases -- died of it every year. A major natural disaster invariably left the land strewn with corpses of hunger victims. More than 3.7 million lives were lost when floods hit east China in 1931. In 1943, a crop failure in Henan Province took the lives of 3 million people and left 15 million subsisting on grass and bark and struggling on the verge of death. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the reactionary Kuomintang government launched a civil war, fed on the flesh and blood of the people and caused total economic collapse. In 1946, 10 million people died of hunger countrywide. In 1947, 100 million, or 22 percent of the national population then, were under the constant threat of hunger.

Ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Communist Party of China and the

Chinese government have always placed the task of helping the people get enough to wear and eat on the top of the agenda. For the first three years of the People's Republic, the Chinese people, led by their government, concentrated their efforts on healing the wounds of war and quickly restored the national economy to the record level in history. On this basis, China lost no time to complete the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce, thus uprooting the system of exploitation, instituting the system of socialism and, for the first time in history, turning the people into masters of the means of production and beneficiaries of social wealth. This fired the people with soaring enthusiasm for building a new China and a new life, emancipated the social productive forces and set the economy on the track of unprecedented growth. Since 1979, China has switched the focus of its work to economic construction, begun reform and opening to the outside world, and set the goal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This has further expanded the social productive forces and enabled the nation to basically solve the problem of feeding and clothing its 1.1 billion people.

Tilling 7 percent of the world's total cultivated land -- averaging only 1.3 mu (one mu equals one-fifteenth of one hectare) per capita as against 12.16 mu in the United States and the world's average of 4.52 mu -- China has nevertheless succeeded in feeding a population that makes up 22 percent of the world's total. Contrary to some Western politicians' prediction that no Chinese government could solve the problem of feeding its people, socialist China has done it by its own efforts. The past 40-odd years have witnessed a marked increase in the average annual per-capita consumption of major consumer goods despite a yearly average population increase of 14 million. A survey shows that the daily caloric intake of food per resident in China was 2,270 in 1952, 2,311 in 1978 and 2,630 in 1990, approaching the world's average.

The life-span of the Chinese people has lengthened and their health improved considerably. According to statistics, the population's average life expectancy increased from 35 years before liberation to 70 years in 1988, higher than the average level in the world's medium-income countries, while the death rate dropped from 33 per thousand before liberation to 6.67 per thousand in 1990, which was one of the lowest death rates in the world. China's 1987 infant mortality of 31 per thousand approached the level of high-income countries. The health of the Chinese people, especially the physical development of youngsters, has greatly improved as compared with the situation in old China. An average 15-year-old boy in 1979 was 1.8 centimeters taller and 2.1 kilograms heavier than his counterparts living during the 1937-41 period; and an average girl of the same age in 1979 was 1.3 centimeters taller and 1 kilogram heavier. Since 1979, the health of the Chinese people has improved further. The label on old China, "sick man of East Asia," has long been consigned to the dustbin of history.

The problem of food and clothing having been basically solved, the people have been guaranteed with the basic right to subsistence. This is a historical achievement made by the Chinese people and government in seeking and protecting human rights.

However, to protect the people's right to subsistence and improve their living conditions remains an issue of paramount importance in China today. China has gained independence, but it is still a developing country with limited national strength. The preservation of national independence and state sovereignty and the freedom from imperialist subjugation are, therefore, the very fundamental conditions for the survival and development of the Chinese people. Although China has basically solved the problem of food and clothing, its economy is still at a fairly low level, its standard of living falls considerably short of that in developed countries, and the pressure of a huge population and relative per-capita paucity of resources will continue to restrict the socio-economic development and the improvement of the people's lives. The people's right to subsistence will still be threatened in the event of a social turmoil or other disasters. Therefore it is the fundamental wish and demand of the Chinese people and a long-term, urgent task of the Chinese government to maintain national stability, concentrate their effort on developing the productive forces along the line which has proven to be successful, persist in reform and opening to the outside world, strive to rejuvenate the national economy and boost the national strength, and, on the basis of having solved the problem of food and clothing, secure a well-off livelihood for the people throughout the country so that their right to subsistence will no longer be threatened.

9. Reporter from the Xinhua News Agency

NewsBank, inc. - *NewsBank NewsFile* - Article with Citation

Source: Xinhua News Agency

Headline: Accusations Against Shanghai Orphanage Refuted

Date: January 16, 1996 Length: 427 words
Dateline: WASHINGTON

Topics: orphanages
child abuse and neglect
allegations
China

Text:
The Chinese Embassy here rejected as "biased and totally untenable" recent allegations of maltreatment made by the U.S. media against a Shanghai orphanage.

"The legitimate rights of orphans and disabled children in China are equally guaranteed as the rest and great care and concern have been shown toward them by the Chinese government and the whole Chinese society," Yu Shuning, press counselor of the Chinese Embassy, said in letters to some leading U.S. newspapers.

Some U.S. newspapers in the past few days published articles based on a report by the New York-based Human Rights Watch/Asia, asserting that "hundreds of children" died abnormal deaths in the Shanghai orphanage.

They charged that there were "torture, as well as physical and mental abuse" of children there and that China has a policy of letting children die in the orphanages.

The mortality rate in the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute (SCWI) in recent years averages about 4 percent, Yu noted in the letters, parts of which were recently published by the Washington Times and the New York Times. It is "a sheer fabrication with ulterior motives to claim that 'hundreds of children' died abnormal deaths," he declared.

In their stories about the Shanghai institute, the U.S. media also relied heavily on the "information" provided by Zhang Shuyun, a former SCWI staff member, who spread lies about her superiors after she was criticized for her poor work performance and who fled to the United States after a libel suit had been filed against her.

Dismissing the claim of the Human Rights Watch/Watch that the timing of its report had "no political consideration," the Chinese Embassy official pointed out it is not the first time that this group launched attacks on China.

As deliberations of the U.N. Human Rights Commission will start in March, he queried: "What purpose will this report serve if it is not for lending a helping hand to push through a resolution condemning China on the human rights issue?"

Meanwhile, a number of American friends in letters addressed to the Chinese ambassador expressed concern about possible negative impact of what they called "grossly unfair" reports in the U.S. media.

"It is terribly unfair to suggest China is letting children die in orphanages based on one person's dated and uncorroborated report on one orphanage," one letter said.

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Source: Xinhua News Agency

Headline: Sick Child Photo Sham: Institute Heads

Date: January 11, 1996 Length: 615 words
Dateline: SHANGHAI

Topics: orphanages
child abuse and neglect
allegations
China

Text:
Zhou Zhuqing, president of the Shanghai Child Welfare Institute, and Han Weicheng, ex-president of the institute, have told Xinhua that the photograph of a sick child which is contained in a report by the Human Rights Watch/Asia group is a sham deliberately faked by Zhang Shuyun.

Human Rights Watch/Asia issued a report on the situation of the Shanghai Child Welfare Institute January 7, which it had reportedly spent nine months compiling, based on materials provided by Zhang Shuyun, who had worked in the institute.

Recently, some Western media carried the photo with a caption saying that the sick child was dying from mistreatment in the welfare institute.

Zhou and Han said that they had not yet read the report by Human Rights Watch/Asia but upon checking the photo faxed to them by friends abroad, they identified him as a sick child the institute took in on February 24, 1988.

Zhou said that the child, named Jian Xun by the institute, was diagnosed as being severely mentally retarded. Provided with meticulous care, the child gained on some weight for a period of time but began to vomit every time after being fed and grew thinner.

The doctors then fed him with milk and treated him with intravenous drips, but he died on July 17, 1992.

Zhou showed Xinhua a thick pile of diagnosis papers, recording the process of treatment and prescriptions.

Han, who graduated from the Shanghai Medical University in 1970 and worked as a physician for 11 years, said that Jian Xun's malnutrition had resulted from his inability to absorb nutrients, which was caused by a disease of his central nervous system.

Han said that the child's malnutrition was not caused by lack of feeding and that Human Rights Watch/Asia and Zhang Shuyun were deceiving the public by saying that Jian Xun died of starvation.

As for the picture showing Jian Xun's hands tied to the bed and his chest bare, Zhou and Han said that such things had never occurred to Jian Xun in the Shanghai Child Welfare Institute, as he never had self-destructive behavior and he was then so weak that there was no need to take such a precaution to restrain him. No child has ever been tied as the photo shows and it was a sheer fabrication by the photographer.

According to Zhou and Han, Zhang Shuyun was criticized by her superiors and colleagues for her poor performance when she was working in the institute. Later, Zhong was found to have often instigated Ai Ming, an adopted person growing up in the institute, to take pictures covertly in the wards, by making the sick children pose in different ways. Ai Ming even asked two older children, named Zhan Tong and Zhai Hong, to join him in taking pictures in such way.

According to Zhan Tong, the camera was given to Ai Ming by Zhang Shuyun and Zhai Hong was told to unbutton the clothes of the children when taking pictures.

Zhou and Han concluded that the picture contained in the report by the Human Rights Watch/Asia must be a sham faked by Ai Ming on Zhang Shuyun's instigation.

They said that the Child Welfare Institute has received journalists from 19 media organizations in the United States, Britain, France, Japan and other countries, who visited the the institute for over two hours.

Facts proved that the children in the institute are well fed and clothed and that the nurses are fully devoted to their jobs, they said. The shocking description by Human Rights Watch/Asia and Zhang Shuyun is nothing but a malicious fraud, they added.

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10. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Tang Guoquiang

Chinese Spokesman Disputes US Congressman's Comments on Tibet

Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Tang Guoqiang, responding to journalists' question about US Representative Frank R. Wolf's remarks about what he allegedly saw and heard in Tibet , said that they were "lamentable".

Wolf recently claimed that there is no religious freedom for Tibetans and that the Chinese Central Government has pursued a "Cultural Genocide" policy in Tibet.

"The Chinese Government's policy is to protect and develop the culture and traditions of minority people," Tang said, noting that Tibetans' freedom to practice religion is fully protected by the Constitution and laws of China.

In recent years, the Chinese Government has set aside funds specifically for repairing more than 1,700 monasteries and other religious sites like the Potala, and has systematically surveyed, collected, collated, studied, and published Tibetan cultural and folk arts materials, and has provided for the study of the Tibetan language and the use of Mandarin and Tibetan as a teaching medium, Tang said.

"Tibetan culture is developing in all-round way and does not in any way face extinction," he said, and that this is a fact that was widely recognized at an international seminar on Tibetan studies recently in Beijing in which scholars from the United States participated.

Anyone can see a world of difference between the Tibet of today and the old Tibet, in which the vast number of serfs, who made up over 90 percent of the population, suffered political oppression and economic exploitation, Tang said, adding that the old Tibet was one of the darkest and most backward regions in the world where human rights were most seriously trampled upon.

"It was only after the Democratic Reform and the abolishment of serfdom there that the Tibetan people truly gained their freedom and enjoyed all the political rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution and the Law on Regional National Autonomy of the People's Republic of China," he said.

"Representative Frank R. Wolf, wearing colored spectacles, has wantonly slandered China, disregarding the enormous progress that has been made in Tibet in various fields. This is something lamentable and will fall through," he concluded.

Part Two

IV. Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

Before the Democratic Reform of 1959 Tibet had long been a society of feudal serfdom under the despotic religion-political rule of lamas and nobles, a society which was darker and more cruel than the European serfdom of the Middle Ages. Tibet's serf-owners were principally the three major estate-holders: local administrative officials, nobles and upper-ranking lamas in monasteries. Although they accounted for less than 5 percent of Tibet's population, they owned all of Tibet's farmland, pastures, forests, mountains and rivers as well as most livestock. Statistics released in the early years of the Qing Dynasty in the 17th century indicate that Tibet then had more than 3 million *ke* of farmland (15 *ke* equal to 1 hectare), of which 30.9 percent was owned by officials, 29.6 percent by nobles, and 39.5 percent by monasteries and upper-ranking lamas. Before the 1959 Democratic Reform, Tibet had 197 hereditary noble families and 25 big noble families, with the biggest numbering seven to eight, each holding dozens of manors and tens of thousand of *ke* of land.

Serfs made up 90 percent of old Tibet's population. They were called *tralpa* in Tibetan (namely people who tilled plots of land assigned to them and had to provide corvee labor for the serf-owners) and *duiqoin* (small households with chimneys emitting smoke). They had no land or personal freedom, and the survival of each of them depended on an estate-holder's manor. In addition, *nangzan* who comprised 5 percent of the population were hereditary household slaves, deprived of any means of production and personal freedom.

Serf-owners literally possessed the living bodies of their serfs. Since serfs were at their disposal as their private property, they could trade and transfer them, present them as gifts, make them mortgages for a debt and exchange them. According to historical records, in 1943 the aristocrat Chengmoim Norbu Wanggyai sold 100 serfs to a monk official at Garzhol Kamsa, in Zhigoin area, at the cost of 60 *liang* of Tibetan silver (about four silver dollars) per serf. He also sent 400 serfs to the Gundelin Monastery as mortgage for a debt of 3,000 pin Tibetan silver (about 10,000 silver dollars). Serf-owners had a firm grip on the birth, death and marriage of serfs. Male and female serfs not belonging to the same owner had to pay "redemption fees" before they could marry. In some cases, an exchange was made with a man swapped for man and a woman for woman. In other cases, after a couple wedded, the ownership of both husband and wife remained unchanged, but their sons would belong to the husband's owner and their daughters to the wife's owner. Children of serfs were registered the moment they were born, setting their life-long fate as serfs.

Serf-owners ruthlessly exploited serfs through corvee and usury. The corvee tax system of old Tibet was very cruel. Permanent corvee tax was registered and there were also temporary additional corvee taxes. Incomplete statistics indicate the existence of more than 200 categories of corvee taxes levied by the Gaxag (Tibetan local government). The corvee assigned by Gaxag and manorial lords accounted for over 50 percent of the labor of serf households, and could go as high as 70-80 percent. According to a survey conducted before the Democratic Reform, the Darongqang Manor owned by Regent Dagzhag of the 14th Dalai Lama had a total of 1,445 *ke* of land, and 81 able-bodied and semi-able-bodied serfs. They were assigned a total of 21,260 corvee days for the whole year, the equivalent of an entire year's labor by 67.3 people. In effect, 83 percent of the serfs had to do corvee for one full year.

The serfs engaged in hard labor year in and year out and yet had no guaranteed food or clothing. Often they had to rely on money borrowed at usury to keep body and soul together. The annual interest rate for usurious loans was very high, while that for money borrowed from monasteries was 30 percent, and for grain 20 or 25 percent. Monetary loans from nobles exacted a 20 percent interest, while that for grain amounted to 20 or 25 percent.

Gaxag had several money-lending institutions, and the Dalai Lama of various generations had two organizations specialized in lending money. Incomplete records in the account books of the two cash-lending bodies of the Dalai Lama in 1950 show that they had lent out about 3.0385 million liang of Tibetan silver in usurious loans.

Snowballing interest of usurious loans created debts which could never be repaid by even succeeding generations and debts involving a guarantor resulted in the bankruptcy of both the debtor and the guarantor. The grandfather of a serf named Cering Goinbo of Maizhokunggar County once borrowed 50 *ke* of grain (1 *ke* equal to 14 kg) from the Sera Monastery. In 77 years the three generations had paid more than 3,000 *ke* of grain for the interest but the serf-owner still claimed that Cering Goinbo owed him 100,000 *ke* of grain. There was another serf named Dainzin in Donggar County who in 1941 borrowed one *ke* of *qingke* barley from his master. In 1951 when he was asked to repay 600 *ke* , he was forced to flee, his wife was driven to death and his seven-year-old son was taken away to repay the debt by labor.

In order to safeguard the interests of serf-owners, Tibetan local rulers formulated a series of laws. The 13-Article Code and 16-Article Code, which were enforced for several hundred years in old Tibet, divided people into three classes and nine ranks. They clearly stipulated that people were unequal in legal status. The codes stipulated, "It is forbidden to quarrel with a worthy, sage, noble and descendant of the ruler"; "persons of the lower rank who attack those of the upper rank, and a junior official who quarrels with a senior official commit a serious crime and so should be detained"; "anyone who resists a master's control should be arrested"; "a commoner who offends an official should be arrested"; "anyone who voices grievances at the palace, behaving disgracefully, should be arrested and whipped." The standards for measuring punishment and the methods for dealing with people of different classes and ranks who violated the same criminal law were quite different. In the law concerning the penalty for murder, it was written, "As people are divided into different classes and ranks, the value of a life correspondingly differs." The lives of people of the highest rank of the upper class, such as a prince or leading Living Buddha, are calculated in gold to the same weight as the dead body. The lives of people of the lowest rank of the lower class, such as women, butchers, hunters and craftsmen, are worth a straw rope. In the law concerning compensation for injury, it was stipulated that a servant who injures his master should have his hands or feet chopped off; a master who injures a servant is only responsible for the medical treatment for the wound, with no other compensation required.

Making use of written or common law, the serf-owners set up penitentiaries or private jails. Local governments had law courts and prisons, as had large monasteries. Estate-holders could build private prisons on their own manor ground. Punishments were extremely savage and cruel, and included gouging out the eyes; cutting off ears, hands and feet; pulling out tendons; and throwing people into water. In the Gandan Monastery, one of the largest in Tibet, there were many handcuffs, fetters, clubs and other cruel instruments of torture used for gouging out eyes and ripping out tendons. Many materials and photos showing limbs of serfs mutilated by serf-owners in those years are kept in the hall housing the Tibetan Social and Historical Relics Exhibition in the Beijing Cultural Palace of Nationalities.

Under the centuries-long feudal serfdom, the Tibetan serfs were politically oppressed, economically exploited and frequently persecuted. A saying circulated among serfs, "All a serf can carry away is his own shadow, and all he can leave behind is his footprints." Old Tibet can be said to have been one of the world's regions witnessing the most serious violations of human rights.

Despite the cruel rule of the feudal serfdom, Tibetan laboring people never ceased their resistance struggles. They strove for their personal rights by making petitions, fleeing, resisting rent and corvee and even waging armed struggle. However, they were subjected to ruthless suppression by the three big estate-holders. The law of old Tibet stated, "All civilians who rebel all commit felonies." In such incidences not only the rebel himself would be killed, but his family property would be confiscated and his wife be made a slave. The 5th Dalai Lama once issued the order, "Commoners of Lhari Ziba listen to my order: .... I have authorized Lhari Ziba to chop off your hands and feet, gouge out your eyes, and beat and kill you if you again attempt to look for freedom and comfort." This order was reiterated on many occasions by his successors in power.

V. The People Gain Personal Freedom

The central people's government and the local government of Tibet signed in 1951 the 17-Article Agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, and Tibet was peacefully liberated. This brought hope to the Tibetan people in their struggle for equal personal rights. After the quelling of the armed rebellion in 1959, the central people's government, in compliance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, conducted the Democratic Reform in Tibet and abolished the extremely decadent and dark feudal serfdom. The million serfs and slaves were emancipated. They were no longer regarded as the personal property of serf-owners who could use them for transactions, transfer, mortgage for a debt or exchange or exact their toil. From that time on they gained the right to personal freedom. This was a great, epoch-making change in Tibetan history.

Now old Tibet's codes have been abrogated. Citizens are no longer divided into three classes and nine ranks. All sorts of barbarous punishments are prohibited and privately established prisons have all been dismantled. New China's Constitution and laws guarantee that every Tibetan enjoys the right to subsistence and personal safety.

The Democratic Reform abolished the ownership of the means of production by serf-owners. The farmland originally occupied by those serf-owners involved in the armed rebellion was distributed free to landless serfs and slaves. In Kesong Manor, Nedong County in Shannan Prefecture, 443 peasants were given 1,696 *ke* of land. When the title deeds for land and debt contracts were thrown into the fire, the former serfs danced around the blaze. The 75-year-old Soinam said, "I used to till the land of my master, and I belonged to him day and night. When asked to do corvee at midnight, I dared not wait till dawn the next day. Now I have received land. I feel I can sleep well and have a good appetite. I really want to live several years longer so that I can see the happy future." A policy of redemption was introduced with regard to the land and other means of production of serf-owners who did not participate in the rebellion. The 900,000 *ke* of land and over 820,000 head of livestock of the 1,300 serf-owners and their agents, who did not participate in the rebellion, were redeemed by the state at a cost topping 45 million yuan.

The Tibetan laboring people no longer suffer from the heavy corvee taxes and usurious exploitation by the serf-owners. The fruits of their labor all belong to themselves, and the enthusiasm of the Tibetan people for production became unprecedentedly high. The region's grain output in 1960 increased by 12.6 percent over 1959 and the number of livestock by 10 percent. The Tibetan people began to enjoy the right to subsistence, along with adequate food and clothing.

VI. The People Enjoy Political Rights

Under the political system combining religion with politics and despotic rule by feudal estate-holders in old Tibet, the Dalai Lama was one of the leaders of the Gelug Sect of Tibetan Buddhism and also head of the Tibetan local government. He held both political and religious power. The official system of the former Tibetan local government was a dual one of monk and lay officials. In the administrative organs, there were both monk and lay officials, with the former higher than the latter in rank. But there were monk officials in some organizations. Monasteries enjoyed special jurisdiction in handling political affairs. Abbots of the three major monasteries (Gandan, Sera and Zhaibung) and the four large ones (Gundeling, Dangyailing, Cemoinling and Cejoiling) participated in all "enlarged meetings of officials" to discuss important events. Resolutions adopted at the meetings became effective only when they bore the stamps of the local government and the three major monasteries.

The Democratic Reform in 1959 put an end to the political system of combining religious with political rule and introduced the new political system of people's democracy. Under the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the Tibetan people, like the people of various nationalities throughout the country, have become masters of the country and enjoy full political rights provided for by the law.

Citizens of the Tibet Autonomous Region who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election, regardless of their ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence. They can directly vote for deputies to the people's congresses of counties, districts, townships and towns. These deputies can in turn elect deputies to the national, autonomous regional and municipal people's congresses. The people exercise the power of managing the state and local affairs through the people's congresses at all levels. The political enthusiasm of the Tibetan people is high because they have obtained the right to be masters of their own affairs. They have actively exercised their rights. Statistics of Lhasa, Nagqu, Xigaze, Nyingchi and Shannan on the elections for deputies to the Fifth People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1988 show that 93.88 percent of the people there voted. To enable illiterates to participate, beans were used in place of ballots in many places. Voters placed beans in the bowls behind the back of the candidates of their choice. Those with the most beans went into office. Currently, deputies of the local ethnic minorities, with Tibetans as the main force, account for over 95 percent of the total local deputies to the people's congresses at the district and county levels and the figure is over 82 percent for those to the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Most of the current chairmen of the Standing Committees of the people's congresses of the 75 counties (cities and districts) in the autonomous region used to be serfs or slaves in old Tibet.

The Tibetan Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) was set up in Tibet in 1959 to ensure that people of all social strata and of all walks of life can fully voice their opinions and play their roles in social and political life. The CPPCC, an organization of the broadest patriotic united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, is an important political organization conducting political consultation, implementing mutual supervision and developing socialist democracy. Its role has been brought into full play in Tibet. The CPPCC Tibetan Committee has drawn on the participation of the people of all social strata from Tibetan and other ethnic groups. Many of them were patriotic monk and secular officials of the former local government of Tibet and upper-class religious figures. They include Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, the Great Living Buddha of Qamdo Prefecture, who is now vice-chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region; and Lhalu Cewang Doje, a former Tibetan noble man and a Galoin of the Tibetan local government, who is currently vice-chairman of the CPPCC Tibetan Committee. Through the political consultative conferences, these people have participated in the discussion and management of state affairs and helped the government in making decisions. Their motions raised at past conferences have involved ethnic groups, religion, culture and education, science and technology, public health, agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, urban and rural construction and environmental protection. They have played an important role in safeguarding the unification of the motherland, strengthening national unity, opposing national separation, inheriting and developing traditional national culture, speeding up development of Tibetan economy, and promoting reform and opening up.

Tibet practices regional national autonomy in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In March 1955, the central government decided to set up the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. In September 1965, the First Session of the First People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region was held in Lhasa and the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region was officially announced. Most deputies of the tibetan nationality to the congress were emancipated serfs and slaves, as well as patriots from the upper strata and religious figures. At the congress, Ngapoi Nagwang Jigme was elected chairman of the People's Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Having smashed the yoke of the feudal serfdom, the broad masses of serfs and slaves obtained political and national equal rights.

The Law of the People's Republic of China Governing Regional National Autonomy stipulates, "People's congresses in the areas of national autonomy have the right to formulate regulations on the exercise of autonomy or specific regulations in accordance with the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the local nationalities." In accordance with the rights bestowed by the Law Governing Regional National Autonomy, the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region has since 1965 formulated more than 60 local rules and regulations, decrees, decisions and resolutions, involving political, economic, cultural and educational aspects, which conform to the reality of Tibet and maintain the interests of Tibetan people. They include the Rules of Procedures of the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Procedures on Formulating Local Laws and Regulations for the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Measures for the Management of Mining by Collective Mining Enterprises and Individuals in the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Resolutions on Study, Use and Development of the Tibetan Language in the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Regulations of the Tibet Autonomous Region on the Protection and Management of Cultural Relics, and the Accommodation Rules for the Implementation of the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China. The formulation and implementation of these local rules and regulations have furnished an important legal guarantee to the realization of democratic rights for the Tibetan people and to the development of local social, economic and cultural undertakings.

To enable the Tibetan people to better perform the right to manage state and local affairs, the central government has attached great weight to the training of cadres of Tibetan nationality. Currently, there are 37,000 cadres of Tibetan nationality in the Tibet Autonomous Region. All the main leading posts in the people's congresses, governments and people's political consultative conferences at various levels are filled by Tibetans. Cadres of Tibetan nationality account for 66.6 percent of the total in Tibet, 71.7 percent at the regional level and 74.8 percent at the county level. Tibetan women were in the lowest echelon of society in old Tibet. Today, many of them hold leading posts, accounting for upwards of 30 percent of the cadres in the autonomous region in 1986. At present, five have become cadres at the regional level, 38 at the prefectural level and 232 at the county level. Most Tibetan cadres are emancipated serfs and slaves. There are also some patriots from the upper class. Appropriate arrangements have also been made even for those serf-owners and their agents who participated in the rebellion, giving them the chance to contribute to the state and people if they renounce their reactionary stand and possess real skills.

In judicial activities, in addition to enjoying equal legal rights with the people in other parts of the country, the Tibetan people have also been granted special rights stipulated in the Law of the People's Republic of China Governing Regional National Autonomy. The People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region stipulates, "People's courts and procuratorates at various levels must guarantee the right of Tibetan citizens to use their own national language to enter a lawsuit. In cases involving the Tibetans, Tibetan language should be used in doing procuratorial work and hearing cases, and legal documents should be written in the Tibetan language." At present, the main officials of the procuratorates and courts at all levels in Tibet are Tibetan citizens.

VII. Economic Development and Improvement of Living Standards

The feudal serfdom in old Tibet seriously handicapped the development of the social productive forces. The economy in Tibet was in a state of extreme backwardness for a long time. Wooden ploughs were the basic tools for agricultural production and yaks were employed for threshing. Slash and burn cultivation and the burning of grass to fertilize land were still customs retained in a few localities. In 1952, each mu of land (15 mu equal to 1 hectare) could only produce 80 kg of grain on the average and the per-capita share of grain came to 125 kg. Livestock breeding hinged on climatic conditions and frequent natural calamities often caused the deaths of large numbers of animals. In 1952, the region had only 9.74 million head of livestock. The handicrafts industry was also extremely backward and modern industry was nonexistent in old Tibet. Dangerous and difficult roads made it hard to travel in the region. The transport of goods and the delivery of mail had to depend on human and animal power. There were no bridges on the Yarlung Zangbo River that dissects Tibet, except for a few chain constructions left over from the Ming Dynasty. Since there were no highways in Tibet, the car given to the Dalai Lama by the British had to be dismantled and carried to Lhasa by draught animals. Tibet was also backward in regard to sources of energy. In 1950, on the eve of Tibet's peaceful liberation, there was only one 125-kw hydropower station in the region, which supplied electricity only intermittently. The backward economy and the cruel exploitation by the serf-owners kept the people in dire poverty and misery. As far as Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, was concerned, there were only 20,000 residents in the city proper before the Democratic Reform in 1959, and close to 1,000 tattered tents thrown together for the poor and beggars could be seen on the outskirts of the city. Prison authorities offered no food to the convicts, and "prisoners" in handcuffs and wooden cangues begged in the streets. And the pathetic remains of those homeless people who died of frost and hunger could be spotted anywhere in the city.

The Democratic Reform has greatly fired the enthusiasm of farmers and herdsmen for production. In the past four decades, particularly since the reform and opening up of the last ten years and more, earth-shaking changes have taken place in Tibet. With the support of the central government and people throughout the country, the Tibetan people have developed production, alleviated poverty and built up family fortunes.

The development of agriculture and animal husbandry has been given top priority in the Tibetan economy. During the early stage of the Democratic Reform, the central government and the Tibetan local government formulated a series of policies and principles for the development of agriculture and animal husbandry which were compatible with the local conditions. Financial and material support was also provided. As a result, Tibet's production levels of agriculture and animal husbandry increased greatly. Total grain output rose from 180 million kg in 1959 to 315 million kg in 1966, registering an average growth rate of 8.3 percent a year. Cattle soared from 9.556 million head in 1959 to 18.175 million head, a rise of 90.2 percent. The living standards of the people took the first step towards improvement.

Since 1980, the government has imposed no levies on farmers and herdsmen, with both agricultural and livestock taxes exempted. In 1984, in addition to continuing the practice of interest exemption for agricultural and livestock loans, the government annulled repayment of pre-1980 collective loans used for the building of water conservancy projects and purchasing machinery for agriculture and animal husbandry. Agricultural and pastoral areas have introduced various forms of contracted production responsibility systems on a household basis, developed household sideline occupations, restored open markets and conducted large-scale capital construction of farmland and grassland. Before the liberation of Tibet, there was no farm machinery or chemical fertilizer in Tibet. Nowadays, farming households own tractors. Scientific farming and breeding of cattle has become highly valued and welcomed. Introduction of modern tools for production and the application of science and technology have boosted overall production. In 1991, the total output value of agriculture reached 2.046 billion yuan in Tibet, 4.4 times higher than in 1952. Grain output came to 580 million kg and the average per-mu yield was 224 kg, showing rises of 3.7 times and 2.8 times respectively over 1952. Although the 1991 population of Tibet was almost double that in 1952, the per-capita share of grain in 1991 came to 290.5 kg, or an increase of 2.2 times that of 1952. The output of animal by-products rose by a substantial margin. In 1991, the total meat output stood at 91,000 tons and the total output of milk reached 177,000 tons.

Modern industry started after the Democratic Reform of Tibet. In 1965, 80 industrial enterprises were established in Tibet. Employing close to 10,000 workers, they covered the building, power, motor vehicle repair, lumber, tanning, borax and coal industries. The total industrial output value reached 28.83 million yuan that year. The government has paid close attention to the development of the national handicrafts. In 1965, it had widened to encompass 33 trades and its total annual output value rose from 1.24 million yuan before the Democratic Reform to 8.9 million yuan, showing a 7.2-fold rise. Tibet was short of petroleum and coal, and energy supply was inadequate in the past. To change the situation, a power station was built in Lhasa in 1956. It was the first public power enterprise in Tibet. Tibet is rich in geothermal resources and the state invested in building a geothermal power station in Yangbajain with the biggest generating capacity in China. In 1991, the installed power generating capacity of Tibet reached 140,000 kw and the annual output of generated electricity came to 400 million kwh. After 40 years of construction, Tibet boasts a dozen or so modern industries such as power, mining, building materials, lumber, wool textile, printing and food. Employees of state-owned enterprises total 51,000. In 1991, the total industrial output value came to 403 million yuan, a rise of 5.3 times that of 1959. The output value of the handicrafts stood at 46 million yuan.

Tibet had no regular highways in the past. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the first large-scale construction project was to build highways from Sichuan and Qinghai to Lhasa on the high mountain ridges with an average elevation of 3,000 meters. The Sichuan-Tibet Highway is 2,413 km long and the Qinghai-Tibet Highway 2,122 km long. Since then, the Xinjiang-Tibet, Yunnan-Tibet and China-Nepal highways have been built one after another. Currently, there are 15 arterial highways and 315 feeder roads, with a total length of 21,842 km, throughout Tibet. Except for Medog County which is located deep in the mountains, highways provide access to all the counties and 77 percent of the townships in Tibet. A highway network, with Lhasa at the center, consisting mainly of the Qinghai-Tibet, Sichuan-Tibet, Yunnan-Tibet and China-Nepal highways, has taken shape. In order to solve Tibet's fuel supply problem, the state allocated funds to build a refined oil transmission pipeline from Golmud in Qinghai Province to Lhasa. This 1,080-km-long pipeline has played an important role in guaranteeing energy supplies for Tibet in its economic construction. To meet Tibet's need to open to the outside world, since the start of an air route from Lhasa to Beijing in 1956, domestic airlines have offered services from Lhasa to Chengdu, Xian, Lanzhou, Shanghai and Guangzhou. International air links have been inaugurated between Lhasa and Kathmandu, Nepal.

Modern science and technology did not exist in old Tibet. The period since the Democratic Reform has seen the establishment of agricultural, animal husbandry, communications, power, construction, geological, water conservancy, meteorological, public health, pharmaceutical and educational research institutions in Tibet. They have trained Tibetan scientific and technical personnel. The Academy of Social Sciences of the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up in 1985. Currently, Tibet has 17 special scientific research institutions with 26,900 technical personnel. Over the past 40 years, 347 scientific and technological achievements have been awarded prizes at the autonomous regional level. Of these, 21 scientific research achievements such as "the comprehensive development and utilization of solar energy resources in Tibet" have been honored by state prizes.

The snowy peaks, famous monasteries and relics of historical interest on the Tibetan Plateau have attracted many adventurers and tourists from other countries. In opening up, Tibet's tourism industry has gradually flourished. At present, Tibet has 11 travel agencies and 19 tourist hotels and guesthouses with 3,600 beds for foreign guests. The autonomous region has opened over 60 scenic spots to the public. Between 1980 and 1991, Tibet received 150,900 overseas tourists.

Due to efforts made in the past 40-odd years the living standards of the Tibetan people have improved markedly. Most farmers and herdsmen have adequate food and clothing and some have attained relative affluence. In 1991, the average net income of farmers and herdsmen in the region was 455 yuan. Allowing for price increases, the figure was 2.6 times higher than the 159 yuan of 1979. In the Zholgyur Village, Yadong County at the foot of the Himalayas, the annual income of the 75 households was 361,600 yuan in 1986 and 74 households have built new dwellings. The per-capita income of residents in cities and towns is 2,120 yuan a year, 3.3 times higher than in 1981. By the end of 1991, savings deposits of city and township residents totalled 492.4 million yuan, over 500 times more than in 1959. Farmers and herdsmen have obtained considerable amount of means of production. Each household owns 6,021 yuan worth of fixed assets for production purposes and 75 head of cattle. For every 100 households, there are nine motor vehicles, six tractors, three power-driven threshers, and 12 horse-drawn carts. The average per-capita material consumption of farmers and herdsmen has increased enormously compared with the period before the liberation of Tibet. In 1991, the per-capita consumption of grain was 183.6 kg. Other figures were 3.6 kg for edible oil, 14.7 kg for meat and 50 kg for milk. While retaining their traditional diet, Tibetans have expanded it to also include more vegetables, eggs, wine, sweets and pastries. The living conditions of the people have improved markedly. According to statistics produced by the local government of old Tibet, of a population of 1 million in Tibet in 1950, some 900,000 lacked real housing. Currently, except for the pastoral areas, all households have fixed housing. In 1991, the per-capita floor space of city and township residents reached 13.7 square meters. In Gyangze County of Xigaze Prefecture, which has a population of 56,700, over 80 percent have moved into new dwellings, with a per-capita floor space of 40 square meters. The traditional way of life of the Tibetan people has been somewhat modernized. A sample survey shows that for every 100 urban households, there are 212 bicycles, 88 color televisions, 84 radio cassette recorders, 42 washing machines, 24 refrigerators and 26 cameras. The construction of various cultural facilities has increasingly enriched the ethical outlook and cultural life of Tibetan people.

Due to Tibet's extremely harsh natural conditions and its extremely backward social development in history, the level of economic development and the living standards of the people are still lower than the nation's average. In 1989, the government of Tibet Autonomous Region formulated the Strategic Ideas for the Economic and Social Development of Tibet. It has implemented the policy of opening up to the rest part of China and the outside world as well; exploring the regional, domestic and foreign markets; developing advantageous resources and stepping up development of key areas and key industries. The goal is to narrow as soon as possible the gap in economic development between Tibet and other areas of the nation in order to lay a solid foundation for the common prosperity of Tibetan and other ethnic groups.

VIII. Freedom of Religious Belief

The majority of Tibetans believe in Tibetan Buddhism. There are also about 2,000 Muslims and 600 Catholics in the autonomous region.

Respect for and protection of freedom of religious belief is a basic policy of the Chinese government. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, organizations at all levels in Tibet earnestly carried out the policy, gaining the appreciation of both monks and lay people. Protected by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and state laws, the Tibetan people now enjoy full freedom to participate in normal religious activities. Almost every religious family has a small sutra recitation hall or a niche for a Buddhist statue. More than 1 million worshipers make the pilgrimage to Lhasa each year. Sutra streamers and Mani stone mounds put up by devout believers can be seen everywhere in Tibet. Inside and outside famous monasteries such as the Jokhang are crowds of worshipers either prostrating in prayer, turning their prayer wheels or bowing to Buddhist statues.

During the period of the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), however, in Tibet as in other parts of China, the policy on freedom of religious belief was disrupted, and sites and facilities for religious activities were seriously damaged. After the "cultural revolution" ended, the policy on freedom of religious belief began to be implemented again in Tibet in an all-round way. Since 1980, unjust, false and wrong cases have been redressed in Tibet and religious institutions have been reinstated or established, and a great deal of work has been done to ensure freedom of religious belief for all citizens. Over the past decade and more, the Chinese government has appropriated more than 200 million yuan in special funds to implement the religious policy in Tibet. The funds were used to renovate the Jokhang Monastery built in the 7th century, the Samye Monastery built by the king of the Tubo Kingdom in the 8th century, and the four famous monasteries of the Gelug Sect of Tibetan Buddhism -- Zhaibung, Sera, Gandan and Tashilhunpo. For the renovation of the Potala Palace alone, the central government allotted a lump sum of more than 40 million yuan. In 1984, the central government provided 6.7 million yuan in special funds, 111 kg of gold, 2,000 kg of silver and large quantities of jewelry for the renovation, under the direction of the late 10th Bainqen Lama, of the holy stupas and the memorial halls for the 5th to the 9th Bainqen Lamas. To date, more than 1,400 religious centers have been renovated and opened to the public, meeting the needs of the religious people for their normal religious life. The government has also exerted every effort to locate those Buddhist statues, instruments used in Buddhist services and other religious articles that got lost during the "cultural revolution" and distributed them to the various monasteries and temples, to the welcome of monks and lay people.

In recent years, various religious organizations have organized religious activities on their own. The Tibet branch of the Buddhist Association of China established the Tibet College of Buddhism in 1983 and opened sutra studying classes in some monasteries and temples of various religious sects. There are a total of 3,000 monk students. Every year, a number of Living Buddhas and lamas are sent to the China Tibetan Language High Institute of Buddhism in Beijing for advanced studies. In 1984, the autonomous region's people's government presented the Lhasa edition of the *Gangyur* of *Tripitaka* in Tibetan, which used to be kept in local archives, to the Tibet Buddhist Association. It offered 500,000 yuan to the latter for the establishment of the Lhasa Sutra Printing House which, in recent years, has printed more than 1,000 volumes of the *Gangyur* of *Tripitaka* in Tibetan for Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and temples located both inside and outside the autonomous region. In 1990, with another 500,000 yuan proffered by the government, the Tibet Buddhist Association started the carving of printing blocks for the Lhasa edition of the *Dangyur* of *Tripitaka* in Tibetan in Lhasa's Muru Monastery. The 13th Dalai Lama had intended to commission the work, but the plan never materialized. The journal *Tibetan Buddhism* was launched by the Tibet Buddhist Association in 1985. Today, the region has more than 34,000 lamas and nuns. A total of 615 people from religious circles have become deputies to the people's congresses and members of the people's political consultative conferences at various levels, as well as directors of the Buddhist associations and government officials. They participate in the management and discussion of government affairs and devote themselves to Tibet's construction undertakings together with other local citizens.

The government respects and protects traditional religious activities and the rites of the various sects. According to the rituals of Tibetan Buddhism and historical traditions, after a Living Buddha passes away his position should be inherited by his incarnation through traditional methods. On June 25, 1992, the central government confirmed the incarnate soul boy of the 16th Living Buddha Garmaba. Government department officials attend such religious activities as the annual Grand Summons Ceremony in Lhasa, the pilgrimage to Snow Mountain in the Year of the Horse, the pilgrimage to the Holy Lake of Nam Co in the Year of the Sheep and the Walking-Around-Religious-Rock Festival at the Razheng Monastery, and offer alms each time. Wedding and funeral customs with religious links also receive full regard.

Thanks to the earnest implementation of the policy on freedom of religious belief, different religions, sects, monasteries, and both religious and secular people in Tibet respect one another and live in harmony. China's Constitution also clearly stipulates that no one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens and hamper the country's educational system. Those who carry out law-breaking and conduct criminal activities under the guise of religion will be prosecuted according to law. In recent years, some monks and nuns in Tibet received legal retribution because they infringed on the law. They were involved in riots that endangered social security and disrupted public order, engaged in beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing and carried out other criminal activities. None was arrested and declared guilty because of religious belief.

Buddhist organizations and religious circles in Tibet have actively carried out friendly exchanges with their counterparts abroad. Since China introduced reform and opening up, the Tibet branch of the Buddhist Association of China and some monasteries and temples have organized religious groups to go on friendly tours, visits, inspections and academic exchanges abroad. They have also hosted more than 10,000 people from several dozen countries who came, either in groups or individually, on pilgrimage, or for sightseeing or inspection tours.

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, many noted religious figures have worked in co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party and the government, and participated in the management and discussion of government affairs. They have played an active part in the construction of the country and Tibet, earning the admiration of the people and winning the respect of the government. For several decades, the late 10th Bainqen Erdeni Qoigyi Gyaincan, co-leader of Tibetan Buddhism with the Dalai Lama, constantly adhered to a patriotic stand and made great contributions to the peaceful liberation of Tibet, to the struggle against separatism, to the safeguarding of the unification of the motherland and to the strengthening of the unity of various ethnic groups. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as a vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and the honorary president of the Buddhist Association of China. He passed away in January 1989. The government decided to build a holy stupa and memorial hall for the remains of the 10th Bainqen Erdeni Qoigyi Gyaincan in the Tashilhunpo Monastery in Xigaze, and hold memorial ceremonies, preserve his body and look for and choose the reincarnated soul boy to succeed him according to Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Currently, structures of the holy stupa and the memorial hall are basically completed, and the search for the child is proceeding smoothly under the charge of Living Buddha Qazha Qamba Chilai of the Tashilhunpo Monastery.

11. Mr. Roth, Representative from Wisconsin

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The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Roth] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, this Congress is about to enter its annual debate on the renewal of China's Most Favored Nation status. The need for renewal has existed since the United States first granted MFN to China back in 1980. It has been a difficult debate ever since 1939 and the events at Tiananmen Square. There is good reason to believe that the debate this year will be very difficult. This is because of two particularly large problems affecting the debate.

First, there are the policies of the Beijing Communist leadership. That government's disregard for international obligations on nonproliferation, intellectual property rights, trade, human rights, and on Taiwan mandate an effective response.

Second, there is a lack of leadership on the part of the administration. The policy has been ad hoc, dependent on domestic pressures, as Robert Zoellick testified before our committee last week when he said:

> In an effort to please all constituencies, the administration has squandered our strength, failed to achieve its aims, and demonstrated weakness to both China and to others in the region.

Because of these problems, I fear that Congress will lose sight of the critical point, and that critical point is just this: Our policy on MFN for China should take these problems into account, but it must not be determined by them.

Rather, our decision on MFN must be determined by one thing and that one thing is, what is best for the United States? It is my view, though, that there are four basic reasons why extending MFN is in the best interests of our country.

First, revoking MFN would harm U.S. workers, U.S. businesses, and U.S. investment. Changes made in China's MFN status will curtail assess to the Chinese market. Huge levels of trade and investment will still occur, but it will be other nations, not the United States, that will be making the investments, and we will lose all of our control and leverage. The effect will be losses of U.S. trade, U.S. investment and, quite frankly, many U.S. jobs.

The size of this potential hardship must be recognized by us in congress as we debate this issue. This issue cannot be debated solely on emotion but must be based on reason.

United States companies have already committed to invest some $26 billion in approximately 20,000 projects in China. United States trade with China already supports over 200,000 high-wage American jobs. But this is just a start. Over the next 25 years, China's economy is projected to expand to almost $6 trillion That is almost 10 times the size of China's economy in 1994.

Now, China's modernization plans call for imports of equipment and technology of approximately $100 billion per year. Infrastructure expenditures amounting to as much as $250 billion are projected through the remainder of the 1990's.

China's biggest import markets are in the areas of United States strength. Consider this: In both quality and price, the United States is in the lead for these markets: areas in aircraft, electric power systems, telecommunications equipment, computers, agricultural chemicals, and medical equipment.

Politics, unfortunately, could stop the United States from gaining tens of billions of dollars of new exports and hundreds of thousands of new jobs. This is already happening. Just the other day, Airbus took a $2 billion contract from Boeing, based solely on politics. The president of China's aviation industries put it well when he said, and I quote:

> We'd like to make our decisions based on technical and commercial factors, but governments and statesmen are involved. We can't control that.

Mr. Speaker, the second reason why revoking MFN would harm United States security interest in the region, let me say this, China is the emerging great power in that region, both economically and politically. There is no reason to think that its government can be deposed or ignored or strong-armed. It must be dealt with as a belligerent but as a great power.

I ask, Mr. Speaker, that the rest of my statement be entered into the Record.

This means engagement.

To go the other way, to adopt a policy of confrontation with China--which is what removing MFN does--would isolate the United States in Asia rather than isolate China.

As Henry Kissenger recently wrote:

> In a confrontation with America, China would appeal to Asian nationalism and make the American military presence in Asia a bone of contention. And it would be able to enlist the economic cooperation of Japan as well as of the other industrial nations of Europe and the Western Hemisphere, all eager to seize the opportunities that we might abandon.

In addition, the futures of both Taiwan and Hong Kong are to be considered.

With Hong Kong to revert in a year, with Taiwan relying on China for $20 billion a year in trade, and with the Taiwanese having invested $25 billion in China, we need to treat these relationships carefully.

Reason 3: Revoking MFN will not improve human rights conditions or nonproliferation and trade policy in China.

As the Heritage Foundation recently wrote, history shows that China is far more oppressive against its people when isolated from the outside. This was clearly the case during the cultural revolution.

Human rights improvement is a long-term process that will require a long-term China policy.

The same is true on nonproliferation and trade. China needs to understand that it must meet its international responsibilities if it wants to attain international respectability.

The United States will have to use effective levers to achieve this.

A strong, clear, and coherent China policy is needed. Our goals will not be achieved in these areas otherwise.

MFN is simply the wrong lever. It was not designed for these goals, and it will fail miserably if used this way.

Reason 4: MFN is normal treatment that all our partners grant, and will continue to grant, to China without condition.

MFN is a misnomer. In reality it means that a country is treated in a nondiscriminatory manner on tariffs. It is the norm that rules.

In this respect, all our OECD partners grant such treatment to China. They do so without condition.

No official in any of those countries, to my knowledge, has suggested that this situation even be reviewed, much less altered.

The United States currently grants MFN to every country in the world except seven countries. These are Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cuba, Laos, North Korea, Vietnam, and the former Yugoslavia.

There are 17 others, including China, that currently receive MFN conditionally.

These 17 do not include Iran, Libya, Iraq, Syria, or Sudan. All these rogue states get MFN. Why is this?

This is because our MFN law is built on the cold war. The Jackson/Vanik amendment, enacted in 1974, was intended to pressure the former Soviet Union into allowing Jews to emigrate.

It was not designed to today's issues with China.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that my colleagues will find these reasons for extending MFN convincing. In conclusion, though, I urge that we consider two other needs during the coming debate.

First, that China is too important for today's United States policy.

This administration keeps drawing lines in the sand, and then backing off. They are running out of credibility, and pretty soon they will run out of beach.

We need a coherent, long-term, and bipartisan China policy.

Second, the world has changed dramatically since 1974. The law on MFN has not. We may need to reform this law.

Let's look at how it can be used for today's issues.

Why should rogue regimes supporting international terrorists be treated better than countries like the Ukraine, Armenia, Bulgaria, and Romania? Mr. Speaker, I think this needs review.

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12. Diana Feinstein, Senator from California

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Text:

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, 100 years from now, I have no doubt that when historians look back, the remarkable rise of China as a world power will be considered one of the most important international events in the latter half of the 20th century. Even more than the tragic war in Bosnia, more than the fragile attempts at peace in the Middle East, more than the collapse of the Soviet Union, I believe that China's ascendance as a great power and its impact as such--and the content and quality of the United States relationship with China--will shape the direction of global history in the Pacific century.

In recent months, Sino-American relations have reached perhaps their lowest level since President Nixon's historic trip to China in 1972. Our relationship has been plagued by tensions in nearly every area in which we interact--trade, nuclear nonproliferation, concerns about Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Tibet to name just a few. But most often the Sino-American relationship has been buffeted by clashing visions of human rights. And it is that which I wish to speak about today.

Last month, the State Department issued its annual report on human rights which contained a highly critical section on China. Having read the report and the attendant media coverage that interpreted its contents, I wish to address what I perceive to be a number of grave misjudgments and, frankly, a double standard in American foreign policy when it comes to China.

Let me begin with some examples of that double standard. The liberation of Kuwait following the Persian Gulf war is viewed as a triumph of freedom and a high point in recent American foreign policy. Yet, how many Americans are aware of the fact that upon their return the Kuwaitis expelled thousands of Palestinians and denied repatriation of thousands more who had fled during the war for their suspected--and I say suspected--support of Iraq. Before the war, there were over 400,000 Palestinians in Kuwait. Now there are 33,000, according to the Human Rights Watch/Middle East.

What happened to them, and who cares? At times, it seemed that there was more attention in the American press given to the number of wives of certain members of the Kuwaiti royal family than of how many Palestinians were expelled in political reprisal.

There has been, however, some media coverage and American criticism of Russia's brutal suppression of Chechnya's move toward independence. The Russian military decimated the city of Grozny with tremendous loss of life among civilians and the Chechnyan rebels alike. And the battle goes on today. Conservative estimates are that 30,000 people have been killed. Yet, our President just visited Russia, and our relations with Russia have never been better.

The cover story in the April 22 Washington Post puts America's blind eye in perspective: ''Clinton, Yeltsin Gloss Over Chechen War.''

> . . . [the two leaders] declared their admiration for each other and brushed off criticism of Russia's war against Chechen separatists.

Our relationship with the former Soviet Union is of such unquestionable importance that, muted criticism aside, American support of the Russian President has never really been in question. So how can China's importance be any the less?

Recent tragic events in Liberia, where an unknown number of people have been killed, is only the latest slaughter to emerge from that continent. Not long ago, the news media recounted the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Tutsi and Hutus in Rwanda, and the regime of Gen. Sani Abacha in Nigeria continues to suppress political dissent with lethal force. And yet, each of these countries enjoys the most-favored-nation trading status with the United States.

Even some of our closest allies have deeply flawed human rights records.

In Egypt, a legitimate effort to crack down on Islamic extremists has at times crossed the line into abuse, such as extended detention without charge, torture, and even summary executions.

In Brazil police just 2 weeks ago killed 19 people who were protesting the slow pace of land reform.

Turkey, a close NATO ally, has made considerable progress on human rights in recent years, but freedom of expression is still suppressed, torture is still widespread, and there have been numerous documented cases of the excessive use of force against the Kurds in recent years, about which we are all familiar.

I do not mean to suggest that human rights should not occupy an important place in our Nation's foreign policy. In each of the cases cited above we have, rightly, protested to the governments involved and worked with them to improve their human rights records.

The status of human rights in the countries I have just mentioned is or has been questionable, yet our relations with them do not fluctuate wildly based on human rights violations. We are able to recognize that the United States also has other important interests that must be taken into account, and we must constantly weigh these interests and values as we try to construct an effective foreign policy.

No one, for example, would suggest that we cut off relations with Kuwait, Russia, Egypt, Brazil, or Turkey based solely upon their record of human rights abuses. The United States simply has too many security, diplomatic, economic and other interest at stake to contemplate such a course of action.

And yet, that is exactly the case with what is probably our most important bilateral relationship in the world today.

Fundamental to the instability in the relationship between the United States and China is the lack of any conceptual framework or long-term strategy on the part of the United States for dealing with China. Instead, U.S. policy has been reactive and event-driven, responding to whatever happens to be the current revelation--generally about human rights. Each time we lurch from crisis to crisis, we call into question our entire relationship with China.

A whole host of events has contributed to the current deterioration in Sino-American relations, but it is important to recognize the role played by the media in this process.

I recognize that the Chinese government does not treat the international press well. But virtually everything we read, hear or see in the American press about China is negative. Yes, there is much that happens in China that is worthy of scrutiny and criticism, but there is also much that is positive as well, and it is largely ignored. The real danger in this is Americans know so little about China. They know only what they read and, particularly since Tiananmen, most of it is negative.

The most blatant example of this unbalanced reportage of China was evident when the State Department released its human rights report last month. I read the newspapers. The coverage of the section on China was 100 percent negative.

Then I read the report itself, and I am deeply troubled by what can only be described as America's blind eye when it comes to China.

Let me read you some of the press coverage following the release of the

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State Department's Human Rights report.

> China's economic reforms have failed to alter the government's pattern of systematic disregard for basic human rights, according to the State Department's annual report . . .--Washington Post (3/6/96).
>
> The State Department outlined Wednesday what it described as a nightmarish human rights situation in China. . .--Dallas Morning News (3/7/96).
>
> The U.S. report released Wednesday found Chinese authorities guilty of widespread and well-documented human rights abuses--San Francisco Examiner (3/7/96)
>
> China Dismal on Human Rights, U.S. Admits--Chicago Tribune (3/7/96).

Reading these articles, one could only conclude that there have been virtually no changes or improvements on human rights in China in decades, save for a modest increase in the standard of living among some.

But anyone who has any knowledge of China can see that in fact dramatic changes have taken place in that country over the course of the last 20 years, and that those changes, by their very nature, have opened the door to major improvements in human rights.

Let me read you sections of the unbound version of the State Department's report supplied to the Foreign Relations Committee that were not widely reported on:

On page 3 it notes that:

> In many respects, Chinese society continued to open up: greater disposable income, looser ideological controls, and freer access to outside sources of information have led to greater room for individual choice, more diversity in cultural life, and increased media reporting.

On page 13 it says that:

> Economic liberalization is creating diverse employment opportunities and introducing market forces into the economy, thus loosening governmental monitoring and regulation of personal and family life, particularly in rural areas.

On page 9 it notes that, ''Chinese legal scholars and lawyers acknowledge the need for legal reform,'' and notes that development toward a system of due process--the most fundamental guarantee for human rights is due process of law--a system of due process and other legal reforms are under way.

> For example, an experimental trial system tested in 1994 has now been approved for use in Shanghai and for most civil cases. The new system introduces an adversarial element into trials by giving attorneys more responsibility for presenting evidence and arguing facts.

On page 5 it says:

> In December 1994, China enacted a new prison law designed, in part, to improve treatment of detainees and respect for their legal rights.

Farther down on the same page it says:

> In February, the National People's Congress passed three new laws designed to professionalize judges, prosecutors, and policemen.

On page 2:

> In October the Ministry of Justice promulgated implementing regulations for 1994 legislation that allows citizens to sue government agencies for malfeasance and to collect damages.

Where do we see any of this reported? We do not.
Page 3:

> The Government has also drafted a lawyers law that would clarify the nature of the attorney-client relationship, improve professional standards, separate most lawyers from state employment, and improve the ability of citizens to defend their legal interests.

The report also cites some positive development in religious freedoms in China. On page 19, it says:

> After forcefully suppressing all religious observances and closing all seminaries during the 1966 to 1976 cultural revolution, the government began in the late 1970's to restore or replace damaged or confiscated churches, temples, mosques and monasteries and allowed seminaries to reopen. According to the government, there are now 68,000 religious sites in China and 48 religious colleges. The government has also adopted a policy of returning confiscated church property.

Where is any of that reported?
On page 17, the report cites the growth and development of two specific areas of a freer press:

> Despite official admonitions, China's lively tabloid sector continued to expand in 1995. Radio talk shows remained popular and, while generally avoiding politically sensitive subjects, they provided opportunities for citizens to air

grievances about public issues.

The report characterizes a nascent movement toward democracy in China on page 24:

> Direct election for basic level or village government is legally sanctioned for all China's 1 million villages. Foreign observers estimate that more than one-third of China's 900 million rural residents--which is three times the population of the United States--have already participated in elections for local leaders. . . Successful village elections have included campaigning, platforms and use of secret ballots. . . There were credible reports that candidates most favored by the authorities were defeated in some local, village elections.

Where is this reported?

And although the Chinese Government, like any government, is reluctant to accept criticism of its human rights record, on page 25, the report notes that:

> Since 1991, the government has promoted limited academic study and discussion of concepts of human rights. Research institutes in Shanghai and Beijing, including the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, has organized symposia on human rights, established human rights research centers, and visited other countries to study human rights practices in those nations.

Some may view these changes as modest and limited in scope, and perhaps they may be, but one has only to look back 30 years to the Cultural Revolution to understand how enormous these changes truly are.

We must understand these changes in context: China is a nation which has been ruled by man for 5,000 years, by emperors in the most despotic system, by the national government in the most despotic manner. Changing to the rule of law will not happen overnight or even in a decade, but it is happening.

Thirty years ago--just 30 years ago--20 to 30 million people died during the Cultural Revolution and Great Leap Forward. Millions lost their jobs, their families and were falsely imprisoned. The human rights and political situation in China has changed dramatically for the better over the last 20 years.

When I first went to China in 1979, shortly after the end of the Cultural Revolution, no one would talk freely. You could not have a political conversation. It was a totally centrally controlled government. Now all of that has changed.

So change in a country as huge as this, as different as this, where the urban eastern cities are very different from the isolated western areas, does not happen overnight, and sometimes it is even difficult to evaluate it on a year-to-year basis.

As I think recent history and this State Department report indicates, China is changing and Americans need to recognize this. They need to know it and they need to encourage China's continued modernization.

I should note for those in this body who consider themselves to be friends of Taiwan, as I do also, that the Taiwan whose democracy we celebrate in 1996 was not so very long ago considered to be one of the most egregious violators of human rights, during which we kept all contact with Taiwan.

Beginning on February 28, 1947, thousands of political dissidents were killed and imprisoned by the nationalist government on Taiwan in a matter of weeks--the infamous ``2-28 incident.''

In 1948, a state of emergency was declared allowing the President to rule by decree, and from 1950 to 1987, Taiwan was ruled by martial law. During this time, it is estimated that over 10,000 civilian cases were tried in military courts. Citizens were subjected to constant surveillance, individual rights and freedoms were compromised, and political opposition was silenced.

To our credit, during this same period, the United States engaged Taiwan politically and economically, working to encourage the growth of democracy. Today, Taiwan is a democracy.

To be sure, China has a long way to go, but China is growing so rapidly--with a 10-percent annual growth in gross domestic product. Today, China, as an export power, is where Japan was in 1980, the 11th largest exporter in the world, and it is growing much more rapidly than Japan was growing.

To this end, the report also contains a number of constructive suggestions that I feel we should seek to develop as we encourage China to modernize. I believe we should work with the Chinese to develop national legislation governing organ donations, so as to bring to an end any question about current policies, but work with them, engage with them, discuss with them, counsel with them.

We should encourage the Chinese to let the International Committee of the Red Cross monitor prisoners to assure

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that their rights, under these new Chinese laws just now going in place, are not being abused. We should encourage the Chinese to allow the establishment of truly independent Chinese nongovernmental organizations to monitor and discuss the human rights situation.

I also add to this list the development of a legal system that guarantees an independent judiciary, due process of law, and new civil and criminal codes. This will do more in protecting and advancing human rights than any other single thing the United States can do, and the Chinese have asked for help in this regard.

In releasing the report, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy and Human Rights, John Shattuck, stated at the press conference on March 6:

> There is no question that economic integration enhances human rights.

As Secretary Shattuck also stated, isolating China will not enhance human rights--just the opposite. The continued improvement in the economic well-being of China's citizens is critical to the continued growth of human rights. And continued trade with the United States is critical for the continued development of China's economy.

I do not mean to suggest that the free market by itself will improve human rights records. Assistant Secretary Shattuck once again was so right when he said--and I quote--

> Economic growth is not in and of itself the ultimate sufficient condition for the full flowering of human rights.

We must also pursue other forms of engagement with China.

So it is in this context that I urge my colleagues to read in full the State Department's human rights report on China, but to do so not with a jaundiced eye and a focus only on those areas that still require improvement, but with a sense of appreciation for how far in 20 short years China has come, and with continued United States engagement, how much farther China can go in the next 20 years.

That is our challenge today. I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, under the previous order I am to be recognized during morning business for a period of 90 minutes. I ask unanimous consent that during this period I be permitted to yield portions of my time to other Members without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

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13. Frank Shrontz, Chairman of the Boeing Co.

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Headline: BOEING'S CAMPAIGN TO PROTECT A MARKET
CORPORATIONS LOBBY TO SAVE CHINA TRADE

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Author: STANLEY HOLMES SEATTLE TIMES BUSINESS REPORTER

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Text:
During a United Nations dinner in New York for Chinese President Jiang Zemin, one of China's top ambassadors chided The Boeing Co.'s chairman, Frank Shrontz, for not lobbying hard enough against Taiwan supporters in Olympia.

Jiang made no mention of Boeing's lobbying efforts in the defeat of two bills in the Washington state Legislature - bills that would have recognized Taiwan's status as an independent nation.

His comment underscores the huge expectations China places on Boeing to influence government policy-makers, whether in Washington, D.C., or the state of Washington.

And with Congress about to consider most-favored-nation trading status for China and at a time of increased tensions between China and the United States, the stakes for Boeing are immense.

Boeing is not only lobbying to extend MFN for China this year, but also working with other corporate giants to secure "permanent MFN" status for China.

If the aircraft giant doesn't deliver for China, Boeing's chief international strategist, Lawrence Clarkson, conceded, "We're toast."

That's why Boeing is one of several big American exporters leading a national lobbying campaign to procure MFN status for China, an unapologetic human-rights violator but potentially the single largest market for Boeing and all of U.S. business in the coming generation.

Outcome uncertain on China's MFN status

Over the next 20 years, China expects to spend $140 billion on 1,500 new planes for a rapidly expanding market. Boeing's ability to retain its 70 percent market share in China hinges, in large part, on a favorable MFN vote. For Washington, the nation's largest exporting state, the stakes are equally high. Two-way trade with China amounted to $8.1 billion in 1994.

Nearly all countries that trade with the United States enjoy most-favored status, which results in lower tariffs on exports to this country. A handful of countries - Cuba, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Libya and North Korea - are denied that status because of human rights violations and other issues.

Lower trade tariffs would continue to bolster China's rapidly expanding export market to the United States. Last year, China exported $47.5 billion worth of goods and services to America while the U.S. sold $12 billion. For the first three months of this year, the U.S.-China trade deficit is 7 percent higher than for the same period last year.

But as Beijing's image gets uglier, it makes Boeing's job even more difficult.

There have been revelations about children left to die in orphanages, sales of Chinese nuclear technology to Pakistan, persistent violations of a software-piracy agreement, a continued crackdown on political dissidents, new restrictions on religious beliefs, and attempts to intimidate Taiwanese voters with missile tests and military exercises.

President Clinton's announcement that he will recommend renewing MFN status for China comes as the United States prepares to impose punitive tariffs on $2 billion in Chinese exports for that nation's failure to enforce copyright and piracy agreements. China has responded by saying it will impose retaliatory 100 percent tariffs on U.S. products.

Congress has 60 days to decide whether to support the president on MFN status. Analysts and lawmakers say the fight will be tough and the outcome uncertain.

"China should not receive unconditional renewal of MFN because human-rights abuses have worsened, software piracy has increased and they continue to violate proliferation treaties," said U.S. Rep. Nancy Pelosi, D-California, who leads the opposition in the House of Representatives to continuing MFN status for China. "While the president has the power and the business community has the money, we in Congress have the floor and the debate will go on."

In Washington state, Republican U.S. Sen. Slade Gorton and U.S. Rep. Randy Tate, R-Puyallup, remain undecided. U.S. Rep. Linda Smith, R-Hazel Dell, opposes renewal. The rest of the delegation is expected to support the president.

Boeing's effort to sway Congress also was bolstered by a renewed treaty with China to stop the sale of nuclear technology to Pakistan. And GOP presidential hopeful Bob Dole issued his support for extending MFN status.

But the goal of Boeing and the other multinationals is not just to preserve MFN for another year. They want to change the terms of the debate.

Boeing launches PR campaign to educate U.S. about China

To combat the anti-China climate that had been building like a pressure cooker for about a year, Boeing and its allies have launched a two-pronged strategy: support renewal of MFN for China this year but begin a long-term campaign to eliminate congressional politics from the China trade debate.

Last winter, the company quietly launched its first project, called the China Normalization Initiative.

The initiative is a broad corporate effort to dispel the "misunderstanding and mistrust" surrounding U.S.-Chinese relations, Boeing officials say. Its aim is to sway lawmakers and the public over several years through videos, brochures, TV ads and forums. About a dozen blue-chip companies such as Motorola Corp., General Electric Co. and Chrysler Corp. also have signed on.

"It's really an overall grass-roots education effort to help (Americans) understand China relations," said Clarkson, a Boeing senior vice president for planning and international development. "We're not trying to apologize for China, but we're trying to help explain what the Chinese are all about."

But Congress and the American public are not the only groups Boeing has to influence. The company also must convince the Chinese that it's working hard on China's behalf.

"Boeing is playing for two audiences," said an aerospace official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "They clearly want MFN restored, but they must be perceived by the Chinese as actively bringing it about."

Should China's political record be distinct from trade policy?

At the same time Boeing launched its initiative, a broader coalition of business groups began meeting to devise strategies to influence Congress.

The Business Coalition for U.S.-China Trade has been spearheading the lobbying effort that one staff member described as a "big-tent approach."

The coalition decided to focus on congressional districts that benefit from China trade. California is the primary target, because it has a huge aerospace industry and is a critical state in presidential politics.

California, for example, is home to Boeing's biggest supplier network outside of Washington state. The company points out in a brochure that it spent $2.3 billion there in 1993, contracting with 4,350 large and small suppliers and providing 67,000 direct and indirect jobs in "every congressional district" in the state.

The business coalition, of which Boeing is a leading member, conducted its first meeting with Capitol Hill lawmakers Feb. 1.

"I indicated that it was essential that companies and associations explain the positive contributions that U.S.-China trade makes to the U.S. economy and to specific congressional districts," said Calman Cohen, who helped organized the session between lawmakers and pro-China lobbyists.

While Clinton separated trade from human-rights policy in 1994, Boeing and its backers argue the United States should "delink" trade from other political issues such as Taiwan or nuclear proliferation.

The ultimate aim: to change U.S. law so that China can have permanent MFN status.

"Our long-term objective is to see a restructuring of the U.S.-China business relationship," said Cohen, vice president for the Emergency Committee for American Trade, one of the key groups in the pro-China business coalition.

U.S. Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont., has indicated he will introduce a bill that would give China permanent MFN status. Baucus, whose state is a huge wheat exporter to China, has been one of the Senate's staunchest supporters of MFN status for China.

Outside the nation's capital, Boeing's strategy involves pressuring its vast network of suppliers to lobby their congressional representatives.

Said a Senate staff member, who has negotiated with Boeing on trade issues: "When it comes to China, they put out the full-court press. They're everywhere and they're smart. They do it through front organizations, they publish studies on exports, they know where their suppliers are and they put pressure on them. And when they have people sitting on the fence, they bring out Shrontz."

Boeing's ability to influence Congress and the administration is overrated, Clarkson said.

"Boeing, being one of the top exporters, is always listened to," he acknowledged. "But we're a democracy and there's also other countering influences. The problem is that the Chinese see industry leaders in Europe and Japan, who have more influence over their governments, and they assume we have the same clout."

During his 1992 campaign for president, Clinton raised the issue of linking Chinese human-rights improvement to MFN renewal. He argued, recalling the brutal Tiananmen Square massacre in June 1989, that if China didn't restore human rights, and end the persecution of political dissidents, MFN privileges should be immediately withdrawn.

That campaign position proved unfeasible after Clinton was elected because China threatened to stop buying Boeing airplanes, Pratt & Whitney engines, Montana wheat, Hughes satellites and Motorola cell phones.

By May 1994, nearly 800 U.S. companies and trade organizations had written letters to Clinton, urging the president to separate the two issues. Pro-business lobbyists swarmed Capitol Hill and mixed it up with the human-rights groups.

Clinton ultimately bowed to business pressure and decided to separate human rights improvements from MFN in May 1994. He said that "delinkage" offers "the best opportunity to lay the basis for long-term sustainable progress in human rights and for the advancement of our other interests with China."

Advisers hatched a new strategy that outlined a policy of "constructive engagement," in which the United States would lobby the Chinese on issues ranging from trade to human rights but not link them to MFN.

"The administration undercut its own policy and eventually backed away from it and somehow had to dress up its retreat," said Mike Jendrzejczyk, a lobbyist for the human-rights group Asia Watch. "The business community came up with the argument that trade will improve human rights and gave Clinton the cover he needed to abandon his own policy."

Others say the problem was with Clinton's initial approach.

The president's China policy has been flawed because it failed to recognize the positive contribution of market forces and then later failed to set clear objectives, said Nicholas Lardy, a China scholar at the Brookings Institution, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank.

"China as a political regime has become more pluralistic," Lardy said. "Economic interchange has been the catalyst."

U.S. business interests argue China will improve its behavior only if it develops a prosperous, well-informed middle class. That won't happen, they say, unless foreign investment - U.S. investment - helps create and stimulate a market economy.

They say business can play a constructive role there over time, but that critics are naive to expect China to change overnight. They argue that MFN is the wrong platform to force Beijing to change its behavior.

Yearly trade decision began with eye on Soviet policies

Under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, the U.S. adopted a policy of "conditioning" MFN for China and other "nonmarket economies" on freedom of emigration. This policy was designed to address restrictions by the Soviet Union on Jewish emigration.

By law, the president must determine annually whether a waiver for China will promote the objective of free and unrestricted emigration - even though emigration has long since ceased to be a real issue between the United States and Communist governments.

Most favored nation status "has become a vehicle, the honey pot, for any number of bees to swarm around," said Robert Capp, president of the U.S.-China Business Council. "MFN is now the focal point for a vast, often flamboyant set of denunciations and condemnations of China, virtually none of which have anything to do with the terms of the law, which is immigration."

Ron Woodard, president of the Boeing Commercial Aircraft Division, said Boeing supports the advancement of human rights, but argues that such issues should be resolved in a "multilateral way" by all of China's Western trading partners.

The U.S. use of unilateral sanctions such as MFN have proven ineffective against China and has no international support, he argues.

"Every country has a long way to go to get to a level of respect and human dignity that we all want," Woodard said. "And (China's) position is: 'Who are you coming over here to tell us this stuff when you got all of these problems and we're trying to work out our problems?'."

Boeing executives say Chinese officials frequently counter U.S. human rights lectures by pointing to U.S. shortcomings such as rampant crime and racial tensions.

Companies argue that they effect change in China

In small ways, U.S. businesses have promoted individual freedoms in China, Cohen contends.

Cohen said Procter & Gamble executives refused to hire government-chosen employees and forced the Chinese to let them hire people based on merit.

McDonnell Douglas executives discovered that their assembly workers never questioned authority, even when they knew supervisors were approving substandard work. McDonnell Douglas officials had to educate their employees to question their supervisors.

"In a small but very significant way, you have American companies in China changing China, teaching workers about freedom, choice and responsibility," Cohen said. "I would suggest to you that while (Chinese workers) were learning all of this in the workplace, what they learned would have implications for other aspects of their lives."

But human-rights groups argue that successful business ventures in China ultimately depend on a stable, open government backed by the rule of law. Foreign companies, they say, have very little influence or clout in China.

"If companies are going to be involved in China, we would hope they would press for specific human-rights improvements and defend workers who may be intimidated or detained for their peaceful activities, to investigate on their own allegations of the use of prison labor, including by their own subcontractors," said Jendrzejczyk.

The point is not to change China, Rep. Pelosi said, but to encourage the Chinese government to support the basic human rights that are spelled out in the national constitution.

"We're saying free prisoners from Tiananmen Square, stop repressing the expression of religion in China and Tibet and stop silencing the press," she said. "We're asking them to live up to their own constitution. The difference is that, in our country, if we have a violation of human rights, there is a remedy.

"In China, no such rights exist. In fact, the families of people executed because of their Tiananmen Square activities were sent a bill for the bullets."

With the political battle heating up in Washington, D.C., each side will begin pressing Congress.

And if the economic stakes weren't clear enough for Boeing and other American companies, then China's vice premier, Li Lanqing, issued a stern reminder to Clarkson.

The two met at an unscheduled meeting last February, one that foreshadowed much of the turbulence that blows today.

"Our developing economy will create many great opportunities that should probably go to U.S. firms," Clarkson recalls Li saying.
"But because of the unstable relationship between the U.S. and China, it will go elsewhere."

14. John Smith, Jr., Chief Executive and President of General Motors

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Title: G.M. WANTS CHINA'S TRADE TO BE FAVORED PERMANENTLY
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Date: Tuesday May 21, 1996 Sec: D Financial Desk p: 2
Length: Long (775 words)
Subjects: INTERNATIONAL TRADE & WORLD MARKET; MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT; AUTOMOBILES; LOBBYING & LOBBYISTS; FREEDOM & HUMAN RIGHTS; ARMS SALES ABROAD; ARMAMENT, DEFENSE & MILITARY FORCES ; CHINA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-US; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; CHINA; FAR EAST, SOUTH & SOUTHEAST ASIA & PACIFIC AREAS
Names: CLINTON, BILL (PRES) ; SMITH, JOHN F JR

Abstract: General Motors Corp Chairman John F. Smith Jr declared on May 20, 1996 that the best growth opportunities for the American automobile industry lay in Asia, and he called for the US to extend full trading privileges to China permanently. The strongly worded remarks by Smith, who is also GM's CEO and president, were a sign of how strongly many American business executives feel about the need for access to the Chinese market.

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Article Text:

DETROIT, May 20 -- The chairman of the General Motors Corporation declared today that the best growth opportunities for the American automobile industry lay in Asia, and he called for the United States to extend full trading privileges to China permanently.

The strongly worded remarks by John F. Smith Jr., who is also G.M.'s chief executive and president, were a sign of how strongly many American business executives feel about the need for access to the Chinese market. Executives in manufacturing industries, in particular, have led the lobbying for China's most-favored-nation trading status with the United States.

While Mr. Smith welcomed President Clinton's one-year renewal today of that preferred trade status, he contended that the long-term stability of American investments in China depended on ending the annual debate over trade relations and making China's current status permanent.

'Most-favored-nation status is the basis for a stable, credible economic policy toward China,' said Mr. Smith, who as G.M.'s top executive heads the United States' largest company.

But the odds of his getting his wish appear slim. Human rights advocates and hard-liners worried about Chinese weapons exports have insisted that the annual reviews are necessary to put pressure on China to change its ways. Clinton Administration officials refuse even to publicly discuss the possibility of a permanent renewal.

Mr. Smith contended that American companies would have more influence to improve conditions in China if they had stable business relationships there.

'It is no secret that the days of substantial growth in the U.S. automotive market are over -- this is a mature market, so the growth must come from outside North America,' notably in Asia, Mr. Smith said.

He acknowledged that American car producers had failed to recognize the growth potential of Southeast Asia in the 1980's, and he argued that China's auto industry was still so much in its infancy that American auto makers could catch up there.

'China, however, is the great equalizer of missed opportunities,' he said. 'China is the ideal cornerstone for growth in Asia.'

Mr. Smith had little to say about the Clinton Administration's threatened sanctions to force China to begin respecting American copyrights and patents. The two nations need to sit down and resolve their differences, he said.

G.M. has started two joint ventures with China's biggest auto makers, although neither project has yet begun producing vehicles. A planned factory in Shanghai will produce midsize Buicks, probably similar to the Buick Century, while another factory in Shenyang, in northeastern China, is to turn out light trucks.

The Chrysler Corporation is building Jeeps in Beijing, while the Ford Motor Company plans to make small commercial-delivery vehicles in China. G.M. and Ford are in talks to sell each other many auto parts in Asia so as to reduce the expense of setting up separate parts-production operations, the trade publication Automotive News reported today and both companies confirmed.

Mr. Smith, who is 58, also dismissed talk today that he might take early retirement at 62. 'I have no plans to retire,' he said as he left the Cobo Center here after a speech to the Economics Club of Detroit. 'It's a phenomenal job.'

But Mr. Smith never ruled out the possibility of early retirement. The growing visibility of Harry Pearce, the 53-year-old vice chairman and heir-apparent to Mr. Smith, has spurred rumors that Mr. Smith might step down several years from now.

Mr. Pearce played the leading role when a 17-day strike by the United Automobile Workers union at two brake factories in Dayton, Ohio, virtually shut down G.M.'s North American operations. Mr. Pearce also made the announcement last Thursday that G.M. would buy a Detroit landmark, the Renaissance Center, and move its headquarters there.

Mr. Smith said that a previously scheduled business meeting prevented him from attending the announcement on Thursday.

He also said that G.M. would like to be the the United Automobile Workers' primary target during negotiations late this summer to renew the Big Three auto makers' three-year labor contract. While the primary-target company bears the greatest risk of a strike, the first management to negotiate can also work out a contract that negatively affects its rivals.

And he announced that G.M. was in the final stages of deciding whether to locate a new assembly plant in Thailand or the Philippines. Thailand, where the auto market has doubled since 1991, has been the favorite, but the Philippines has tried in recent months to woo G.M. with various incentives.

EIGHT GOOD REASONS TO CONTINUE MFN FOR CHINA

By Stephen J. Yates
Policy Analyst
The Heritage Foundation
Executive Memorandum No. 449
April 30, 1996

The recent crisis in the Taiwan Strait has reignited the annual debate over whether to continue China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status. As the debate heats up, Washington policymakers should consider carefully the reasons why continuing MFN for China serves U.S. interests. While granting MFN status does not solve all of America's problems with China, revoking it causes more problems than it solves.

There are eight prinipal reasons why Congress should approve an extension of MFN status for China.

Reason #1: Revoking MFN will harm those America wants to help. Discontinuing MFN status for China would harm U.S. workers. The U.S. exported over $12 billion of goods and services to China in 1995, and American trade with China supports over 200,000 high-wage American jobs, as well as tens of thousands of additional jobs in U.S. ports, retail establishments, and consumer goods companies.

Reason #2: Revoking MFN would threaten U.S. business and investment. The International Monetary Fund estimates that China is now the world's third-largest economy after the United States and Japan, and could emerge as the world's largest economy in the 21st century. The World Bank has calculated that China will require nearly $750 billion in new investments to fund new industrial infrastructure over the next decade. China needs new aircraft, power generators, telecommunications, computers, and other high-skill, high-wage technologies that must be supplied from overseas. American companies should be getting the contracts to build these projects. Continued American leadership in these key technology sectors is vital to sustaining long-term U.S. economic growth and creating high-wage, high-skill American jobs. If MFN is revoked, China's needs will be filled by Japanese and European business and investment. The result will be American jobs lost to competitors overseas.

Reason #3: Revoking MFN would jeopardize economic reform in China. The last 15 years of economic reform in China have increased economic freedom and improved the livelihood of one quarter of the world's population. American companies operating in China have contributed to a significant expansion of economic freedom and choice for the Chinese people. The U.S. must build on this foundation to encourage the further opening of China's economy and society. To be sure, MFN will not guarantee the rise of democracy in China, but at least it keeps China open to influences and pressures from the outside world.

Reason #4: Revoking MFN would harm the economies of Taiwan and Hong Kong. The prosperity of both Taiwan and Hong Kong is heavily dependent on investment and export production in China. Abandoning MFN would cut Hong Kong's economic growth in half. It also would harm Taiwan's economy. Billions of dollars in Taiwanese investment and labor-intensive industries have moved to the mainland, unabated by current tensions with China. Many of the light industrial goods on which Taiwan's economic miracle depends are now produced on the mainland and exported through Hong Kong to the United States and other markets. Many of the goods marked "Made in China" actually are produced by countries the U.S. seeks to support -- Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Reason #5: Revoking MFN will not improve human rights conditions in China. History shows that China is far more oppressive against its people when isolated from the outside world. This was clearly the case during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s. Human rights improvement is a long-term process that requires U.S. attention, but also U.S. patience. Taiwan's success in improving the economic and political well-being of its citizens demonstrates that this is both possible and desirable in a Chinese society.

Reason #6: Revoking MFN will not encourage China to adhere to international limitations on transfers of nuclear technology or weapons of mass destruction. China should answer the charges that it is supplying Pakistan with key nuclear and missile components in violation of its obligations under the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The MTCR monitors and controls missile components and capabilities, while the NPT is a framework for control and reduction of nuclear weapons. In the past, China has shown its displeasure with America's overtures to Taiwan and criticism of China's human rights record by selling dangerous technology to such unstable regimes as those in Pakistan and Iran. Revoking MFN could generate another series of sales. The U.S. must investigate the recent allegations of missile sales to Pakistan, and it has every right to ask China to explain itself. If such sales have taken place, American law dictates that technology and commercial sanctions be imposed. These sanctions, if not waived by the President, should be specific and targeted on the responsible Chinese enterprise, to avoid jeopardizing unrelated U.S. activities in China, rather than targeted on all U.S.-financed projects in China, as the law requires. Revoking MFN would go even further, adversely affecting all U.S. commercial transaction with China. In this area, MFN is simply the wrong tool.

Reason #7: MFN is not special treatment. MFN trade status is a fundamental principle on which the World Trade Organization operates. The WTO is the multilateral organization that sets the rules for international trade. MFN is the normal trade status granted to all but a handful of countries. In the absence of the Cold War strategic framework, it is the foundation of basic international commercial relations. Discontinuing MFN to China is tantamount to imposing trade sanctions on China. Such sanctions should be imposed only when a country poses a special threat to American security. As difficult as China now is, it does not present such a threat.

Reason #8: Revoking MFN would set the U.S. on the road to confrontation with China. Abandoning MFN for China would lead to Beijing's isolation, making it less likely that China would integrate into the international system in a way that is favorable to U.S. interests. For the United States and its allies to deal effectively with nuclear weapons proliferation, unfair trade practices, and human rights violations, China must be engaged, not an enemy.

Even though the U.S. should continue MFN trade status for China, however, it should not ignore Beijing's recent bellicose actions against Taiwan. To demonstrate displeasure with Beijing's missile diplomacy against Taiwan, and to reward Taiwan once it meets economic criteria for membership in the World Trade Organization, the U.S. should expedite Taiwan's bid to join the WTO ahead of the PRC. In the past, China has insisted that the PRC should accede to the WTO ahead of, or at the same time as, Taiwan. The U.S. should be prepared to exercise leadership in building international consensus for Taiwan's entry into the WTO, even in the face of China's determined opposition.

Conclusion

Conditioning or revoking MFN under current circumstances would eliminate any possibility of cooperation from Beijing, rendering the U.S. less effective in its efforts to limit transfers of nuclear technology and weapons of mass destruction, correct unfair trade practices, and foster development of the rule of law in Asia. Discontinuing MFN would not improve social and commercial conditions in China, but it would come at great cost to Americans and their friends in Hong Kong and Taiwan. For the U.S., revoking or conditioning MFN gains too little and risks too much. Most-favored-nation trade status for China should be renewed unconditionally.

15. Bill Clinton, President of the United States

NewsBank, inc. - *NewsBank NewsFile* - Article with Citation

Source: Reuters

Headline: Clinton sees China, Russia as security questions - paper

Date: July 29, 1996 Length: 359 words
Dateline: NEW YORK

Topics: presidents (non-U.S.)
interviews
foreign policy
U.S.
Clinton, Bill
New York Times (newspaper)

Text:
China and Russia's future course will be one of the great security questions of the next century, President Clinton told the New York Times in an interview published Monday.

Clinton said the ''unfinished business of leaving the cold war behind,'' including relations with Russia and China, had been a major part of his foreign policy framework since taking office in 1993.

The Times said the interview was conducted earlier this month. It was published Monday as part of an article examining Clinton's record on foreign policy.

''I believe among the great security questions of the 21st century -- and there are, you know, five or six really big questions -- one of them is how will China and Russia define their greatness?'' he said.

''Will they define their greatness in terms of their internal achievements and what kind of values and character they have, what kind of economic achievements they can have ... how they can solve their problems?''

Clinton, who is seeking re-election in November, said the other elements of his policy framework were dealing with such security threats as ethnic bloodletting and terrorism and designing trade accords.

Such commercial accords as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the North American Free Trade Agreement linking the United States, Mexico and Canada helped build ''a new structure of opportunity and peace.''

''It seems to me that if America is at the center of these emerging (trade) networks, it dramatically increases our leverage to work with people for peace, for human rights and for stability in the world,'' he said.

He said he had decided to drop the threat of revoking China's most-favored-nation trading status since carrying it out would not change China's human rights policies.

''We would risk creating a new, I hesitate to say, cold war, but a very long-term fissure with a country that I think we still have some chance of influencing in a very positive way, to be a constructive partner in the 21st century,'' Clinton said.

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NewsBank, inc. - *NewsBank NewsFile* - Article with Citation

Source: U.S. Newswire

Headline: White House Statement on China MFN Status

Date: May 31, 1996 Length: 795 words

Topics: presidents (U.S.)
transcripts
most favored nation status
U.S.
China
Clinton, Bill

Text:
WASHINGTON, May 31 /U.S. Newswire/ -- The following was released today by the White House:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY
The President Renews MFN Status for China

The President announced today that he has renewed Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) trade status for China this year. The President has taken this step because he believes that continued engagement with China is the best way to help it become a constructive force for stability and prosperity in Asia and to advance important American interests.

Under the criteria set forth in the Trade Act of 1974, as amended, and in particular, the Jackson-Vanik amendment concerning freedom of emigration, the sole statutory requirement for MFN renewal is a Presidential determination that renewal will substantially promote freedom of emigration in China. The President will today transmit to Congress a determination to this effect.

Far from giving China a special deal, renewal of MFN confers on it a trading status equal to that enjoyed by most other nations. Simply put, it gives China normal trade status. It is not being granted as a favor to China.

The President is renewing MFN for China because he believes it advances critical U.S. interests at a time when China is at a critical turning point. Maintaining our overall relationship with China enables the U.S. to engage China in the months and years ahead, to enhance areas of cooperation and to pursue American interests in areas where we differ. That engagement can help determine whether China becomes a destabilizing threat or a constructive force in Asia and in the world.

Substantial U.S. interests are at stake and renewal of MFN best advances those interests. Revoking MFN would raise average tariffs on Chinese imports from 5% to 45%. It would effectively sever our economic relationship with China, undermining our capacity to influence China in a broad range of areas, including human rights, nonproliferation, trade, Taiwan relations and others. It is a clumsy and counterproductive instrument that would set us down the wrong path. It would reverse three decades of bipartisan China policy and would seriously weaken our influence not only in China, but throughout Asia.

Revoking MFN would also undermine America's economic interests. U.S. exports to China support 170,000 American jobs and have been growing at a rate of 20% a year. Chinese retaliation would imperil or eliminate these jobs, exclude American companies and workers from future business in one of the world's most dynamic markets and give an open field to our competitors.

Furthermore, revoking MFN would only set back efforts to promote human rights and democracy in China. Whether by telephone, fax, e-mail or daily contact, Chinese citizens are receiving a greater understanding of American ideals of personal, political and economic freedom. This influx of new ideas and information has helped fuel China's transformation over the last 20 years. Revoking MFN would cut those links and set back a dialogue that is feeding China's development for the next century.

At the same time, the U.S. will continue to stand with those who are fighting for freedom and human rights in China, as we did last month in cosponsoring a resolution in the U.N. Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We continue to have serious concerns about China's human rights practices and we will continue to press China on these matters. But revoking MFN is not the right way to make fundamental human rights progress.

Revocation of MFN status would not advance the interests of Taiwan or Hong Kong. The economies of both of these countries are enormously dependent on continued trade between the U.S. and China. That trade has contributed to the prosperity - and in turn - the establishment of a strong democracy on Taiwan. For Hong Kong, a strong and vibrant economy is an important way of supporting its autonomy as it moves toward the transition to Chinese sovereignty. That is why even those in Hong Kong who are most critical of China support renewal of MFN.

Engagement with China does not mean acquiescence in Chinese policies or practices we oppose. The President has demonstrated that he is prepared to use sanctions and other means at his disposal to promote America's goals regarding China, whether it is protecting U.S. intellectual property, deterring dangerous proliferation or promoting human rights. These are the right tools to use in advancing U.S. interests. Revocation of MFN is not.

Contact: White House Press Office, 202-456-2100

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MFN
1994

FACT SHEET

China MFN Decision

I. POLICY DECISIONS

The President today announced the following decisions regarding our policy toward China and Most-Favored-Nation status:

1. Renew Most-Favored-Nation status for China.

2. Delink MFN renewal from human rights issues, other than the statutory requirement of Jackson-Vanik.

3. Impose a ban on the import of Chinese munitions, consisting chiefly of arms and ammunition, projected to total approximately $200 million in 1994.

4. Maintain the existing Tiananmen sanctions (the denial of participation in the U.S. Trade and Development Assistance Program, OPIC and the U.S.-Asia Environment Partnership Program; continued U.S. opposition to non-basic human needs loans to China by the World Bank and other MDBs; suspension of weapons deliveries; and denial of licenses for dual-use civilian technology and U.S. munition list items).

5. Implement a vigorous, multi-faceted human rights policy to achieve continued progress.

II. THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS STRATEGY

The new strategy builds upon existing components of U.S. policy, including continuation of Tiananmen economic sanctions and our bilateral human rights dialogue with the Chinese government. The following additional steps will also be taken:

1. Statement of Business Principles. Leaders of the American business community, whose activities in China already contribute to both an economic and political liberalization, will be asked to work with the Administration to develop a voluntary set of principles regarding the activities of American business firms to advance human rights in China.

2. Increased International Broadcasting. The Administration will step up efforts to insure that the Chinese people are fully informed about developments in China and throughout the world. The Voice of America will increase its radio broadcasts to China and will inaugurate television programming via satellite to China which will report on political developments in China. We will inaugurate Radio Free Asia.

3. Expanded Multilateral Agenda. The Administration will seek, to the degree possible, to multilateralize efforts to improve the human rights situation in China and other countries, including putting human rights on the agenda of a variety of international fora. In addition, the Administration will seek to turn the attention of UN rapporteurs concerned with human rights on the situation in China and step up its efforts, in cooperation with other states, to insist that the UN Human Rights Commission pass a resolution dealing with the serious human rights abuses in China.

4. Support for NGOs China. The United States will encourage and support the many new private organizations springing up in China and working, mostly at the local level, to express their views on a range of subjects including human rights. This support, where legal and appropriate, will generally be provided by American NGOs.

III. COMPLIANCE WITH THE EXECUTIVE ORDER

The Executive Order issued last year renewed China's Most favored Nation (MFN) status until July 3, 1994 but conditioned further extension on additional human rights progress in seven conditions, two of which are mandatory. The Executive Order requires the Secretary of State to advise the President whether China has made "overall, significant progress" in the other five areas.

Following review of the Secretary of State's assessment and recommendation, the President has determined that:

A. The Chinese government has met the two mandatory conditions in the Executive Order:

1. Freedom of emigration (Jackson-Vanik). The Chinese Government has resolved all of the emigration cases we presented to it, all of which involved blocked passports or exit visas for dissidents or relatives of escaped dissidents.

2. Compliance with the 1992 bilateral agreement between the United States and China concerning prison labor. This condition requires compliance with the 1992 agreement under which the U.S. identifies suspect facilities for the Chinese Government to investigate. Following such an investigation, U.S. Customs can request to visit the facility. Agreement was reached last March on an implementation declaration specifying a 60 day deadline for these investigations, ensuring prompt investigations and follow-on inspections. Since this March agreement, the Chinese have undertaken four investigations of cases we presented to them and permitted U.S. customs to investigate one facility on May 20. This process is in compliance with the 1992 Bilateral Agreement on prison labor and helps lay the foundation for progress toward ending the export of prison labor products to the U.S.

B. While there has been some progress in the other specified areas, the Chinese have not achieved "overall significant progress" in these five areas:

1. Begin adhering to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. During his March trip to Beijing, Secretary Christopher pressed the Chinese Government for a public statement of adherence to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Foreign Minister Qian Qichen made such a public statement on April 6 indicating that China will abide by the Declaration. At the same time, Chinese practices have often been inconsistent with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

2. Releasing/providing an acceptable accounting for political and religious prisoners. China has released two of the leading Tiananmen Square dissidents, Wang Juntao and Chen Ziming, as well as 6 religious dissidents and several prominent Tibetans. Although we lack precise statistics, at least 19 others from lists we presented the Chinese have been released from detention.

On the accounting side, China has provided limited data on 235 prisoners to Secretary Christopher, as well as additional data on 107 Tibetans this past week (this is the first time that China has ever provided data on Tibetan prisoners).

In contrast to these positive developments, political detentions continue, many prominent dissidents, including Wei Jingsheng, have not been released, and the data provided on prisoners is incomplete.

3. Humane treatment of prisoners/prison access. The U.S. Government has sought to implement this criterion by persuading the Chinese Government to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit prisoners. Following U.S. representations, Beijing agreed to "expert talks" about prisoner visits with the ICRC earlier this year. Two sessions have been held, but no agreement has been reached yet, and no prisoner visits have taken place.

4. Protecting the distinctive heritage and culture of Tibet. In order to implement this criterion, the Administration has urged the resumption of talks between Chinese and the Dalai Lama or his representatives, which were broken off without progress in 1992. In April, the Dalai Lama reiterated his position of being willing to leave independence off the agenda in talks with Chinese leaders. To date, China has not agreed to resume the talks.

5. Permitting international radio and TV broadcasting. The Administration has sought to end Chinese jamming through signal overlaps of Voice of America Chinese-language broadcasting. China denies it jams these signals, but VOA claims a 40% signal loss. In March, Beijing agreed to Secretary Christopher's request to receive technical data, which was provided in April. Last week, Beijing invited a VOA/USIS technical delegation to Beijing for further discussions. Thus far, the jamming continues.

16. Dr. James Dobson, of "Focus on Family"

Human-Rights Abuses And Persecution of Christians In China

By: Dr. James Dobson ,Focus on the Family , September 1997

Dear Friends,

In April of this year, I wrote a ministry letter to express my concerns about the persecution of Christians around the world and the inexplicable apathy it has generated within the community of believers. You may remember I stated that more Christians have been martyred in this century than in the previous 19 combined.(1) That fact is now well established. Furthermore, the International Bulletin of Missionary Research indicates that an estimated 160,000 have lost their lives just in the past 12 months.(2) This intolerable situation deserves our prayer, our concern and our concerted efforts to defend those who are being murdered, raped and tortured for their faith in many parts of the world. I am returning to the topic this month for reasons that will become clear.

The reaction to my April letter was most encouraging. We received more than 1,200 positive responses from people who wrote to thank us for telling them how to pray for the oppressed. Many of them said, "We simply didn't know." Approximately 70 of the responders were irritated by what I wrote or they clearly disagreed with it. One of them wrote, "Acting like I can have an effect [sic] on these atrocities makes me angry." Another accused me of "China-bashing" and complained that my letter only served to convince the Chinese officials that Christianity is a tool of the "Imperialist West."

The most biting criticism came from the president of a well-known ministry outreach to China. He wrote this about me in his fund-raising letter, "Recently, a very prominent evangelical leader made a scathing, although ill-informed, attack on China in his monthly fund-appeal letter." [My letter contained not a single reference to money.] "To my knowledge," he continued, "this individual has never been to China. He is being fed faulty information from some congressional offices and radical human rights special interest groups that are more interested in overthrowing communism than in sharing the Gospel in China."

It is puzzling why anyone who purports to be an authority on China would deny the brutality that is occurring there. The statements I made about Chinese persecution are irrefutable and, if anything, were understated to avoid depressing my readers. No less an authority than the U.S. State Department, which I criticized in my letter for ignoring this problem, has since issued a "devastating"(3) report that criticizes the Beijing government for its religious persecution. It was commissioned by Congress and stated emphatically that oppression of Christians is a worldwide phenomenon. China is the most flagrant violator, where persecution of believers has reached the highest level since the Cultural Revolution. Raids on worship services, imprisonment and torture of Christian leaders is now common in that country. Thus, the State Department report validates what I wrote in my April letter.(4)

An editorial in The Kansas City Star stated, "China . . . is a religious bully because its leaders fear what they cannot control. [The State Department report] should serve as an alarm to everyone who values religious freedom."(5)

Chuck Colson, whose organization monitors the welfare of prisoners around the world, said Chinese pastors receive long prison terms for simply preaching the second coming of Jesus Christ and other orthodox doctrines. Many are murdered for their faith. Beijing's oppression of the House Church is an outrage that demands a response from Western nations.(6)

The new president of the Christian Coalition, Don Hodel, was quoted recently in The New York Times. He said reports now verify that Christians in China are being beaten, hanged by their limbs, tortured with cattle prods and electric drills, and their fingertips are crushed with pliers.(7)

Documented evidence of these atrocities is appearing every few days in the media. Elliott Abrams, former assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, said, "The State Department report is not the worst of it. There have been other accounts that show there is physical violence - torture - of the worst sort."(8)

The question that remains is why there has been so little outrage among Christian leaders in the West. Newsday wrote, "The silence is shameful."(9) Why, indeed, would the leader of a Christian missionary outreach to China be angry at those of us who have called attention to the plight of our brothers and sisters in that country? I have no idea.

While we are dealing with religious persecution, we must not overlook another horrible form of oppression occurring in China. I'm referring to its "one child per family" policy, which represents one of the most egregious assaults on human rights in world history. Many millions of young women have their menstrual cycles monitored by local bureaucrats, who then force abortion on those who get pregnant for a second or third time. This leads to the mass murder of female babies and to the disgraceful "orphanages" where unwanted little girls are left to die. The thought of those suffering children should keep Christians awake at night.

The Scriptures also speak emphatically to those who would pretend not to notice the plight of the oppressed:

Rescue those being led away to death; hold back those staggering toward slaughter. If you say, `But we knew nothing about this,' does not he who weighs the heart perceive it? Does not he who guards your life know it? Will he not repay each person according to what he has done? (Prov. 24:11-12, NIV).

That we are commanded to do something can hardly be disputed. But what is the most effective way to help our brothers and sisters in totalitarian countries? Admittedly, there are honest differences of opinion about what would be best. Many Christian leaders believe we should remain silent and hope democracy and freedom will grow with the Chinese economy. I heard from several respected friends who hold this view. Perhaps they are right.

It is my own position that we should demand that our government, representing the most powerful economy in the world, use trade policies to exert financial pressure on Beijing. Specifically, I joined Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council, the Southern Baptist Convention, The United States Catholic Conference, International Christian Concern, and many other religious organizations in opposing "Most Favored Nation" status (MFN) for

China. We lobbied hard to get Congress to withhold privileged trade policies and sweetheart financial deals from any country, but especially China, whose leaders have blood on their hands. More than 170 congressmen agreed with us, most of them Democrats. Republicans were lobbied hard by the leaders of companies in their districts (11) and by some missionary groups.(12) Unfortunately, legislation granting MFN passed the House of Representatives in June and guaranteed "business as usual" with the Beijing government.(13)

This issue is still vitally important, however, because Congress will have to affirm MFN again next year. Therefore, let me lay out the case against it now. Here are some of the reasons why economic pressure should be put on the Chinese government, and why many of us believe the failure by Congress and the president to send an unmistakable message to China represented an outright abandonment of people who are suffering and dying there.

Here is that rationale:

1. Appeasement never succeeds in dealing with tyrants and bullies, either on a school playground or in world politics. Historically, it has only led to further conflict and greater oppression of the innocent. It has been a tough lesson to learn. Many American Jews and Christians in 1940 advanced the same argument we're hearing now. They felt that any form of provocation of Hitler would only make him more aggressive and brutal inside Germany. Also, the German economy was in dire straits when Hitler came to power and it was thought that civility would follow his program to fix it. What actually followed were the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

The British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, also charted a path of appeasement and shamefully betrayed the Czechoslovakians at Munich. Likewise, the French government tragically delayed rearming for fear of insulting the Fuhrer. Isolationists in the United States and elsewhere were convinced that America could avoid a confrontation with Germany and Japan by ignoring the bellicose behavior of their dictators. All of them were tragically mistaken.(14)

Indeed, a majority of the American people shared this misperception. A Gallup Poll conducted in 1939 found that 96 percent of U.S. citizens believed this country should not confront Hitler even if he invaded, dominated, raped and plundered his neighbors in Europe.(15) Few Americans spoke on behalf of the Europeans whose freedom was in jeopardy. Another poll in 1937 determined that 55 percent of Americans had not decided whether they favored China or Japan in their war - despite the utter brutality and aggression of the Imperial Japanese Army.(16) That same year during what became known as "the Rape of Nanking," more than 300,000 unarmed Chinese people, including untold numbers of children, were murdered in the streets by the Japanese.(17) But, who cared enough to defend them?

My point is that appeasement has been the typical response to aggressors who live far away. We saw it again when Westerners did so little to help a million pitiful Cambodians during their slaughter on Pol Pot's "killing fields." It is sad to admit, but Christians who are secure rarely want to deal with tyrants who are tyrannizing someone else.

Given this history, it is not surprising that many well-meaning people, including some missionary groups and Christian leaders, want us to ignore the butchers of Tiananmen Square. Their lyrics are a little different, but the melody is very familiar. They believe if we help China become a strong industrialized nation (like Hitler's Germany??), its brutal rulers will develop pangs of conscience about human rights issues. I pray that they are right. History tells us that they are wrong.

2. As reported in April, I have seen a very disturbing video tape of young Chinese prisoners being executed for their body parts, which were then cannibalized and sold on the international market. Though they were not seen in the video, I'm told that ambulances and surgical crews

stood just out of view to begin their grisly work on the bodies. Those images of 25 young men lined up before firing squads still haunt me. It would not be surprising to learn that

pastors and lay-ministers have been among those who were killed for their organs. Should any nation that would execute its people for profit be considered among our Most Favored friends?

3. There are other concerns about China that I seldom address in my writings and programming, but which should be mentioned here. First, Beijing has sold nuclear know-how, along with missiles and poison gas, to terrorist states like Iran and Syria, which threaten Israel.(18) Last year it fired missiles toward Taiwan in an effort to intimidate the Taiwanese as they prepared to hold free elections.(19) Does this sound like a "Most Favored Nation" to you?

4. It is now clear that China attempted to influence America's presidential and congressional elections in 1996 by making illegal contributions to candidates. Many observers believe they tried to bribe our politicians - and probably succeeded in doing so. On July 27, the Los Angeles Times quoted Johnny Chung, who gave a check for $50,000 to Hillary Clinton's aide, Margaret Williams, as saying, "I see the White House is like a subway. You have to put in coins to open the gates."(20) Now, less than a year later, we have honored the country that allegedly provided this bribe and attempted to subvert our electoral process.

5. The United States is subsidizing this Communist government with a hefty $50 billion trade deficit this year, which is being used to modernize its military. That is unconscionable. In early April 1997, a China Communist Central Party document was published by the Cheng Ming monthly newsletter, based in Hong Kong. It stated unequivocally that "a small war" between China and the United States over the issue of Taiwan is inevitable by the year 2010.(21) Why would our Congress and the administration transfer a significant portion of America's wealth to a belligerent nation that clearly intends to dominate the Far East? The blood of our children may be on our hands when China becomes strong enough to challenge us.

6. It is also outrageous, given our trade deficit, that China imposes a 40 percent tariff on many American imports, despite the fact that we are undergirding and subsidizing its economy. By granting these special trade deals to the Chinese, we have also given them access to our most advanced technology. That places our country at significant risk. Forty-six super computers were sold to Beijing over the past two years, some of which were reportedly being used to reprogram their missiles.(22) I'm told these ICBMs can now hit the West Coast. In fact, Chinese officials have bragged about their ability to use them precisely for that purpose.(23) Peter Leitner, a senior strategic trade expert at the Department of Defense, said in a recent testimony before a congressional committee, "I have seen the blatant manipulation of honest technical and engineering analyses that warned of the dangers to U.S. national security posed by the proliferation of advanced dual-use technologies."(24) Leitner said that under the Clinton administration, the curbs put on U.S. exports of high-tech equipment have been effectively eliminated. One example is laser technology. Because restrictions have been dropped, a $50,000 laser can now be used by any potential U.S. adversary to blind American pilots and neutralize a $20 million warplane.(25)

These are just a few of the reasons why I opposed MFN for China last June. The United States has committed itself to that policy every year since 1980, and yet none of the anticipated benefits has been realized. After 17 years, isn't it time to ask just when we can expect to see the human condition improve in China? One Republican congressman wrote to assure me that a "vibrant middle class" will hunger for freedom and democracy and will be less tolerant of a police state. That is exactly what happened in Tiananmen Square, and the vibrant middle-class was slaughtered in the streets. Even in the aftermath of that bloodbath, our leaders granted MFN again.

The congressman referred to above also wrote this: "Private, persistent and tough diplomacy has proven to be an important avenue for U.S. government leaders to advocate for the persecuted church in China." Really, Sir? What has it done to protect Christian leaders from oppression to this point? And who, may I ask, has provided that persistent and tough diplomacy - the Clinton administration??

Finally, let me quote from a powerful letter written by Rev. Steven L. Snyder, founder and president of International Christian Concern. I wish I had space to let you read his entire report, which was written one week after his recent return from China. It would break your heart. He wrote, "I would like to begin by quoting from the Bible the words of the Prophet Isaiah: `The Lord looked and saw that there was no justice. He was appalled that there was no one to intervene' (Isaiah 59:15,16, RSV). Just last week I was in China. I too was appalled that there was no one to intervene."(26)

Well, that's my report on the continuing persecution of Christians, and my rationale for the United States denying the same favors to China that we give our friends. Quoting Rev. Snyder again, "Talking to China's leaders has led only to increased tyranny. It is time to take a stand for what is right. We must revoke any form of rewards and preferential favors to any country whose deeds clearly violate the rights and freedoms of her people. May God look upon us and find that truly justice does prevail and there is someone to intervene."(27)

I urge our listeners to keep pressure on Congress to revoke MFN for China next year! Perhaps it won't end Beijing's "one child per family" policy or usher in an era of democracy, but we must use the influence we have been given. And we must speak for those whose voices are muted, especially those who are denied the freedom to worship and follow the dictates of their consciences. I promise that Focus on the Family will continue to oppose human rights violations wherever they occur.

In closing, may I remind you that November 16 is designated around the world as the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church. Please encourage your pastors to acknowledge that day and to call God's people together to pray for our brothers and sisters who are suffering for the cause of Christ.

With that I will conclude. God's blessings to you all.

Sincerely in Christ,

James C. Dobson, Ph.D. President

P.S. A closing thought: if we Christians lived in another country - one that honored God and respected the sanctity of life - could we support Most Favored Nation status for the United States, where 30 million babies have died since 1973? I wonder . . .

* * *

Here is how the U.S. House of Representatives voted on MFN in June:

A "yes" vote would deny MFN status for China, while a "no" vote renewed MFN status. The final vote was No: 259, Yes: 173.

Democrats Who voted YES (opposed to granting MFN status to China)

Hillard (AL), Berman (CA), Condit (CA), Dellums (CA), Lantos (CA), Miller (CA), Pelosi (CA), Sanchez (CA), Stark (CA), Torres (CA), Waters (CA), Waxman (CA), Woolsey (CA), DeLauro (CT), Gejdenson (CT), Maloney (CT), Hastings (FL), Wexler (FL), Bishop (GA),

17. Mr. Cardin, Representative from Maryland

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Cardin].

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. Stark] for yielding me this time.

There is no dispute about the outrageous human rights violations in China. The government has silenced dissidents, and the Tiananmen Square episode could still occur today in China. The use of labor, slave labor, continues in China. In addition, China is responsible for nuclear proliferation, the proliferation of other weapons of mass destruction. There is no dispute about that.

It is also clear that the conduct in China is financed because of access to the United States market. It is our consumers that are helping to finance the type of outrageous conduct within China. There is a lopsided balance of payment. We import $33 to $34 billion more products from China than we export ever year.

The Jackson-Vanik provisions were expressly created in order to make it clear that access to the U.S. market is not automatic and that nonmarket economies that do not perform to a certain standard are denied access to our market.

The United States has shown leadership before. It was the leadership of the United States to use trade sanctions in South Africa that brought down the apartheid practices of that country. It was the United States using the Jackson-Vanik provisions that changed the immigration policies of the Soviet Union. We have used trade policies in Uganda and Romania and other countries to bring about changes in those countries. When we exercise leadership, it is part of the proudest moments in the history of this country.

Certainly there are naysayers, naysayers who have financial interests in continuing a relationship with China. We always hear that. But when we stand tall, we bring about change. The United States has done it before, we should do it in China, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution to make it clear that access to the United States market in China must maintain a standard of acceptable conduct that they do not today.

I would like to refer to the evidence that activist Harry Wu has brought to our attention.

(See following pages----->)

NewsBank, inc. - *NewsBank NewsFile* - Article with Citation

Source: Roanoke (Virginia) Times and World-News

Headline: Inside China's Gulag
Harry Wu knows personally his homeland's system of prisoner exploitation, and he's determined that the rest of the world knows it, too

Date: October 28, 1996 Length: 1692 words

Author: MIKE HUDSON STAFF WRITER

Topics: profiles
political dissent and dissidents
Wu, Harry

Text:

ONE day in 1979, Harry Wu climbed into the back of a truck and gazed across a dark valley as the truck rumbled away from the Wang Zhuang Coal Mine.

He was free - free after 19 years as a political prisoner in China's vast "reform-through-labor" system.

He was leaving a place of torture and despair, where hunger once reduced him to fighting a fellow inmate over food scraps stored in a rat's burrow. Disease and starvation were so commonplace, Wu would recall, that the dead were casually rolled up in reed mats "like egg rolls" and then stored in a shed until they could be hauled away by ox cart.

On his day of freedom, the sound of a coal cart dumping its load compelled him to take a final look.

Halfway up the hillside was a scene he cannot, forget: A line of "stooped and blackened figures" straining muscle and sinew against the hulking coal carts. He had been in that line the day before.

Wu returned to his old university post, but he did not forget. "Indeed," he later recalled, "it became quite clear to me that I was now only in a slightly larger cage than before."

He came to America to pursue geology research at the University of California, Berkeley. Even here, he could not escape the memories of his years inside the Chinese Gulag.

That's why he has returned again and again to his former home, to risk his life to document the abuses of the prison-labor machine. That's why he has blasted Wal-Mart, the World Bank and other economic behemoths for their economic relations with the Chinese regime. And that's why he became an international flashpoint last year when the Chinese government arrested him as he tried to slip into the country.

He was charged with espionage, an offense punishable by death. After a world outcry, Chinese authorities sentenced him to 15 years in prison, then expelled him.

Sixty-six days back in the hands of China's prison apparatus gave him a higher profile from which to tell his story - and condemn the United States and other nations for not doing enough to stop the trade in clothing, tools, tea and other goods produced under body-breaking conditions by an estimated 6 million to 8 million Chinese prisoners.

He was in South Africa nine days ago, then flew home to Milpitas, Calif., arrived home late, slept in his own bed for once, got up, did a telephone interview, then started packing for Los Angeles; Jacksonville, Fla; and then Pittsburgh. Today he'll fly into Roanoke for a speech at Virginia Western Community College.

"Almost every morning," he says, "I get up and get on an airplane."

On Nov. 12, Times Books will release "Troublemaker," Wu's third book. He writes them to force the world to remember the men and women still trapped inside what he calls "the largest concentration camp system in history."

"I want to forget about the past," Wu, 59, says. "I know that this is America and if I work hard and I'm honest with people, I can live a good life. Why should I remember those nightmares?"

His answer is simple: "If I forget about these people, I betray someone."

'Death arrived almost unnoticed'

Harry Wu was born into a monied, Westernized family in Shanghai. His father was a banker.

Then came the communist takeover in 1949.

Wu studied at Beijing Geology Institute, but he came under official suspicion because of his family background and his criticism of the Soviet Union's suppression of the 1956 pro-democracy revolt in Hungary.

He was 23 when he was arrested in 1960 for being a "counter-revolutionary." He was thrown into the "laogoi" - China's "reform-through-work" system.

By August 1961, a national famine had bred desperation among labor-reform inmates. Fights over food and escape attempts made it hard for officials at the Qinghe prison farm to keep order. His captors decided to move Wu and other inmates who had reached advanced starvation to a special compound, Section 585.

Section 585 was called the "Prison Patient Recovery Center," but it was hard to tell the dead from the living. "Much of the day we lay in a state of near-stupor," Wu would write later. "No longer did we pay attention when someone reached the end and went into last gasps or tremors. Death arrived almost unnoticed."

Once, however, he risked the wrath of a security captain by demanding to go with a friend's body to the burial ground. He climbed into an ox cart with seven corpses and rode up the curving path to the graveyard, Section 586.

Small chunks of wood served as markers, with names of the dead written in black ink. Fresh holes had been dug into many of the grave mounds. He guessed that wild dogs had tunnelled in and eaten the bodies. Looking across the field, "I could see no end to the mounds. There may have been thousands."

He survived, but spent 19 years being shunted from camp to camp. He was let go in 1979 and "reinstated" to his university post. The leaders of the purges that had put Wu and millions of others in prison "cordially welcomed me back" but "showed not a hint of remorse about what they had done." It was "their way of informing me that from now on I would be expected to keep my tail between my legs."

'They're caught up in the system'

Harry Wu began his journey from ex-inmate to activist in 1985, when he wangled a temporary visa to teach geology at Berkeley.

He arrived with $40 in his pocket and moonlighted at a doughnut shop and liquor store to help make ends meet. Sometimes he caught up on his sleep on the desktop in his university office.

That first year, he read several books about China written in English and was upset to find none that mentioned the labor-reform camps. In 1987, he decided to devote himself full time to exposing the "reform-through-labor" system.

He fought for U.S. political asylum and won. In 1991, he married and "found deep personal happiness" for the first time.

But his memories would not let him rest. Two months after his wedding, he and his wife traveled back to China to gather evidence of prison abuses. They posed first as tourists visiting friends, and later, as an American businessman and his secretary. Ching Lee Wu used a camera hidden in her handbag to film the graveyard at Section 586.

Later, outside another prison farm, security police grabbed Wu and twisted his arms against his back. They told him he was in a forbidden area and would have to pay a fine. But he stuffed a wad of money into their hands, and they allowed the Wus to get on their bicycles and ride away.

His research helped CBS and Newsweek document abuses. Their exposé's prompted a Chinese government spokesman to accuse the news organizations of having "mistaken black for white and confused right from wrong" because of their "extreme hatred for the Chinese socialist system."

He returned three more times. In June 1995, a guard recognized him when he tried to enter the country at a remote border crossing from Kazakhstan.

The Chinese government kept him under arrest in a hotel room. Sue Howell, an assistant who accompanied him, said Wu didn't resent his guards. "Harr kept saying, 'They're just doing their job. They're not bad people. They're caught up in the system, too.'"

The Chinese government released him after nine weeks. At his homecoming, the whole block was decked in yellow ribbons. Neighbors stood on the sidewalk waving and clapping. A pack of reporters wanted a statement. Wu had little energy left to say what he had wanted to tell the world for weeks.

"I'm very proud to be an American," he said. "If I were not an American, I don't think I would have been let out."

'My soul is Chinese'

Harry Wu's crusade has produced some strange bedfellows. Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., a hard-right, anti-union conservative, helped publicize Wu's charges that the Chinese government is selling the organs of executed inmates for transplants. But Wu has also joined union activists in attacks on U.S. companies that do business with China.

In a blustery December drizzle outside Tacoma, Wash., he stood on a bed of a truck with union organizers in a Wal-Mart parking lot. Union members displayed Nativity scenes made in China and sold under the Wal-Mart label, and Wu declared, "Let there be no mistake about it - China persecutes Christians, and it's the largest exporter of Christmas products to the United States."

Wu has no direct evidence Wal-Mart sells prison-made products. But he contends the company doesn't do enough to insure against human rights violations by its suppliers.

A Wal-Mart spokesman said the company does screen its suppliers, foreign and domestic, and cuts off those that violate workers rights. "Mr. Wu is obviously very passionate and just sometimes attempts to criticize Wal-Mart without a lot of facts behind it - with a broad 'Don't do business in China.'"

Harry Wu isn't backing down. He plans to keep the pressure on those who profit from trade with China. For all his work - the speeches, the undercover missions, his books - Wu believes he has much more to do.

He dreams of going back to China. He dreams of a day when political repression and "reform-through-labor" are gone.

"I am Chinese," he says. "My soul is Chinese."

In his dream, he and Ching-Lee won't need false identities. They'll arrive at the airport and, proudly hand over their visas. Then they will visit the mountains, the rivers, the temples, the cemeteries.

"People tell me never to think about going back to China again," he writes in his latest book. "Nobody tells Harry Wu what to do. I will go back.

"Front door next time."

Record Number: 00959*19961028*00392

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18. Mr. Solomon, Representative from New York

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I say to my colleagues, I sit here in continued amazement, because I keep hearing there is no disputing, from my side of the aisle by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Archer]; there is no disputing from the Democrat side of the aisle, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Gibbons], that this Chinese Government is a rogue government, that they keep proliferating with nuclear activity, they keep dehumanizing people, and it goes on and on and on, but there is no disputing all this. All of my colleagues know and they admit it, but then they make all of these kinds of excuses.

Mr. Speaker, it is time to stand up to the financial interests that consistently push for business as usual with the criminal regime in Beijing, and it is time to discard the false dogma that says that if we just keep trading with Communist China, things will get better.

Some are comparing Communist China today to the depths of the Cultural Revolution 30 years ago when millions of people were being slaughtered, and they say that things have gotten better. Well, my goodness, Mr. Speaker, that is a pathetically low standard.

The fact is the behavior of the Beijing dictatorship is much worse than it was 5 or even 10 years ago, and you all sit here today and admit it. The trade deficit which destroys American jobs has tripled in the last 10 years. We all know it. Their military budget has more than doubled when ours and every other military budget in the world has been going down. It was just 3 months ago that they were lobbing missiles right off the Taiwanese coast in an act of intimidation.

Mr. Speaker, things are not getting better, they are getting worse and everybody in this Chamber knows it. How high does the trade deficit need to go before we react? How many more trade agreements does Communist China have to violate? You have all read about it in liberal newspapers, like The New York Times and The Washington Post, and how many people have to be imprisoned or killed for their political beliefs before we stand up on their behalf? Whatever happened to American foreign policy that looks out for human decency around this world? How much nuclear and chemical weapons material does Communist China have to ship to fellow rogue regimes, like Iran, our enemy, before we punish them? What will it take? Do they really have to make good on their threats to bomb Los Angeles?

Mr. Speaker, this dictatorial regime represents a growing threat to American interests, American jobs, and yes, even more importantly to American lives. I say to my colleagues, do not come back here 15 years from now and say, my goodness, I did not know it. They must be dealt with now, Mr. Speaker. History shows us very clearly that appeasement of tyrants does not work. In fact, it leads to more intransigence.

Mr. Speaker, I want everybody to come over to this Chamber and vote regardless of whether they have GE and IBM in their districts like I do with 25,000 employees and stand up for what is right in this country. We can cut off most-favored-nation treatment today and in a month we can restore it, because the Chinese will come to the table. They are smart people. They will then negotiate fair trade with this country, they will improve their human rights violations, and that is what this whole debate is all about.

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United States businesses have put profit before principle in their relations with China for a long time. Here is a story that dates back to 1821 (excerpted from *China Wakes* by Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl Wudunn. New York: Vintage Books, 1995, pages 405-406).

In 1821, an American seaman named Francis Terranova was accused of killing a Chinese woman who had come out on a small fishing boat to trade with the men aboard his ship, the *Emily*, which had sailed from Baltimore to Guangzhou. The Chinese authorities were outraged and demanded that the Americans turn over Terranova to be tried in a Chinese court. Naturally, the Americans were suspicious of Chinese trial practices. The *Emily*'s captain, a man named Cowpland, simply refused to turn Terranova over. Other captains of American ships sided with him.

But the American merchants vociferously objected. They feared that offending the Chinese authorities would lead to a cancellation of American trading privileges. After much debate, the Americans reached a compromise: The Chinese authorities would be allowed onboard the *Emily* to conduct their trial there.

A Chinese judge shuffled his way up the gangplank and immediately announced the verdict. Terranova was guilty and sentenced to be executed by strangling. The Americans protested that the trial was a farce, and they refused to hand Terranova over. The Chinese retaliated by suspending trade with all Americans. The Americans searched their consciences, briefly, and chose profit over principles. They turned Terranova over to the Chinese, and he was executed.

I see that we have representatives on the opposing panel from Boeing and from General Motors. They ask us to continue our long tradition of putting profit before principle.

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Source: THE SEATTLE TIMES

Headline: BOEING'S CAMPAIGN TO PROTECT A MARKET
CORPORATIONS LOBBY TO SAVE CHINA TRADE

Date: May 27, 1996
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Length: 2779 words
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Author: STANLEY HOLMES SEATTLE TIMES BUSINESS REPORTER

Text:
During a United Nations dinner in New York for Chinese President Jiang Zemin, one of China's top ambassadors chided The Boeing Co.'s chairman, Frank Shrontz, for not lobbying hard enough against Taiwan supporters in Olympia.

Jiang made no mention of Boeing's lobbying efforts in the defeat of two bills in the Washington state Legislature - bills that would have recognized Taiwan's status as an independent nation.

His comment underscores the huge expectations China places on Boeing to influence government policy-makers, whether in Washington, D.C., or the state of Washington.

And with Congress about to consider most-favored-nation trading status for China and at a time of increased tensions between China and the United States, the stakes for Boeing are immense.

Boeing is not only lobbying to extend MFN for China this year, but also working with other corporate giants to secure "permanent MFN" status for China.

If the aircraft giant doesn't deliver for China, Boeing's chief international strategist, Lawrence Clarkson, conceded, "We're toast."

That's why Boeing is one of several big American exporters leading a national lobbying campaign to procure MFN status for China, an unapologetic human-rights violator but potentially the single largest market for Boeing and all of U.S. business in the coming generation.

Outcome uncertain on China's MFN status

Over the next 20 years, China expects to spend $140 billion on 1,500 new planes for a rapidly expanding market. Boeing's ability to retain its 70 percent market share in China hinges, in large part, on a favorable MFN vote. For Washington, the nation's largest exporting state, the stakes are equally high. Two-way trade with China amounted to $8.1 billion in 1994.

Nearly all countries that trade with the United States enjoy most-favored status, which results in lower tariffs on exports to this country. A handful of countries - Cuba, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Libya and North Korea - are denied that status because of human rights violations and other issues.

Lower trade tariffs would continue to bolster China's rapidly expanding export market to the United States. Last year, China exported $47.5 billion worth of goods and services to America while the U.S. sold $12 billion. For the first three months of this year, the U.S.-China trade deficit is 7 percent higher than for the same period last year.

But as Beijing's image gets uglier, it makes Boeing's job even more difficult.

There have been revelations about children left to die in orphanages, sales of Chinese nuclear technology to Pakistan, persistent violations of a software-piracy agreement, a continued crackdown on political dissidents, new restrictions on religious beliefs, and attempts to intimidate Taiwanese voters with missile tests and military exercises.

President Clinton's announcement that he will recommend renewing MFN status for China comes as the United States prepares to impose punitive tariffs on $2 billion in Chinese exports for that nation's failure to enforce copyright and piracy agreements. China has responded by saying it will impose retaliatory 100 percent tariffs on U.S. products.

Congress has 60 days to decide whether to support the president on MFN status. Analysts and lawmakers say the fight will be tough and the outcome uncertain.

"China should not receive unconditional renewal of MFN because human-rights abuses have worsened, software piracy has increased and they continue to violate proliferation treaties," said U.S. Rep. Nancy Pelosi, D-California, who leads the opposition in the House of Representatives to continuing MFN status for China. "While the president has the power and the business community has the money, we in Congress have the floor and the debate will go on."

In Washington state, Republican U.S. Sen. Slade Gorton and U.S. Rep. Randy Tate, R-Puyallup, remain undecided. U.S. Rep. Linda Smith, R-Hazel Dell, opposes renewal. The rest of the delegation is expected to support the president.

Boeing's effort to sway Congress also was bolstered by a renewed treaty with China to stop the sale of nuclear technology to Pakistan. And GOP presidential hopeful Bob Dole issued his support for extending MFN status.

But the goal of Boeing and the other multinationals is not just to preserve MFN for another year. They want to change the terms of the debate.

Boeing launches PR campaign to educate U.S. about China

To combat the anti-China climate that had been building like a pressure cooker for about a year, Boeing and its allies have launched a two-pronged strategy: support renewal of MFN for China this year but begin a long-term campaign to eliminate congressional politics from the China trade debate.

Last winter, the company quietly launched its first project, called the China Normalization Initiative.

The initiative is a broad corporate effort to dispel the "misunderstanding and mistrust" surrounding U.S.-Chinese relations, Boeing officials say. Its aim is to sway lawmakers and the public over several years through videos, brochures, TV ads and forums. About a dozen blue-chip companies such as Motorola Corp., General Electric Co. and Chrysler Corp. also have signed on.

"It's really an overall grass-roots education effort to help (Americans) understand China relations," said Clarkson, a Boeing senior vice president for planning and international development. "We're not trying to apologize for China, but we're trying to help explain what the Chinese are all about."

But Congress and the American public are not the only groups Boeing has to influence. The company also must convince the Chinese that it's working hard on China's behalf.

"Boeing is playing for two audiences," said an aerospace official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "They clearly want MFN restored, but they must be perceived by the Chinese as actively bringing it about."

Should China's political record be distinct from trade policy?

At the same time Boeing launched its initiative, a broader coalition of business groups began meeting to devise strategies to influence Congress.

The Business Coalition for U.S.-China Trade has been spearheading the lobbying effort that one staff member described as a "big-tent approach."

The coalition decided to focus on congressional districts that benefit from China trade. California is the primary target, because it has a huge aerospace industry and is a critical state in presidential politics.

California, for example, is home to Boeing's biggest supplier network outside of Washington state. The company points out in a brochure that it spent $2.3 billion there in 1993, contracting with 4,350 large and small suppliers and providing 67,000 direct and indirect jobs in "every congressional district" in the state.

The business coalition, of which Boeing is a leading member, conducted its first meeting with Capitol Hill lawmakers Feb. 1.

"I indicated that it was essential that companies and associations explain the positive contributions that U.S.-China trade makes to the U.S. economy and to specific congressional districts," said Calman Cohen, who helped organized the session between lawmakers and pro-China lobbyists.

While Clinton separated trade from human-rights policy in 1994, Boeing and its backers argue the United States should "delink" trade from other political issues such as Taiwan or nuclear proliferation.

The ultimate aim: to change U.S. law so that China can have permanent MFN status.

"Our long-term objective is to see a restructuring of the U.S.-China business relationship," said Cohen, vice president for the Emergency Committee for American Trade, one of the key groups in the pro-China business coalition.

U.S. Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont., has indicated he will introduce a bill that would give China permanent MFN status. Baucus, whose state is a huge wheat exporter to China, has been one of the Senate's staunchest supporters of MFN status for China.

Outside the nation's capital, Boeing's strategy involves pressuring its vast network of suppliers to lobby their congressional representatives.

Said a Senate staff member, who has negotiated with Boeing on trade issues: "When it comes to China, they put out the full-court press. They're everywhere and they're smart. They do it through front organizations, they publish studies on exports, they know where their suppliers are and they put pressure on them. And when they have people sitting on the fence, they bring out Shrontz."

Boeing's ability to influence Congress and the administration is overrated, Clarkson said.

"Boeing, being one of the top exporters, is always listened to," he acknowledged. "But we're a democracy and there's also other countering influences. The problem is that the Chinese see industry leaders in Europe and Japan, who have more influence over their governments, and they assume we have the same clout."

During his 1992 campaign for president, Clinton raised the issue of linking Chinese human-rights improvement to MFN renewal. He argued, recalling the brutal Tiananmen Square massacre in June 1989, that if China didn't restore human rights, and end the persecution of political dissidents, MFN privileges should be immediately withdrawn.

That campaign position proved unfeasible after Clinton was elected because China threatened to stop buying Boeing airplanes, Pratt & Whitney engines, Montana wheat, Hughes satellites and Motorola cell phones.

By May 1994, nearly 800 U.S. companies and trade organizations had written letters to Clinton, urging the president to separate the two issues. Pro-business lobbyists swarmed Capitol Hill and mixed it up with the human-rights groups.

Clinton ultimately bowed to business pressure and decided to separate human rights improvements from MFN in May 1994. He said that "delinkage" offers "the best opportunity to lay the basis for long-term sustainable progress in human rights and for the advancement of our other interests with China."

Advisers hatched a new strategy that outlined a policy of "constructive engagement," in which the United States would lobby the Chinese on issues ranging from trade to human rights but not link them to MFN.

"The administration undercut its own policy and eventually backed away from it and somehow had to dress up its retreat," said Mike Jendrzejczyk, a lobbyist for the human-rights group Asia Watch. "The business community came up with the argument that trade will improve human rights and gave Clinton the cover he needed to abandon his own policy."

Others say the problem was with Clinton's initial approach.

The president's China policy has been flawed because it failed to recognize the positive contribution of market forces and then later failed to set clear objectives, said Nicholas Lardy, a China scholar at the Brookings Institution, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank.

"China as a political regime has become more pluralistic," Lardy said. "Economic interchange has been the catalyst."

U.S. business interests argue China will improve its behavior only if it develops a prosperous, well-informed middle class. That won't happen, they say, unless foreign investment - U.S. investment - helps create and stimulate a market economy.

They say business can play a constructive role there over time, but that critics are naive to expect China to change overnight. They argue that MFN is the wrong platform to force Beijing to change its behavior.

Yearly trade decision began with eye on Soviet policies

Under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, the U.S. adopted a policy of "conditioning" MFN for China and other "nonmarket economies" on freedom of emigration. This policy was designed to address restrictions by the Soviet Union on Jewish emigration.

By law, the president must determine annually whether a waiver for China will promote the objective of free and unrestricted emigration - even though emigration has long since ceased to be a real issue between the United States and Communist governments.

Most favored nation status "has become a vehicle, the honey pot, for any number of bees to swarm around," said Robert Capp, president of the U.S.-China Business Council. "MFN is now the focal point for a vast, often flamboyant set of denunciations and condemnations of China, virtually none of which have anything to do with the terms of the law, which is immigration."

Ron Woodard, president of the Boeing Commercial Aircraft Division, said Boeing supports the advancement of human rights, but argues that such issues should be resolved in a "multilateral way" by all of China's Western trading partners.

The U.S. use of unilateral sanctions such as MFN have proven ineffective against China and has no international support, he argues.

"Every country has a long way to go to get to a level of respect and human dignity that we all want," Woodard said. "And (China's) position is: 'Who are you coming over here to tell us this stuff when you got all of these problems and we're trying to work out our problems?'."

Boeing executives say Chinese officials frequently counter U.S. human rights lectures by pointing to U.S. shortcomings such as rampant crime and racial tensions.

Companies argue that they effect change in China

In small ways, U.S. businesses have promoted individual freedoms in China, Cohen contends.

Cohen said Procter & Gamble executives refused to hire government-chosen employees and forced the Chinese to let them hire people based on merit.

McDonnell Douglas executives discovered that their assembly workers never questioned authority, even when they knew supervisors were approving substandard work. McDonnell Douglas officials had to educate their employees to question their supervisors.

"In a small but very significant way, you have American companies in China changing China, teaching workers about freedom, choice and responsibility," Cohen said. "I would suggest to you that while (Chinese workers) were learning all of this in the workplace, what they learned would have implications for other aspects of their lives."

But human-rights groups argue that successful business ventures in China ultimately depend on a stable, open government backed by the rule of law. Foreign companies, they say, have very little influence or clout in China.

"If companies are going to be involved in China, we would hope they would press for specific human-rights improvements and defend workers who may be intimidated or detained for their peaceful activities, to investigate on their own allegations of the use of prison labor, including by their own subcontractors," said Jendrzejczyk.

The point is not to change China, Rep. Pelosi said, but to encourage the Chinese government to support the basic human rights that are spelled out in the national constitution.

"We're saying free prisoners from Tiananmen Square, stop repressing the expression of religion in China and Tibet and stop silencing the press," she said. "We're asking them to live up to their own constitution. The difference is that, in our country, if we have a violation of human rights, there is a remedy.

"In China, no such rights exist. In fact, the families of people executed because of their Tiananmen Square activities were sent a bill for the bullets."

With the political battle heating up in Washington, D.C., each side will begin pressing Congress.

And if the economic stakes weren't clear enough for Boeing and other American companies, then China's vice premier, Li Lanqing, issued a stern reminder to Clarkson.

The two met at an unscheduled meeting last February, one that foreshadowed much of the turbulence that blows today.

"Our developing economy will create many great opportunities that should probably go to U.S. firms," Clarkson recalls Li saying. "But because of the unstable relationship between the U.S. and China, it will go elsewhere."

19. Frank R. Wolf, Representative from Virginia

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The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Laughlin). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Viringia [Mr. Wolf] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I hope all the Members listened to what the gentlewoman from California [Ms. Pelosi] said on the trade issue. We are losing big time. I thank the gentlewoman from California for her statement and letting the Members take a focus on that.

As the gentlewoman said today, the President announced before the Pacific Basin Economic Council that he is going to extend most-favored-nation trading status to the butchers of Beijing, who have done so many things. We are not surprised that he made that announcement, because this administration has flip-flopped on this issue of human rights, but I want the American people, but more important, everyone, to focus as they are listening to the President and they talk about MFN on what they should think about when they hear the words ''MFN.''

When we hear MFN, and we will hear the business community and the Clinton administration and we will hear others in certain Republican leadership positions say they want MFN, we have to think of the following: We have to think MFN, then think of the suffering evangelical Christians in China who, according to Freedom House, have said ''This is the most repressive period since the pre-Deng period in the late 1970's.'' So when you think of MFN, think of the evangelical Christians that are being persecuted.

Mr. Speaker, we should also remember that in 1995 the Chinese Government intensified its crackdown on religious believers by enacting strict new laws restricting religious worship. I know you did not hear that in the President's speech, and I know you will not hear that by the leadership of both sides of this Congress; but when you hear MFN, think of religious crackdowns.

Mr. Speaker, did my colleagues know that the officials in China's Religious Security Bureau said that house churches, China's system of unofficial Protestant and Catholic churches, should be pulled up by their roots, and a Hong Kong newspaper reported last month on many new reports of harassment of Protestants and Catholic believers in certain areas of China. Think of that when you think of MFN. Remember that the police have vowed to hit and eradicate five Christian-based religious groups in the Anhui Province in China. When you think of MFN, think of that.

My colleagues should also know that an American missionary reported earlier this year that the Chinese Government was circulating an arrest warrant with the names of 3,000 Chinese evangelical preachers and house-church movements. When Members on both sides think of MFN, think of that.

Remember that in February and March of 1996 in the Baoding region of the Hebei Province, authorities went school to school weeding out Catholic students and teachers, and ordering them to join the State church. Students who refused were kicked out of school, and teachers who refused were demoted or fired. You did not hear that in the President's statement today before the Pacific Economic Council, oh, no, but you should remember it as you think of MFN.

Remember that in November 1995, 150 public security officers destroyed a newly built Catholic Church in Baoding Province and severely beat 7 Catholic construction workers. This was the fourth incident in 16 months. You did not hear that in the President's speech, but Members on both sides of the aisle should remember that when they think of MFN.

Remember that scores of priests and religious believers were detained during the First Lady's visit to Beijing in September 1995 in order to silence them. We never heard anything about that from anybody in this Congress who is concerned, talking about giving MFN. When you think of MFN, think of Bishop Jingmu, a 76-year-old Catholic bishop who was arrested in November and secretly sentenced to 2 years in prison without a public hearing.

When you think of MFN, think of Bishop Su Chimin, a Catholic bishop in the Baoding diocese, who was rounded up in 1994, after the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Chris Smith, visited him in China, and beaten severely in prison. He was rearrested in March 1996, this year, March 1996, and is being held incommunicado without charge.

Think of these things, I would urge my colleagues on both sides. If the administration has forgotten about them, we should not forget about them. Think of these things.

So when you think of MFN, think of religious persecution. Then, when you think of MFN, think of Tibet. When you think of MFN, remember that the Government of the People's Republic of China tightened its grip on Tibet in 1994 and 1995 by restricting religious practices of Tibetan Buddhists. Remember that Tibetan monks and nuns were reportedly required to strip off their clothes before beatings, and are routinely raped in jail. Over 50 percent of Tibetan prisoners of conscience in detention by Chinese authorities are monks and nuns. You did not hear that today when the President spoke. You will not hear that when Members of Congress get up and say they want MFN, but you should think of MFN persecution in Tibet.

Remember that the Chinese Government restricts the number of monks and nuns allowed in Tibetan monasteries, sharply restricts teachings in the church, and sharply curtails renovation of buildings and monasteries.

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So when you think of MFN, think of what goes on in Tibet.

Mr. WOLF. I thank the gentlewoman for her comments. I will go with my statement, but I do want to comment on one thing. She is exactly right, and look how far we have slipped in this country, in both Republican and Democratic Parties, on the issue of human rights.

In 1984 and 1985, if any Member of Congress had gotten up on the floor of the House and said that the Soviet Union should get the most-favored-nation trading status, when Scharansky was in Permanent Camp 35 in the gulags in the cold, snowy Ural Mountains. And when Sakharov was under house arrest, no Member of Congress, no administration would have had the courage, the guts, the stupidity or whatever to ever get up and say that they felt that the Soviet Union should get the MFN.

Now we see people in both parties now saying that China should get MFN, when we see all of these things that have taken place and many more that I will go through before I finish.

The second point is, the gentlewoman makes the case about Hong Kong. What will the Congress and the administration say next year when the Chinese troops come marching into Hong Kong, almost like a World War II movie? What will they say then? I will be interested in what Members of

Congress of both parties will say and what this administration will say, or the next administration, if there is a change.

Third, the American people are farther along on this issue than is the Congress or the Clinton administration. The latest surveys and polls show how strongly and deeply the American people care about MFN and China and human rights and nuclear proliferation. I think the latest survey had it will over 70 percent of the Americans were concerned, and yet I wish 70 percent of the Clinton administration was concerned. I wish 7 percent of the Clinton administration was concerned.

So what will they say? And, frankly, if the American people could vote on this issue, China would not get MFN.

Let me move right along. This photo I have here, which I would like to cover, when you hear the President talk about MFN, you must remember, I tell my colleagues, this photo.

When you think of MFN, remember that public executions are taking place in China, where the Government of China routinely executes so-called criminals by shooting them in the back of the head in front of crowds. Remember that school children are herded to execution sites in buses to watch the killings and the workers are given the day off. And remember the executions are carried out as part of an official effort to quiet the masses.

What you have here are security police lined up in back of young men who have been convicted. They are pulling out their pistols, almost reminiscent of a World War II movie of Nazi Germany, and they put the pistols in the back of the heads of these men and they shoot them. They kill them.

I would urge any Member of Congress who wants to know more about this, I have the video, the actual video in my office that we will give to any Member's office to look at this video. What they then do is after they kill these individuals, they take the corneas and their kidneys for transplantation. If the Soviet Union had ever done that, who would have ever gotten up saying that they should get MFN?

Yet we have it on film, and actual shots of soldiers and police killing these people and taking their kidneys out for transplantation. No Member of Congress on either side, whether you are for MFN, whether you are against MFN, whether you are undecided on MFN, no Member of Congress should vote on this issue without seeing the film and the video where the Chinese police and army are killing these people by putting a pistol in the back of their head and shooting them, and later taking them and using their kidneys for transplantation.

Remember when you hear MFN that the kidneys and corneas are taken from the dead bodies minutes afterward and are sold for transplantation for profits for those in the Chinese Government, some as high as $30,000 apiece. I know you did not hear about that in President Clinton's statement. He would not have the courage or the guts to talk about that.

But when you think of it, Members of Congress, on both sides, you have to think in terms of these violations of human rights and executing people before you vote on this issue.

When you think of MFN, remember that the Chinese Government continues to force women to have abortions in an attempt to keep down the population, and deny health and medical care and economic opportunity to families that refuse to comply with these draconian policies.

Remember when you think of MFN, the credible evidence of children each year in Chinese state-run orphanages being denied food and medical care and tied into their cribs to die. I know that was not in President Clinton's statement. I know it was not in his statement, but just remember when you vote on MFN, this is one of the issues that you are dealing with, whether you like it or not.

And proliferation. When you think of MFN, remember that the Chinese Government sold ring magnets to Pakistan that can be used to make nuclear weapons, yes, nuclear weapons that can be pointed against this country or other innocent people around the world.

Remember that the United States Government found out about these controversial sales and urged the Chinese Government to cut it out. They have refused twice. They have said they did not know about the ring magnets. Some confusing signals were sent. Some confusing statements were issued.

In the end, embarrassingly so, the Clinton administration said it reached a deal, a promise from the Chinese Government, a promise from the Chinese Government that they would not do it again, a promise from the Government that has executed people like this that they would not do it again; a promise from the Government that is tracking down women on forced abortions that they would not do it again; a promise from the Government that is putting Catholic priests and bishops in jail, some for up to 35 years, they promised they would not do it again; that is raiding house churches and persecuting evangelicals, that they would not do it again. How much do you

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think that promise from the Chinese Government is worth?

And remember when you think of MFN that the intelligence sources indicate that the Chinese Government also sold M-11 missiles to Pakistan and patrol boats to Iran, and remember no sanctions were imposed for these actions. Remember, no sanctions were imposed for these actions.

Remember that on April 17, 1996, the Washington Times reported that Chinese nuclear technicians would be going to Iran to help build a uranium plant that will ''help Tehran's nuclear weapons program.'' Remember that, Members on both sides, when you think of MFN, remember that.

And also remember Taiwan. When you think of MFN, remember that the belligerent Government of the PRC conducted missile tests, military exercises, off the coast of Taiwan just weeks before the first democratic Presidential election in Taiwan's history.

So when you think and hear the words MFN, MFN, it is like a free word or term thrown around this town. Oh, some of the big, large K street law firms will do pretty well representing a few handful of businesses that are doing business in China but, as the gentlewoman from California has stated, it is a bad deal for us.

Economically, trade, blue-collar workers all over the country, from New England to the South, textile workers from the Midwest all the way to the west coast are losing jobs because of this trade.

Our Members should know that Windows 95 was available in pirated version in the streets of Beijing before it was available here, the intellectual property that the Chinese Government are exploiting with regard to American businesses. Remember those things.

And remember all of the other things, that the economic liberalization has done nothing to improve our relations. Remember Harry Wu, how he documents that there are more slave labor camps and gulags in China than there were in the Soviet Union.

I visited Beijing Prison No. 1, where we saw workers working on socks for export to the United States, and they were making jelly shoes that youngsters wear in the United States for export to the United States. Do you think an American company could compete with Tiananmen Square demonstrators working for nothing in a cold, snowy prison where there is no OSHA requirements, there is no EPA requirements, there are no minimum wage requirements? There are no requirements except you meet your quota or else.

So as we think of the word MFN, I hope we will think in terms of all the different issues, from religious persecution, Catholic priests and bishops in jail, evangelical pastors in jail, prisoners working in slave labor, even people working in sweat shops for 12 to 15 hours a day at 9 cents an hour that are taking away American jobs. Yet this administration and some in Congress on both sides of the aisle are clamoring to see that this Congress and this administration gives MFN to China.

I hope and pray that when the Congress votes on this issue this summer there will be a majority of men and women on both sides of the aisle that would join hands and vote to deny MFN for China, even though Clinton may veto the bill. Let it be on his conscience, not on ours. Even though Clinton may allow it to go through and we may not override the veto, let it be a burden that he has to carry, not that we have to carry.

This is, I think, one of the leading moral fundamental issues that this Congress will have to deal with in this country, because we all quote in these speeches we give on July 4 what the Declaration of Independence says. It says, ''We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men and women are created equal, endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.''

They did not come from Congress. It said ''by their Creator,'' their God. These are God-given rights. An individual, a Chinese person, man, woman, or child in China, is as entitled to the rights of freedom of speech and freedom of worship and life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as somebody in any other part of the world.

It says in the Bible: To whom much is given, much is expected. And much has been given to our country, because we have stood firm on these fundamental values on both sides of the aisle. I remember when the persecution took place in the Soviet Union, it was Senator Jackson, a Democrat, and Charlie Vanik, a Democrat, that passed Jackson-Vanik to put tight restrictions on the Soviet Union that would not give them MFN. We joined hands in a bipartisan way.

Let us hope when the roll is called, when the roll is called and we are given the opportunity to vote, let us hope that an overwhelming majority, not everyone, we are not going to get everyone, but an overwhelming majority will vote to deny MFN, most-favored-nation trading status, for a country that should not be given a most-favored-nation trading status because of all the very bad and very evil things, not only that it has done, but it continues to do and appears that is will do in the future.

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20. Ms. Pelosi, Representative from California

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from California [Ms. Pelosi].

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I want to support the gentleman's very strong statement about human rights in China. Unfortunately, in the President's speech today, he made a statement which I think, while his statement about most-favored-nation status for China was no surprise, it surprised me that he would go to the length of saying, ''Where we differ with China, and we will have our differences, we will continue to defend our interests. We will keep faith with those who stand for greater freedom and pluralism in China.'' I have not seen that happen, but the President declared that.

But this is the discouraging part: ''As we did last month, in cosponsoring the U.S. resolution condemning China's human rights practices.'' Something else you did not hear in the President's speech was that the administration's resolution was a total failure; that the administration failed to rally the vote to even get the resolution to be heard; that the Chinese succeeded in using, with their economic leverage, other countries to join them in tabling that resolution. That is something else we did not hear in the President's speech.

Frankly, with all the respect that I have for the President, and I think he is a great president, I was embarrassed for him, that he would even bring that up and think that that would be something that he could boast of as promoting human rights in China.

It would be interesting to see, where he says they are going to stand with those who stand for greater freedom and pluralism in China, that simply has not happened yet. That is probably what this debate is about, is to say to the administration, let us see what you are going to do.

We know that it is almost impossible to override a Presidential veto on most-favored-nation status, so China will have most-favored-nation status. So this debate is not about isolating China and cutting off MFN, as others will characterize it. It is about who we are as a people.

Mr. Speaker, if we say, as this President does, that he should have an embargo on Cuba, which I do not agree with, that we should have an embargo on Cuba and that is going to create democracy in Cuba, how can he then say that we cannot even raise tariffs on certain products coming in from China in order to use our leverage?

As the gentleman knows, over one-third of the products for export made in China come into the United States, so China needs our marketplace. They need the preferential treatment MFN, most-favored-nation status, gives them, and the President could use that considerable leverage as a way of shining a light on pluralism and democratic reform in China.

It is not up to us to decide what form of government China has, but it is a universal tenet that we believe that people are worthy of respect and have a right to practice their religion. I want to get back to your point about religious repression in China, which is rampant, and Tibet, which is rampant.

Actually, the most recent report that I saw was in yesterday's paper about the Chinese Government cracking down on the Tibetan monastery right outside of Llasa. The Chinese Government decided it will choose the Panchen Lama and intervene in the succession in a religion. Imagine if the government of Italy decided they were going to choose who the next Pope was, the uproar that would go up around the world. But the Chinese Government is trying to intervene in the succession within the Buddhist religion. Of course, as we all know, they have a full-fledged, full-blown public relations campaign to undermine His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

So for issues of what is going on in Tibet and what is going on in China, it is clear that we must, as a country, be true to our values and speak out on these issues, and demand in the course of a debate on whether China will have most-favored-nation status what our Government is tangibly going to do to advance freedom throughout the world, including China and Tibet.

The other point is that freedom does exist in parts of China now. if you believe in the one-China policy, then Taiwan has a thriving democracy. And just today, but yesterday in terms of the international clock, the Chinese on Taiwan inaugurated their first democratically elected President in the history of China. Hong Kong, as we know, is going through a transition. Democratic freedoms exist there.

In 1 year China will take over the governance of Hong Kong. It will be incorporated back into China. Let us see what this administration and this Congress is willing to do to preserve democratic freedoms where they exist now, in Hong Kong and in Taiwan, and what kind of leverage we are willing to step up to the bat and use in order to preserve those freedoms, and in doing so, validate the whole idea of freedom in China.

From my own personal observation, I know that the most discouraging part of the President's announcement today was that he was ill-advised by his advisers or somehow thought that it was OK to say that our commitment to pluralism and democratic reform in China was served by our offering a resolution which we did not get behind sufficiently, which we allowed the Chinese to use economic leverage against, which was tabled, which was a humiliation for the United States and for the Western allies in the United Nations. It calls into question the very need for a U.N. Commission on Human Rights, if the Chinese can exploit the situation to that extent, that there is not even a resolution that can be heard there.

Mr. Speaker, in terms of human rights, even the President's own country report of the State Department this year has stated very clearly that economic reform has not led to political reform; that the repression continues, and my reading of that is that this policy has not worked in terms of promoting human rights in China.

But we are going to have a month or so, I say to the gentleman from Virginia, where we can put the facts on the table for the American people and this Congress to see. People will have the opportunity to vote. It does not mean if you vote for MFN or against it that you are for or against human rights in China, but it does say how far you would be willing to go on that issue.

As I say, fundamentally, if we just argued this on the trade issues, China should not have most-favored-nation status, because they do not give it to the United States, because they have barriers against our products, they pirate our technology and intellectual property, they insist on the transfer of technology, in the course of trade they insist on a plan for export on anybody manufacturing in China in joint ventures, and they export products made by slave labor to the United States. All of this undermines our international competitiveness.

So this administration can no longer say they are shining the bright light of freedom on China, instead of using MFN. They can no longer say this is about jobs, because the figures simply do not lie in that direction. America has been losing jobs on the basis of its policy with China.

Then on the issue of proliferation, that is just really a sad one, because in any given day the most serious thing that could happen is that there will be proliferation of nuclear weapons technology. The Chinese Government has not been taken to task on this. This administration has taken a sort of a silent, tacit agreement that they will not proliferate nuclear technology to unsafeguarded countries, and called that a great diplomatic victory. That is the reason they said they did not put sanctions on the Chinese national nuclear corporation, which is the company that transferred the magnet rings.

The administration wants to believe that the Chinese Government did not know about the transfer of the magnet rings. Let us agree with them for a moment. Maybe they did not. I believe they did, but let us take the administration's position for a moment. There is no question, and it is an undisputed fact, that the Chinese national nuclear corporation knew exactly what it was doing when it sold the ring magnets for centrifuge to enrich uranium to Pakistan for their nuclear program, making the world a less safe place.

In doing so, the administration called the Eximbank and said to the Eximbank, ''You are now free to provide loan financing with American companies doing business with the Chinese national nuclear corporation.'' A

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deal was in the pipeline that went forward. Imagine, it was well known that they had transferred the nuclear technology, and right now, today, American taxpayer dollars are subsidizing a deal with that very corporation because the administration did not want to sanction them.

Then of course the list goes on about Iran. Our country has an embargo on Iran, yet looks the other way as China, undisputed fact, has transferred missile technology to Iran and chemical technology, making the Middle East a much more dangerous place. As we spend billions and billions of dollars to promote and preserve the Middle East peace, we are looking the other way and not taking China to task.

It is always a special case. I do not think China should be treated any better or any worse than any other country, but I do think it is important for us to understand how they are being treated and how dangerous it is to the world.

Over and over we have said on this floor that our policy with any country should be to make trade fairer, people freer and the world safer. On none of those scores has this Clinton administration and the Bush administration policy before it met that test.

So I would say that as we go into this time, we have been given a free ride, almost. Because Senator Dole and President Clinton, the two candidates, the leaders of the parties going into that race, both agree on the same policy, that frees us up not to be taking sides within the Presidential race on China MFN, for Members to follow their conscience, follow the facts.

As I have said before, the President has the power, the businesses have the money, we have the floor and we must use it to shed the light of our great democracy on the repression in China, to shed the light on the unfair trade practices, and to shed the light on the proliferation issues making this world a much more dangerous place.

With that, I thank the gentleman for his great leadership. Those who aspire to practice their religion in China have no greater friend than my colleague from Virginia, Mr. Wolf. I am pleased to participate in his special order, and yield back to the gentleman.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Pam Vaughan

OVERVIEW

"Why Transition in Contemporary China" is a look at the some of the changes China has been going through since their revolution in 1949. Some of the lessons have parts that date back farther than 1949, however, in order to understand why China has come as far as it has and why the people and government of China think the way they do. The unit is open ended and the student group tasks purposefully "vague" so as to promote analytical thinking.

The unit is broken into the following activity units:

1. Rural Changes
2. Population Problems
3. Democratization
4. Women
5. Economics
6. Human Rights
7. Standard of Living

GRADE LEVEL- 9-12

OBJECTIVES

To obtain a clearer view of the complexity and varying viewpoints regarding China's changes especially regarding economics as an underlying cause.

PROCEDURE

1. Divide your class into groups of 4-5. Groups don't work well with more than five. In this unit there are 7 activities, and you should have 7 groups. If your class is larger than 35 students, take one of the activities and xerox it for two groups. The presentation products will still be different from each group. It helps to xerox the activites and resource cards on cardstock and then place them in plastic sleeves. Then you can use them year to year. It also helps to have each groups' cards in its own folder.

2. TIME-

   A. Two fifty minute periods followed by two more fifty minute periods perhaps the following week.

   B. Allot 15 minutes for introduction, 30-40 minutes for groups to study resource cards and quickly plan and create presentation. Presentations are the next day. With the short 30-40 minute planning stage, students must take their group roles seriously in order for product to be presented effectively. These units work well with block scheduling.

3. ROLES- DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY ON A ROTATING BASIS-

   The roles are:

   Facilitator (keeps students on task and smooths the way, Harmonizer, Resource Specialist (Makes sure students make full use of resource cards), Reporter, Recorder (Makes sure someone writes down needed information), Timekeeper, Materials Manager(only person allowed out of seat in planning stage). Sometimes two roles go to one person.

   The second week, the roles are rotated, but the groups stay the same.

4. NORMS

   Choose 3-4 norms (or group "rules") that you will watch for in their

groups. Post these in the classroom. Examples of some norms: A.You have the RIGHT to ask anyone in your group for help. *follow this by* B. If asked for help, you have the DUTY to assist anyone who asks for help. C. No one is done until everyone is done. D. Pay attention to what other group members need E.Everyone helps F. Allow everyone to contribute ideas G. Critique ideas, not individuals
H. No one person monopolizes

5. PRE-ACTIVITY
Students need to know about the Communist Revolution of 1949 and Mao Zedong.

6. HOW IT'S DONE
A. Go over the roles. Show students a chart of who has what role.
B. On the board, write the time that you expect them to be finished. Hold them to it. The product isn't as important as what they learn doing it.
C. Students read the resource cards and look up needed information. The tasks are purposely vague and open ended so they can use their creativity and higher order learning skills.
D. Students then answer questions orally from the task card. Teacher then checks them on their answers while they are in group; if someone doesn't know the answer, don't rescue them, come back later and hold the group accountable for teaching the information to the student.
E. They plan their oral activity (be it a skit, poem, etc.),
F. Give their oral presentations

G. DEBRIEFING-While the group is still in front of the class, question them with debriefing/extension questions that are included at the end of this unit. Also ask them procedural questions. For example, if you saw something occurring in their groups such as conflicts, ask them about it. If they couldn't get done in time and don't have a good product, ask them what they will do the next week to pull it together sooner.
H. During presentations, other students should take notes on the chart provided so to facilitate them writing their essays.

I. Week #2- Rotate the activities so that if, for example, Group #1 had Activity 1 the first week, they have Activity 3 the second week. Keep in mind that the first week is often a "wash" but the second (or even 3rd week if you're into it) is far superior, and the quality of both the product and the group interaction tends to improve.

EVALUATION- Choices
1. INDIVIDUAL REPORTS- At the end of this unit you will find Individual Report Questions. Students can answer in short essay or long paragraph format. They usually take this home to do. This is what their grade is based on so that they get an individual grade rather than a group grade. In this case, you don't need to grade the oral part of their presentations.

2. EXTENSION QUESTIONS- At the end of this unit you will also find the Extension/Debriefing questions for each activity. You could have them do this activity for homework if you prefer.

3. MATRIX- Also at the end of this unit you will find the matrix(chart) on which students take notes. You could have them hand this in for a grade as well.

MATERIALS NEEDED- Butcher paper, construction paper, felt pens, crayons, tape, scissors

Place in each activity folder

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
GENERAL RESOURCE CARD

There are only 1000 family names in China.
Here is a partial list of family names in China in case you would like to use them in your presentations:

Yan (the "a" is
pronounced like "aw")
Yang (yawng)
Chang
Wang
Tang
Jiang (jee-awng)
Zhang (jawng)

Chin
Fung
Lin
Bao
Chen
Jiu (jee-oo but
pronounced as one syllable)

Wei (way)
Ma
Ju
Hu
Wu
Wuer
Wen (won)
Lau
Choi
Yuen
Lian

Ziang (zee-ang but
pronounced as
one syllable
Xu (shoo)
Hua (hwa)
Xiao (she-ow but pronounced as
one syllable)
Ou (oh)
Tian (tee-on)
Zheng (jung)
Dai (di as in dine)
Sun (soon)
Zhao (jow)
Lam

Why Transition in Contemporary China?

VOCABULARY

Should be xeroxed and included with each activity

bumper harvest- surplus harvest

commune- after Mao's revolution, people joined collective or communal farms. This is where the village members work together in the same fields to grow the crops. The profits are equally divided.

communism- Economic theory of Karl Marx where the profits of a society are equally shared. A classless society. The land is also held in common.

democratization- The act of becoming more democratic

Deng Xiaoping- The premier of China after Mao Zedong (Mao Tse Tung) died. He brought capitalism or free enterprise to China for the first time since 1949.

genocide- Where one ethnic group tries to wholly slaughter another ethnic group as in the case of the Jews, Rom, and Sinsi during World War II.

Han Chinese- This is the main ethnic group of China. 94% of Chinese people are Han. The other 6% is composed of 56 ethnic minorities.

hectare- 10,000 sq. metres or 2.47 acres

hunger strike- When a person or group of people go for days or weeks without eating in order to make a political impression on the country's leaders and to gain publicity. This is also sometimes called fasting.

Jiang Zemin- The current leader of China

joint venture- When outside business interests come to an area to help locals set up a business. In this case, the American company, General Electric **joined** with the Chinese Ministry of Health to set up a c.a.t. scan manufacturing plant.

magistrate- judge

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse Tung)- One of the leaders of the Communist Revolution. He took power in 1949.

National People's Congress- The national legislature which meets during the month of March in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing

rural- countryside, farming

state sovereignty- freedom of a country to decide political issues on their own without outside pressure.

Tienanmen (or Tiananmen) Square- The main square in Central Beijing. It is one of the world's largest public squares. It sits at the foot of Tiananmen Gate and at the entrance of the imperial palace or The Forbidden City. It contains the tomb of former leader Mao Zedong. On one side is the national legislature building or the Great Hall of the People. It also contains monuments to the Communist revolutionaries.

yuan- The Chinese currency. In 1997, there were a little over 8 yuan per 1 U.S. dollar. There are in turn, 10 jiao per yuan.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORY CHINA?

Activity I

Changes in Rural Wealth

TASK CARD

In recent decades, many changes have come to China. In 1976 Premier Deng Xioping came into power after Zhou Enlai. The vast majority of Chinese have always lived in rural villages and are still involved in agriculture. But for many farmers, transitions have brought a chance to change their family income.

As a group, investigate the resource cards and then answer the following questions orally before planning your presentation.

1. What changes in China's agricultural society did you notice as you read the dialogue and the other resource cards?

2. What are the reasons for these changes in China?

3. How did the Household Responsibility System change the realities of the typical Chinese farmer?

4. What groups would object to the Household Responsibility System and wy?

GROUP TASK

For your presentation, create an advertising campaign to convince farmers to do one of the following:

1. Stay on the commune. This system is best.
2. Join the free enterprise system. This system is best.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity I
CHANGES IN WEALTH
RESOURCE CARD

INTERVIEW SCRIPT
YEAR: 1959

Place: Shanxi Province, China
Fictitious interview about life on a commune with farmer, Mr. Liu Haishan and Ms. Wang Chi An

Script

Q: Why do communes exist in China?
Mr. Liu: The commune system exists to help us in the village better our lives by working together for the good of everyone. That is whatever money we all make, we pool it together and it becomes everyone's property. It doesn't matter if my friend Zhang produces more food than me. Then we take this money and use it to build dams to conserve water, build schools, hospitals, and simply to take care of the needs of everyone in the commune.
Ms. Wang: The communes exist because Mao Zedong ordered my family to be on this commune. They were much better off before this time. We had a larger house and we had more incentive to grow as much as we wanted and were thus rewarded. I disagree with Mr. Tsu even though I can see my neighbors are better off than before.

Q: How is your life helped by the commune?
Mr. Liu: I have already explained to you how it tries to take care of our needs. But, also, let's say our commune grows more food than the village needs for that year. Suppose we don't need a dam or school. That's all right. The government takes the surplus food and uses it to feed people in the urban areas. Also, the government sells this surplus food and uses the money to help people do other jobs than just farming. (over 60% of the Chinese are farmers) The government helps the other Chinese people start businesses such as restaurants, clothing stores, and other industries and also exports surplus materials and foodstuffs to buy much needed goods for our glorious country.
Ms. Wang: Although it's gracious of the government to want to help other Chinese people, before the Communists took over we were a country of villages primarily. With these surplus crops, we should help out our own families and village and gain a local surplus in case of famines. In the past, famines have killed many of us in Shanxi Province.

Q: How do you and your neighbors get along since going onto the commune?
Mr. Liu: I have been made the village leader by the Communist Party and so it is important for me to make sure everyone is looked after well. My family always worked hard as peasants and the Communist Party rewards us now. My neighbors

thus know that I understand the needs of hardworking farmers who now have very high status in China. Ms. Wang has a grudge, but that will soon change when she sees how much better off we will all be under this system. After all, this is **1959** and China has only had a communist system for 10 years.

Ms. Wang: My neighbors who were once economically worse off than my family are happy that my family is in a lesser position now, but we are learning to live with this. I should not be talking about these things because I could get punished, I do know that my children are very used to the new system because they don't know the way it used to be, so perhaps the answers to the economic dilemma rest with our children and the future. Come back in 30 years and see how things have progressed!

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORY CHINA?
ACTIVITY 1
Change in Wealth

RESOURCE CARD

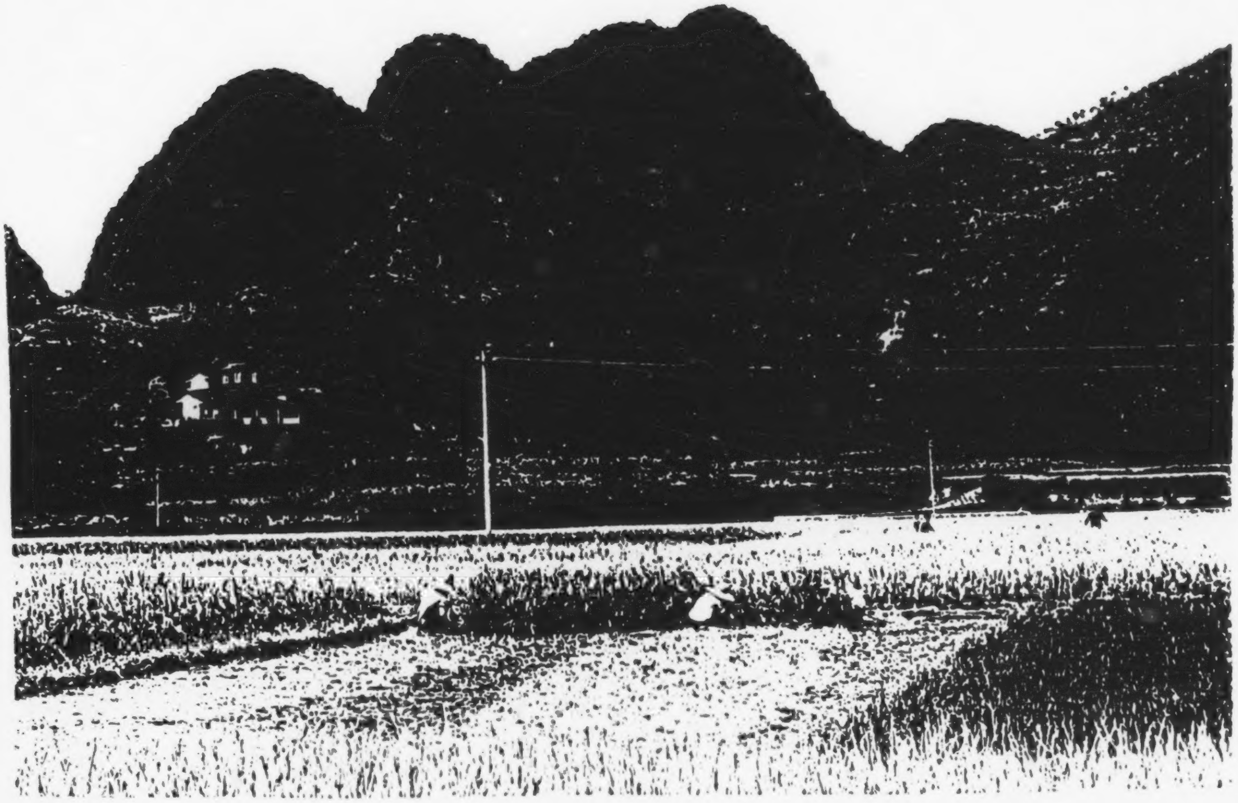


Photo by Pam Vaughan

A family harvesting their rice crop near Guilin, Guangxi Province, China July, 1997

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORY CHINA?
ACTIVITY 1
Change in Wealth

RESOURCE CARD

On the commune, 1959

Source: *Horizon History of China*, 1969

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
ACTIVITY I
RESOURCE CARD
Change in Wealth

The Chinese scholars accept the opinion of Lester Brown of America's Worldwatch Institute where he predicts the sharply growing demand for grain. China's population is expected to rise from its current 1.2 billion to as much as 1.7 billion by 2030, and the percentage of grain-intensive animal proteins in the national diet will continue rising as well. Mr. Brown and the Chinese agree that by 2030 China and its livestock will be eating some 750 metric tons of grain each year.

China's differences with Mr. Brown, who is regarded by some in the United States as an environmental alarmist, center on his assertion that domestic grain production will by that date, have declined by 20%. One piece of good news the Chinese point to is that recent satellite surveys show the nation has 132 metric hectares of available crop land- 38% more than previously believed. The bad news is that crop land is rapidly disappearing. More than 700,000 hectares of cultivated land were taken by construction during the past year.

Chinese officials insist that farmland must be preserved--but at the same time government policy is encouraging China's construction boom. They speak vaguely of better strains of plants and more effective fertilizers. One told a Chinese newspaper he is "confident the government will do something to change the situation."

Anonymous, "Malthus Goes East," *Economist,* August 12, 1995 p. 29

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity I
Change in Wealth
RESOURCE CARD

1989

"It has been almost a year since I left China on my most recent trip, and I have been troubled since that time by current changes in China's politics that I have not been able to grasp.

Deng's economic policies have invigorated China as never before, especially the countryside. Never have the peasants been so prosperous. But these policies have also stimulated inflation - estimated at 30 percent annually - creating scissors like squeeze on low-paid civil servants, notably in Beijing, who can't afford the high prices for food."

Salisbury, Harrison E., *Tiananmen Diary: Thirteen Days in June*, Little, Brown and Co., 1989

1997

We drove through the countryside in Guangxi Province heading for the town of Longsheng. It was a busy season for the farmers as they were toiling long hours to bring in what appeared to be a bumper rice harvest. While some farm families were harvesting their crops, others were plowing their fields with their water buffaloes getting ready for the next growing season; in this part of China there are two rice seasons. The farmers all looked prosperous. On the other hand, on the outskirts of all of the cities we visited stood groups of men looking for work. China is currently growing more food than it needs; it is a major rice exporter. It is importing large amounts of wheat to store in case of famine. Indeed, further north in Xian, the Yellow River was almost completely dry, and we saw few crops growing. Everyone still looked well fed, however. The inflation rate, too, has been brought under control to about 9% per year compared to 30% in 1989.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORY CHINA?
ACTIVITY 1
Change in Wealth
RESOURCE CARD

THE HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM

Between 1949 and 1980, china developed a commune system of farms based on communism where the profits were shared equally among all members.

To replace the Chinese commune system, the Household Responsibilty System began in 1980 and continues in present day China.

Now, each individual farming family (household) is responsible for a SEPARATE work contract with the Chinese government. If the family produces a surplus of food on their land, they are now allowed to keep it, sell it, and increase their individual wealth. Therefore, every farming household can make differing amounts of money.

In addition to agriculture, farming families are now encouraged to develop their own money making projects.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity II

Population Problems

Under the auspices of Deng Xiaoping, China has attempted to make sweeping changes in their population policies. In underdeveloped, agrarian (farming) societies, it has always been beneficial to have many children because as a farmer, you can grow and produce more with more hands. As China has become more educated and urbanized, the government has found that it has become necessary to stop this rapid population growth.

As a group, investigate the resource cards and orally answer the following questions:

1. How do you connect a declining birthrate and an increasing percentage of elderly?

2. In the statistics you saw, what might be some reasons why China finds the need to limit its population growth?

3. What practical day to day problems does a rapidly climbing birth rate present?

4. What might be the negative side China's population policy?

GROUP TASK

Present a 5 minute talk show to the class. One of you should be a parent on whom the one child limit has been imposed. Another should be a person from the government's Ministry of Health who wants to limit the number of children being born. Another is a neighborhood chairperson who has to make sure these measures are carried out. Another person will be a child from a one child family. Other members may choose who to represent. ***Each person must present some statistics in his or her part of the "talk."***
Be sure to show balance of the issues in your presentation

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity II
Population Problems
Resource Card

GOVERNMENT POLICIES

"The husband or wife of a couple that have two or more children should be sterilized....We should implement thoroughly our policy on sterilization in those areas and resort to remedial measures [abortions] when dealing with pregnancies that do not comply with planning." (*Shaanxi Daily*. Jan. 11, 1985)

"Birth control should be enforced....Measures to reward good and punish evil should be implemented." (*Health Gazette Family Planning Edition*, 4/18, 1985, pp. 16-19)

"All newly married couples who are expecting must show planned birth certificates. Those who are unable to produce a permit will have to undergo birth control measures" (abortions followed by mandatory birth control) (*Health Gazette Family Planning Edition*, May 17, 1985, p.3)

"The Sichuan provincial government demands that all areas truly stop early marriages, early births out of wedlock to control population growth....Illegal relationships [early marriages] which should be dissolved must be dissolved....Those who are pregnant out of wedlock and have not reached legal marriage age must undergo remedial operations [abortions] within the prescribed period." (*China Population*, Sept. 13, 1987.)

"If an unauthorized baby is the second, third, or subsequent child in a family and sterilization has not been accepted, the family will be denied permission to build a dwelling, their water and electricity will be cut off...grain coupons will not be issued, [and] driver's licenses and private business licenses will be revoked." (*China Spring Digest*, Vol. 1, no. 5, Sept.-Oct. 1987: 60-62)

Mosher, Steven, *A Mother's Ordeal*, Harcourt and Brace, 1993, p. ix

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity 2
Population Problems
RESOURCE CARD

POPULATION STATISTICS

YEAR	TOTAL (1000)	Urban %	Rural %
1949	541,670	10	89.4
1951	563,000	11.8	88.7
1953	587,960	13.3	86.7
1955	614,650	13.5	86.5
1957	646,530	15.4	84.6
1959	672,070	18.4	81.6
1961	658,590	19.3	80.7
1963	691,720	16.8	83.2
1965	725,380	18	82
1967	763,680	17.7	82.3
1969	806,710	17.5	82.5
1971	852,290	17.3	82.7
1973	892,110	17.2	82.6
1975	924,200	17.3	82.7
1977	949,740	17.6	82.4
1979	975,420	19	81
1981	1,000,720	20.2	79.8
1983	1,027,640	23.5	76.5
1985	1,050,440	36.6	63.4
1987	1,080,730	46.6	53.4
1989	1,111,910	N/A	N/A
1991	1,171,710		
1993	1,185,170	N/A	N/A
1994	1,198,500		

Projected population 2000- 1.3 billion

Source: *Statistic Yearbook of China*, State Statistical Bureau

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity 2
Population Problems
RESOURCE CARD

FERTILITY RATES
(Children per woman of childbearing age)

Area	1960-65	1970-75	1985-90
East Asia	5.35	4.40	2.30
China	**5.93**	**4.76**	**2.38**
Hong Kong	5.30	2.89	1.36
Japan	**2.01**	**2.07**	**1.68**
South Korea	5.40	4.11	1.73

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH

Area	1960-65	1970-75	1985-90
East Asia	51.0	63.8	70.3
China	49.5	63.2	69.4
Hong Kong	67.6	72.0	77.0
Japan	69.0	73.3	78.3
South Korea	55.2	61.5	69.4

PERCENT OF POPULATION 60 OR OLDER

Area	1960-65	1970-75	1985-90
East Asia	7.3	9.5	19.6
China	7.2	8.8	18.8
Hong Kong	4.8	12.9	31.0
Japan	8.9	17.2	30.3
South Korea	5.3	7.5	22.0

Source: The United Nations

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity 2
Population Problems
RESOURCE CARD
1 of 2

Baby Girls
Pam Vaughan. July 23. 1997

Our first evening in Shanghai we had dinner at a restaurant called the Shanghai Mansions. At two tables near us were fourteen American couples and their Chinese babies whom they were adopting. All of the fourteen babies were girls.

THE FEEL OF 1.2 BILLION PEOPLE
Pam Vaughan. August 13. 1997

The 1.2 billion Chinese people were very apparent when we were in China. Everywhere we went in Eastern China it was crowded. Even in the countryside there seemed to be so many people. Around the city of Xian there were many large groups of men just hanging out especially on the outskirts of the city. Some of them held signs up, "Electrical Worker" or "Carpenter." These people we were told were called "floaters" and came in from the outlying rural areas in hopes of finding work as day laborers; in China there is a surplus of agricultural workers. One recent article in the *Washington Post*, said that there may be 100 million of these floaters. (James North. "Building a House of Cards in Shanghai," *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, August 11, 1997, p.23)

We questioned as many people as we could about the one child policy. The policy is enforced among the Han Chinese (the main group of Chinese) but not so much among the ethnic minorities where family planning is simply encouraged. Also, Han Chinese living in rural areas can have two children and sometimes more under special circumstances.

It is the tradition in China that sons look after their parents when they are no longer able to do it themselves and as there is no social security system yet, people still want to

have sons. This is also important in the rural areas because they are able to help in the fields. They also carry on the family name.

It is in the cities of China that you see the one child phenomena. I had read about it frequently in the U.S. media, but it was obvious when we were there. Even the Chinese refer to them as "Little Emperors" and "Little Empresses." They are beautifully dressed children and very indulged. They are surrounded by their parents and grandparents who all give them more than their share of attention. Sometimes at the school gate, you can see both sets of grandparents and both parents waiting for their one child. Teachers say they are a little lazier than children in the past, and are very concerned about what to do about this. It seems this is one of their biggest worries in education.

One female professor when asked what would happen if she had more than one child replied, "If I have more than one child I will lose my Job." In rural areas she mentioned that parents would receive a monetary fine if they had more children than they were allowed to. One person said they would have their pay docked 10%. A taxi driver said that he went ahead and had a second child on purpose and had to pay a high fine that he paid off over a 5 year period. He didn't have to lose his job because he already owned his own taxi. The punishments seem to vary from place to place and from profession to profession.

One man we met, said that it was overall a harsh system but maybe they should have started with this system long ago because of the crowded conditions in eastern China.

Why Transition in China?
Activity 2
Population Problems
Resource Card

Part 1

"...You don't understand how strict this planned parenthood business is becoming," she continued. "I went to see my friend on the street committee. She told me that target birthrates and even quotas are now bring handed down from higher levels." Mother's friend, a retired teacher named Liu Jiazhen, was the head of the Eastern Gate Street Committee where we lived. She was a paid employee of the municipal government, responsible for pushing, prodding, scolding, and nudging the two hundred-odd families of her "street" into accepting Party policies. She was supported by seven or eight core volunteers, all retired women like herself.

"You ought to see the walls of her office," Mother was saying. "There are charts for everything: how many women must use contraceptives, what kind of contraceptives they use, and who has had an abortion. She also showed me her newest chart: It shows how many birth quotas are available for the coming year and who has applied for them. The Shenyang municipal authorities are demanding results, she told me. Street committees that meet their quotas will be hailed as progressive. . ..Those committees that exceed their targeted number of births will be criticized as backward and told to strengthen their leadership."

"What is the quota for our street?" I asked.

"That's the problem,"Mother said. "The quota for next year has been set at eight. Can you imagine!" Mother's right hand chopped the air for emphasis. "Only eight babies for more than two hundred families! I couldn't wait for you to return. Twenty-two couples had already applied for a quota. You and Wei Xin are couple twenty-three. The cutoff date is fast approaching."

"Cutoff date?" I queried.

"The cutoff date for being considered in the quota for next year. All interested couples must apply to the street committee by May 30. That's only a few weeks away."

"What happens if I don't get pregnant right away?" I asked.

"The quota is only good for this year" mother answered. "The baby must be born during the coming year. All couples with quotas can start trying to get pregnant right away. They must get pregnant by next March at the latest...."

... I was off work the next day when my mother's friend from the street committee dropped by. "Congratulations," she said when I opened the door. "I came by to give you your authorization to conceive and bear a child. We call it a *Shingxhan xuke zheng,* a birth permit." She handed me a pink slip of paper. "Be sure you keep the birth permit in a safe place," she cautioned. "You will need to present it to the hospital when you go in to have your baby. Otherwise the hospital will have to take remedial measures...."

Please read Part II on the back

Please read Part I on the other side

PART II

Secretary Wang arrived and took up a position in front of the assembly. His round little face, normally the picture of conviviality, was set in an expression of the utmost gravity. "Today we have a matter of extreme urgency," he began, "a *toudeng dashi* , to discuss. It concerns the population of the mother land. The People's Republic of China has within its borders nearly a billion people, or one-fifth of the world's population. This is a big burden for the people's government. Our major error in regard to population policy was to turn to the Soviet Union for advice. Our so-called Soviet elder brothers taught us that overpopulation, like unemployment, was only a problem in capitalist countries. During the 1950's we had a policy of encouraging women to give birth and discouraging abortion. As a result our population grew very rapidly during those years, and we now have too many people. Our population must not be allowed to continue to increase. If it does the consequences will be catastrophic.

"Having children is not a question that we can afford to let each family, each household, decide for itself," he went on. "It is a question that should be decided at the national level. China is a socialist country. This means that the interests of the individual must be subordinated to the interests of the state. Where there is a conflict between the interests of the state in reducing population and the interests of the individual in having children, it must be resolved in favor of the state. Socialism should make it possible to regulate the reproduction of human beings so that population growth keeps in step with the growth of material production. This is especially important now that China has embarked upon the Four Modernizations program.Whether or not we are able to control our population will determine whether the Chinese revolution succeeds...."

"...The Shenyang provincial authorities have determined to do everything possible to reduce the population increase rate, " Secretary Wang continued. "New goals have been set. We in Shenyang must lower the population increase rate of our province from last year's 14.2 down to 10 per thousand this year. By 1985 the rate must be further reduced to 5 per thousand, while by the year 2000 the natural increase rate should be zero... A new law has been promulgated by the provincial authorities requiring all couples to practice family planning. This law mandates severe financial penalties for having unauthorized second or third births.

"...The bearing of second or third children is to stop immediately. No couple in Shenyang city is to be allowed more than one child. This one-child policy goes into effect today. We must wholeheartedly support the new policy of the Shenyang government! I want all women of child-bearing age to sign a one-child agreement!"

Source: Mosher, Steven, *A Mother's Ordeal*

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity II
Population Problems
Resource Card

•...There are 110 million [Chinese] people over 60 today; by 2025, the number of elderly will approach 400 million. That will put pressure on families, companies and the government, all of whom will have to take care of them."

•..."China has no old-age homes, virtually no pension funds or social security insurance and an already heavily burdened health care system."

•..."Mao Zedong, the longtime chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, initially believed that large families were essential to making China strong. Throughout most of the 1950's, with Mao's encouragement, many couples had four or five children. By the 1970's, however, China began to counsel birth control to slow rapid population growth. In 1980, people were urged to have only one child. Today, those who violate the guidelines face heavy fines and, in some cases, forced abortions or sterilization. As a result, the family structure has been turned upside down. Instead of many children supporting their parents, each couple must support up to four parents and a child."

Mufson, Steven, "The Strain of "Raging Silver Wave'," *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, Aug. 14-20, 1995, p 18

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity II
Population PROBLEMS
Resource Card

Photo by Pam Vaughan

A one-child family on a Sunday motorbike outing

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY 3
Democratization

ACTIVITY CARD

Starting in the 1970's, China began a policy of more openness. In 1987, it began a process of democratization (becoming more democratic) by allowing villagers to choose their own leaders and the people to choose who they want to represent them in the National Peoples Congress. In 1989, Chinese university students staged a large peaceful rally in Beijing's largest plaza, Tienanmen Square. With more than100,000 students, it started out honoring the death of a Communist Party official, **Hu Yaobang**, who was moderate politically and also wanted more rights and freedoms for the Chinese people. The caucus soon became more than a memorial; it evolved into a major pro-democracy demonstration lasting over one month with over 10,000 students staying for the duration. The activity ended when the Peoples Liberation army killed close to 1000 people and injured hundreds more. The police arrested close to 10,000 protesters.

Answer the following questions orally after reading the resource cards:

1. What is the connection between democratization and the Tienanmen Square incident?

2. What would be the purposes of a mass hunger strike?

3. Why has China been many years in obtaining democracy?

GROUP TASK

For your presentation, produce a political cartoon or political poster about democracy in China. You may choose any point of view.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?

Activity III

Democratization

RESOURCE CARD

LOGISTICS OF CHINESE ELECTIONS

·Free village leader elections (populations of 1000-2500) were set up experimentally by Premier Deng Xiaoping in 1987. Also free elections for the National People's Congress were set up at this time. Before this, the Chinese Communist Party (CCCP) chose who would run. Also in the past, the voting was in public and the counting was done secretly.

·In recent years, voting is done by secret ballot and counting is done publicly.

·The Chinese Communist Party members are still the ones who count the votes.

·The latest elections in March of 1997 were observed in China by representatives of the Carter Center (Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia).

·In Hebei Province, the Carter Center observed that candidates gave speeches, then the voters showed their voter i.d. cards and secretly voted in one of 24-36 polling booths which were desks divided in half by cardboard. Then the votes were publicly counted and the results announced. It was all accomplished at most voting stations inside a couple of hours. There was about a 90% participation rate by registered voters. (the U.S. has a 40-60% participation rate depending on the election)

·The candidates in China could run for village head, village representative to the local committee or representative of the National Peoples Congress. The rules required at least one extra candidate for each position.

·Voters must be 18 years or older.

·*Source:* Carter Center at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia and the Royal Danish Embassy, Beijing, China

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity III
RESOURCE CARD

Democracy

CHANGES

When we visited China in the summer of 1997, many of us came away with a different view of democracy in China than when we arrived. Our initial views were formed by years of reading western reporters' ideas of democracy or lack of democracy in China.

In a study done at Stanford University's Hoover Institute, Senior Fellow Henry Rowen did a study of five major U.S. newspapers and magazines (*New York Times*, *Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Time,* and *Newsweek)* from 1991-1996. He found that they had 356 articles about human rights abuses in China, but only 3 on village elections, 16 on the changes to the rule of law, and 10 on Chinese efforts to give more freedom to authors to liberally publish what they want.

The Chinese are excellent social scientists. They study other countrys' changes first. They have carefully been observing the changes in Russia and eastern Europe from communism to capitalism as well as their changes from lack of democracy to freedom to vote and express themselves. The Chinese have been able to watch those countries and their particular changes before changing their own economic and political structure. They learn from the other mistakes, and then slowly make their own changes.

Some of the people we talked to clearly thought that things ought to change in China. One professor said, "The men at the top have too much power." Other professors thought that the village elections (which I hadn't heard about until then) starting in 1987 were a huge step for China and a positive step, too. No one seemed to be able to predict if this will lead to larger steps and ultimately to free elections of their national leaders. But the elections ARE A CHANGE from when the village leaders were chosen by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Clearly China will watch developments over a period of time before going on to the next step. They are patient; after all, their civilization is a product of over 5000 years of history.

-Pam Vaughan

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity III
Democratization

RESOURCE CARD

The Reaction of the Chinese Government to the Hunger Strike at Tienanmen Square

“1. The turmoil fomented by a tiny minority was premeditated.

2. The political aim of the tiny minority was to negate the leadership of the Communist Paty and the socialist system.

3. The turmoil stirred up by the tiny minority was carefully planned; various political forces at home and abroad were involved.

4. The tiny minority used rumours and instigations to steadily worsen the situation.

5. A few people have willfully trampled upon democracy and the legal system, and their deeds have led to serious chaos in the social order.

6. A few people attempted to seize power by taking advantage of the turmoil.

WHY MARTIAL LAW IS NECESSARY

Martial Law-
The imposition of military law over an emergency situation when civilian law cannot maintain order

1. The imposition of martial law on some sections of the capital was not just to solve the problem of some hunger-striking students, but to end the turmoil....

2.The news that the State Council had decided to impose martial law was leaked very quickly. so a small number of people immediately mobilized the students to change the hunger strike to a sit-in.

3. The [Communist] Party and government provided all kinds of goods and materials to lessen the sufferings of the hunger strikers and to ensure their safety.

4. All this shows that the Party, government, and whole society cared for, cherished and took responsibilty for the fasting students.”

Source: Shi Wei, "Why Impose Martial Law in Beijing?" *Beijing Review*, June 26, 1989

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity III
RESOURCE CARD

Democratization

The May 13 Hunger Strike Declaration

In these bright and beautiful days of May, we are beginning a hunger strike. We are young, but we are ready to give up our lives. We cherish life; we do not want to die.

But this nation is in a critical state. It suffers from skyrocketing inflation, growing crime rates, official profiteering, and other forms of bureaucratic corruption, concentration of power in a few people's hands, and the loss of a large number of intellectuals who would now rather stay overseas. At this life-and- death moment of the nation's fate, countrymen, please listen to us!

China is our motherland.

We are the people.

The government should be **our** government.

Who should speak out, if we should not?

Who should act, if we should not?

Although our bones are still forming, although we are too young for death, we are ready to leave you. We must go; we are answering the call of Chinese history.

Our honest feelings of patriotism and loyalty to the nation were distorted as "turmoil," and we were accused of being the tools of a "handful" who have "ulterior motives."

We ask of every Chinese citizen--every worker, peasant, soldier, civilian, celebrity, every government official, policeman, and our accusers--that you place your hand on your heart and ask yourself: What wrong have we done? What "turmoil" have we created? What causes have led us to protest, to demonstrate, to boycott classes, to fast, to hide ourselves? Why did this happen? Our words were not heard in good faith. We were beaten by police when we marched, though we were only hungry for the truth. Our representatives knelt for hours, presenting our petition, only to be ignored by the government. Our request for dialogue has been put off again and again. The safety of our student leaders is now uncertain.

What shall we do?

Democracy is supposed to be the highest of human aspirations and freedom a sacred human right, granted at birth. Today these must be bought with our lives.

We say to our dear mothers and fathers, do not feel sorry for us when we are hungry. To our uncles and aunts, do not feel sad when we leave this life. We have one wish, that the lives of everyone we leave be better. We have one request, that you remember this: our pursuit is life, not death. Democracy is not a task for a few; it takes generations.

May this declaration, written with our lives, break up the clouds that cast their shadows on the People's Republic of China. We are doing this:

1. To protest the government's indifference to the student demonstrations:

2. To protest the government's failure to enter a dialogue with students;
3. To protest the government's unfair characterization of the student democratic movement as "turmoil" and the further distortion of it in newspaper coverage.

We request:

1. An immediate dialogue between the government and the students on substantial topics with equal status;
2. An acknowledgment by the government of the legitimacy of the student democratic movement.

Time of the hunger strike: Begins at 2:00 p.m., May 13, 1989.
Place of the hunger strike: Tiananmen Square

—The Hunger-Strike Volunteers

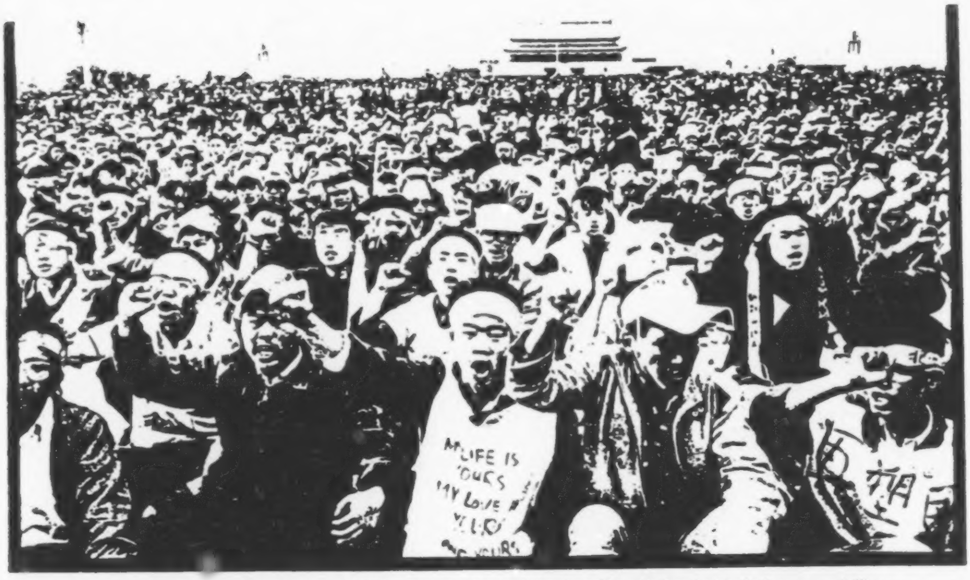
Source: Fairbanks and Schell, Children of the Dragon, p. 69-70.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?

Activity III

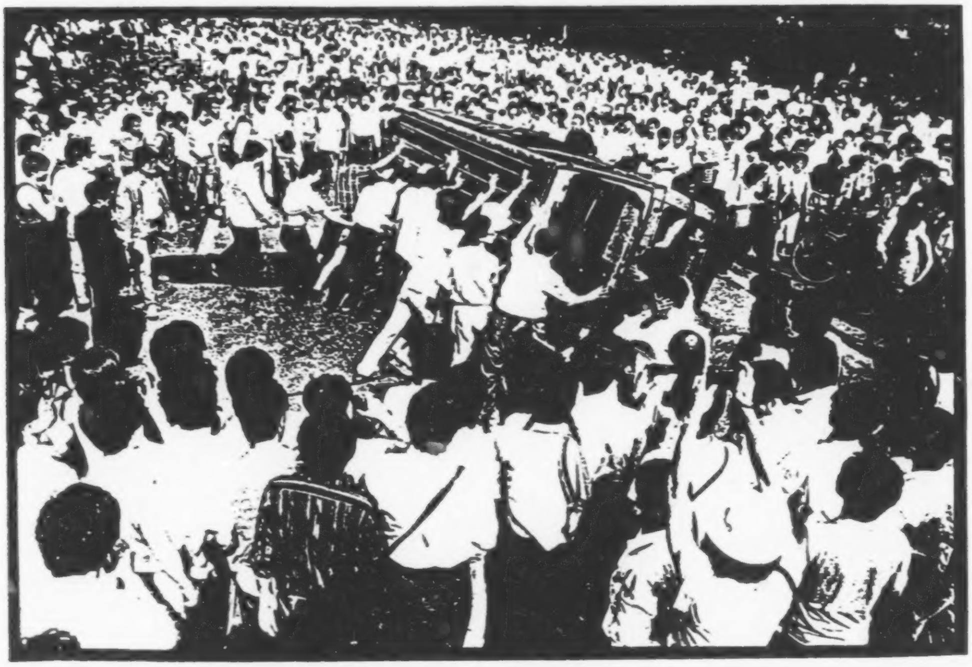
RESOURCE CARD

Democratization


MY LIFE IS YOURS
MY LOVE IS YOURS

May 13, 5:30 p.m., Tiananmen Square. Students wearing white headbands begin their hunger strike.

Source: S.F. Examiner Magazine



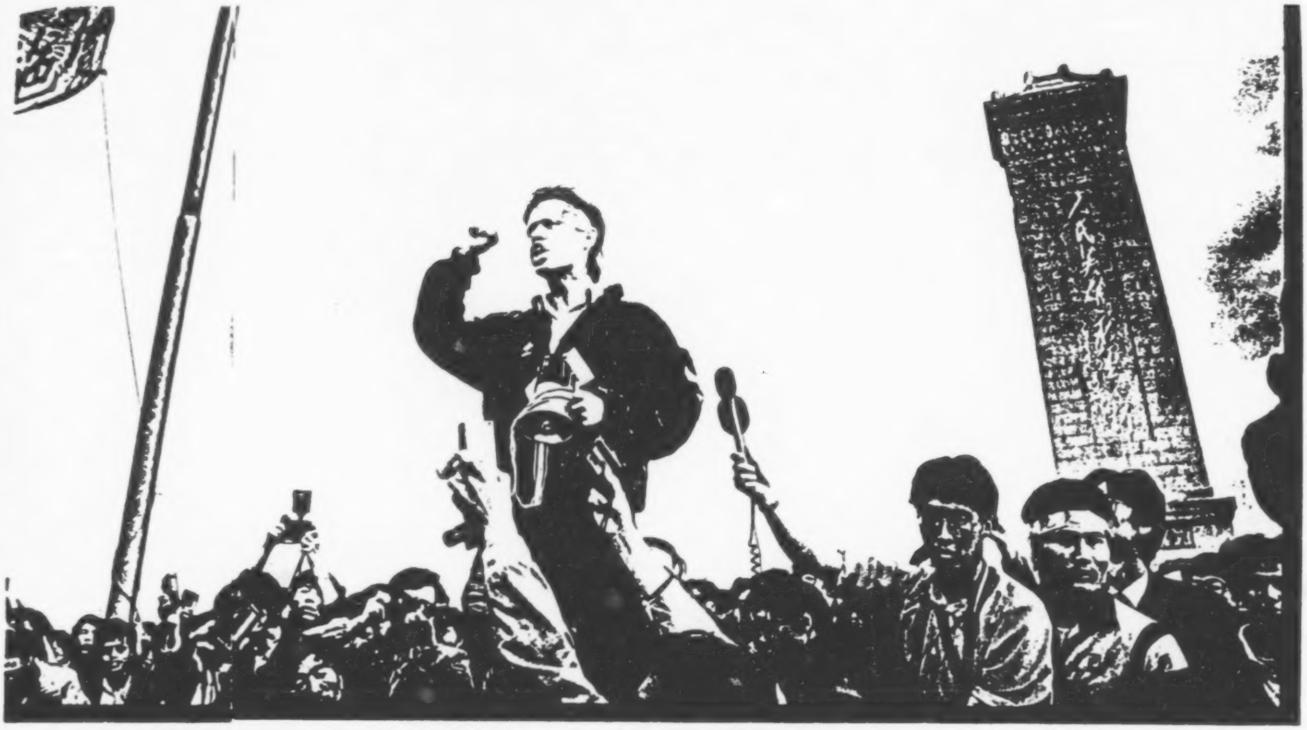
June 3, 3:30 p.m., Xin Huaman, Beijing. Students overturn a military van.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?

Activity III

RESOURCE CARD

Democratization



May 13, 5:30 p.m. Tiananmen Square. Student leader Wu'er Kaixi announces the start of the hunger strike

From Sunday San Francisco Examiner Magazine

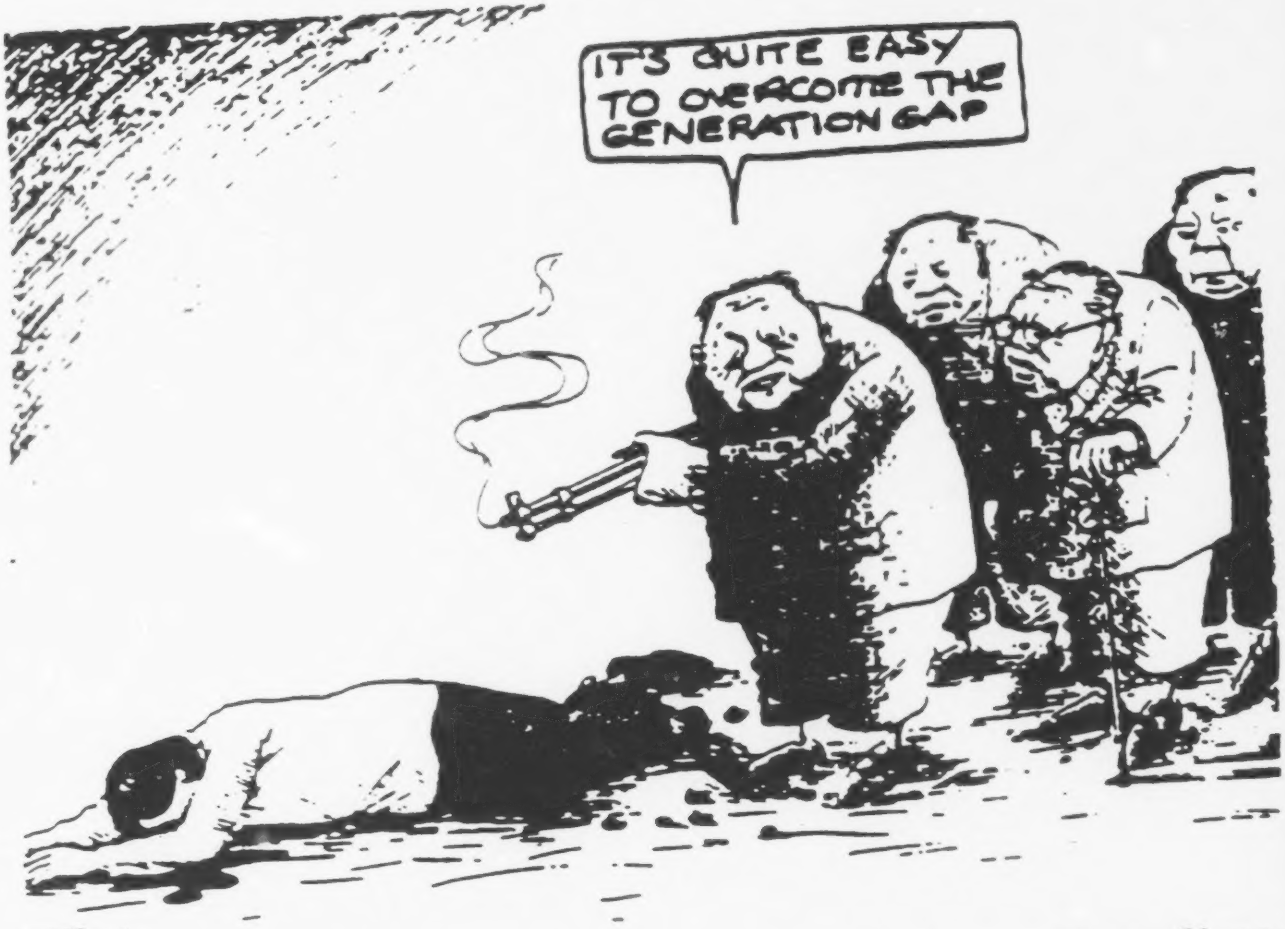
Why Transition in Contemporary China?

Activity III

RESOURCE CARD

Democratization

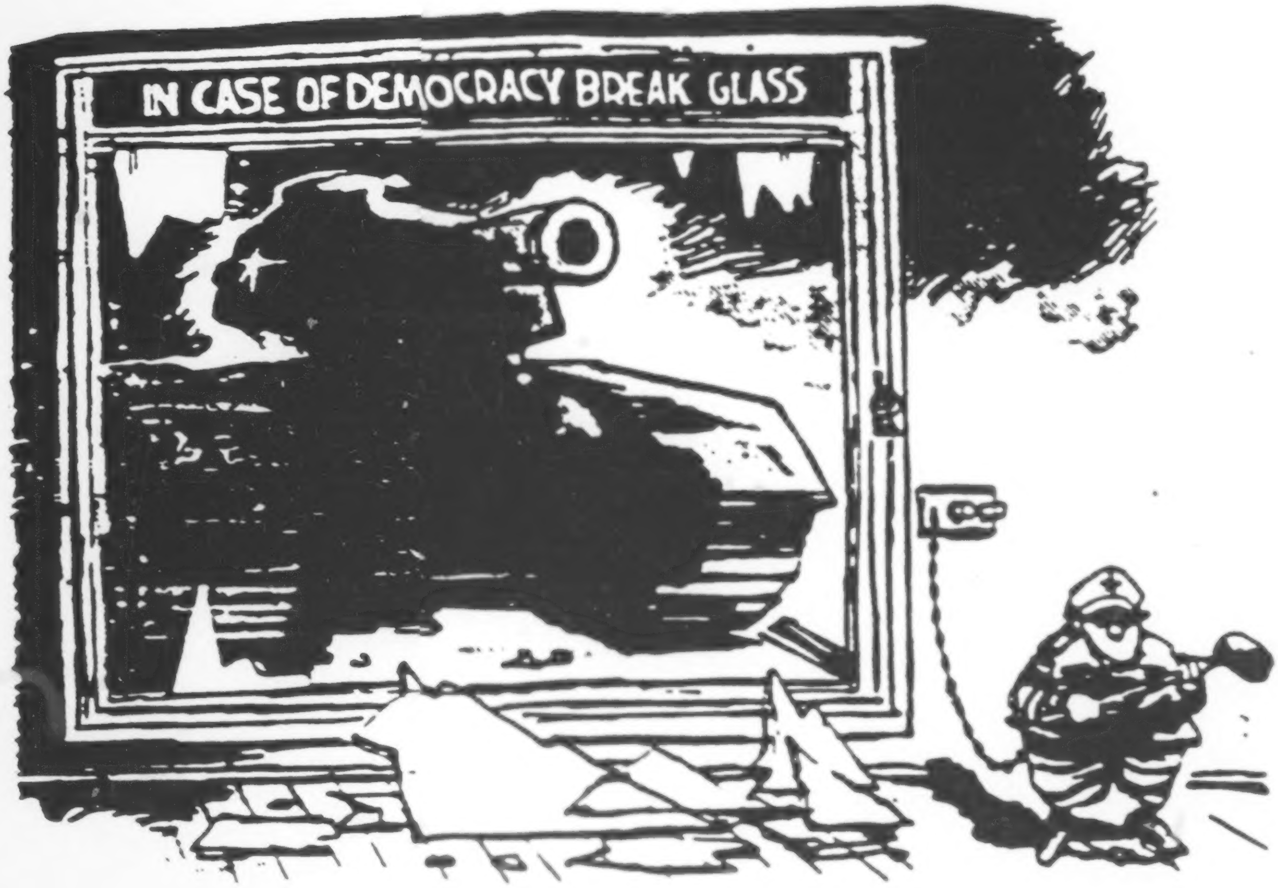
WORLD PRESS REVIEW ● JULY 1989


IT'S QUITE EASY TO OVERCOME THE GENERATION GAP

Zehentmayr/Kurier/Vienna

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity III
RESOURCE CARD

Democratization


IN CASE OF DEMOCRACY BREAK GLASS

Gable/Globe and Mail/Toronto

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity IV
Changes for Women

Since the Communist Revolution in 1949 and throughout the twentieth century, China has seen many changes politically and socially. Probably the biggest group to see changes has been China's women. Mao Zedong, the leader of the Communists, stated that "Women hold up half of the sky."

As a group, investigate the resource cards and ORALLY answer the following questions before making your plan for your presentation:

1. How would men react to these changes? Would the changes be better for them or make their condition worse and WHY?

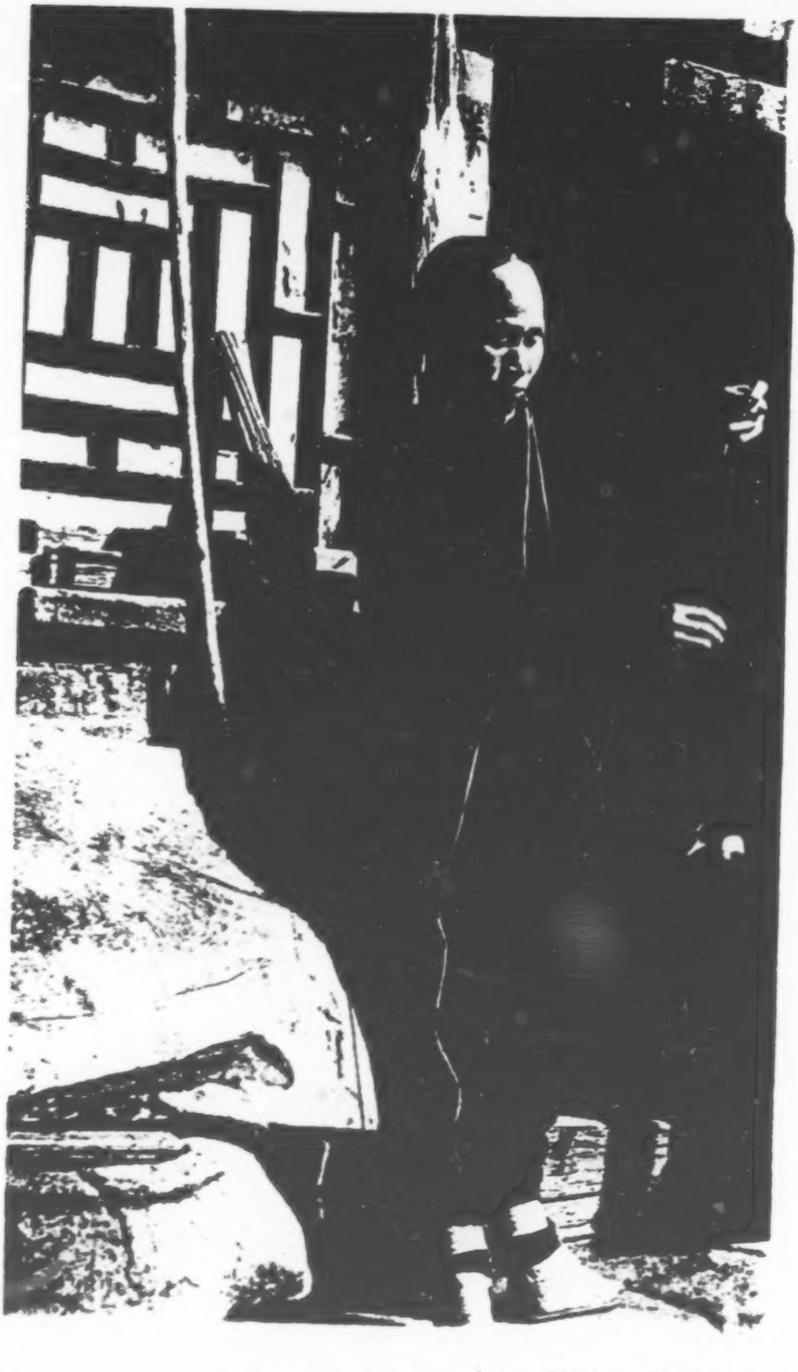
2. What problems might the womens' changes create for society?

3. What would be some advantages to having bound feet? Why might mother's make their daughters go through the same torture of foot binding that they went through?

GROUP TASK

Give a 5 minute presentation to class about the changes that women in China have gone through in this century. Center your presentation on a large decorative and informative diagram which you can show to your audience in order to visually help them understand.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity Iv
Changes for Women
RESOURCE CARD

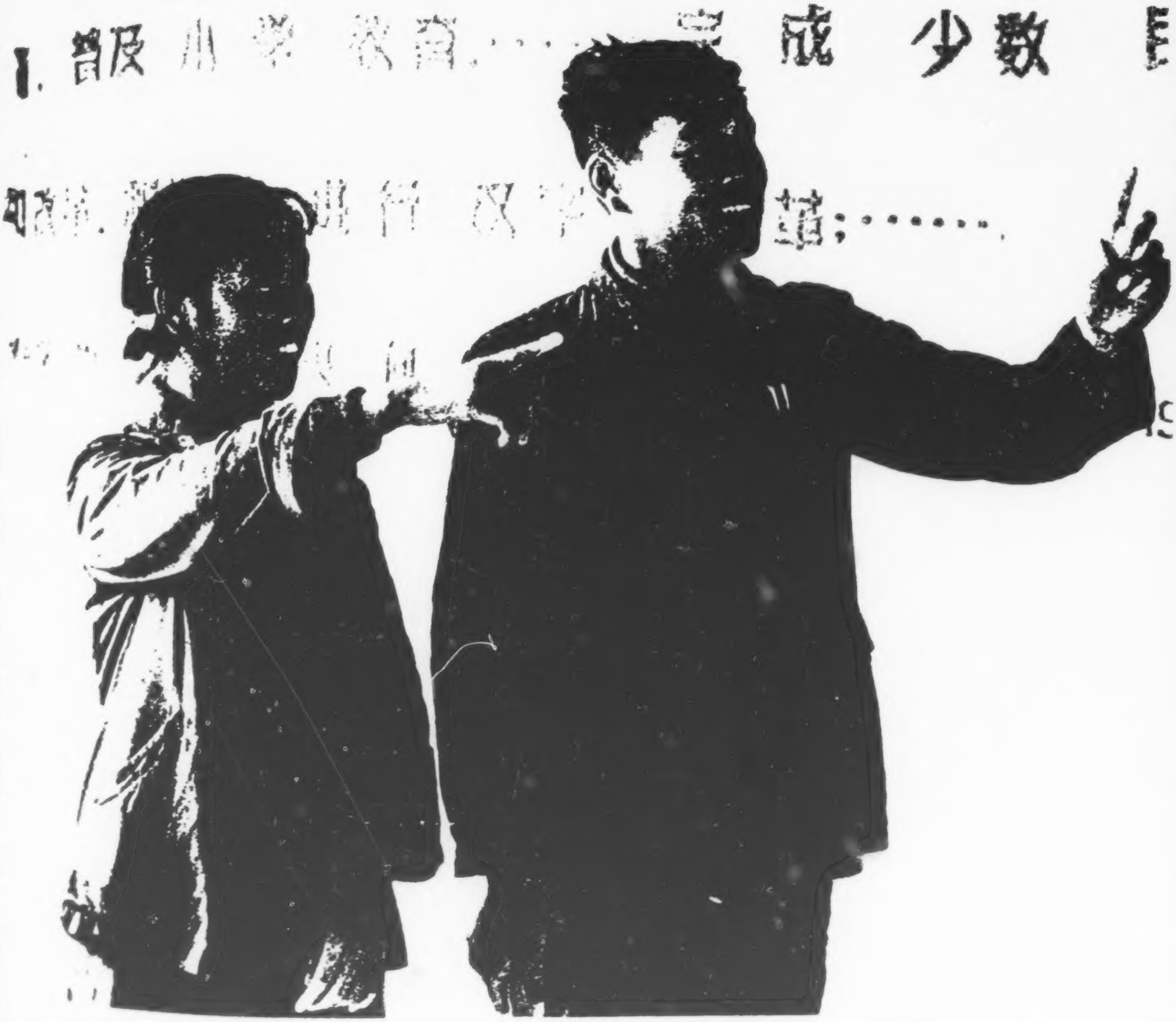


Loren Fessler, China, Time, Inc., 1963

A woman who has had her feet bound, 1963; She had her feet bound as a young girl in the early part of the century.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Why Transition in China?
Activity IV
Changes for Women
RESOURCE CARD

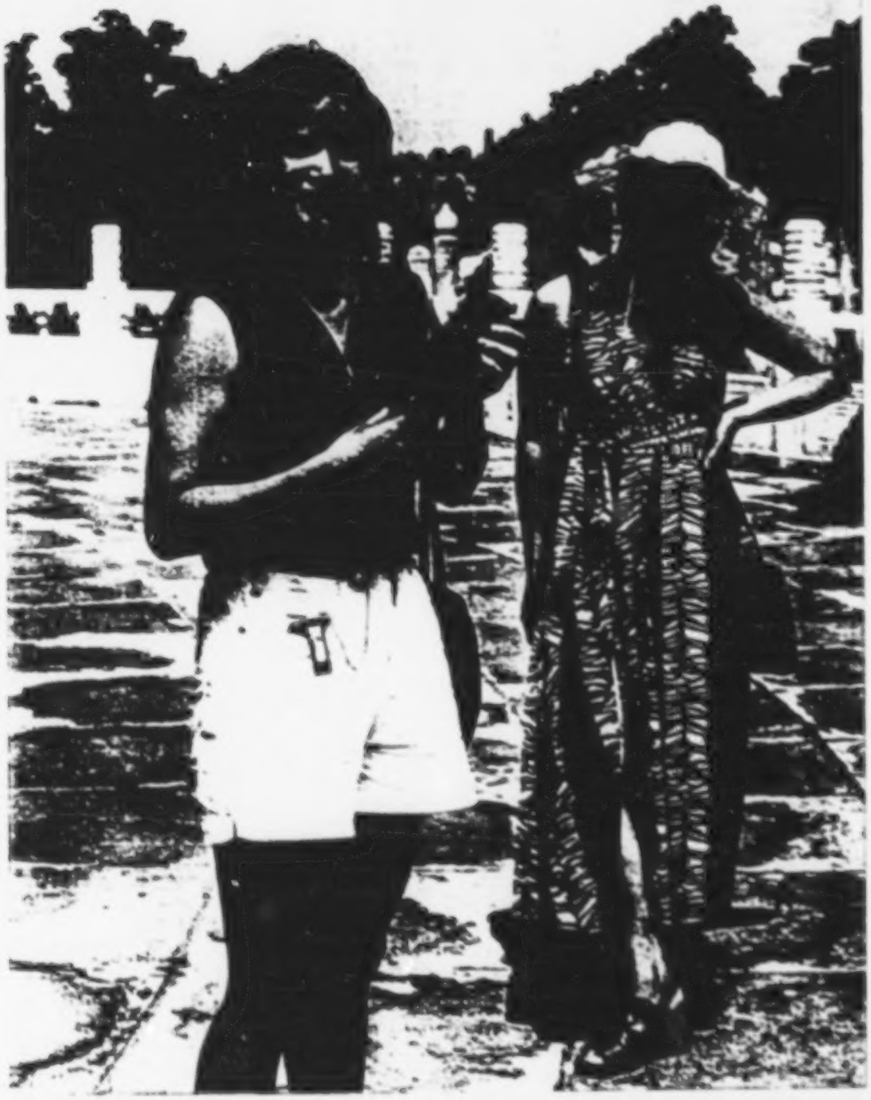


Loren Fessler, China, Time, Inc., 1963

A young woman in her blue suit, 1962. Compare this with the photo of the two young women in 1997.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity IV
RESOURCE CARD

Changes for Women



Young women in Beijing, China, July 1, 1997. Please note the pager in the pocket of the woman in the foreground. She is also holding a camera. Compare this photo with the other women in your activity.

Why Transition in China?
Activity IV
RESOURCE CARD

Excerpts of an Interview with Ms. Chen Juan about Changes for Women, July 18, 1997

(pronounced "Chun Joo-on")

Women are more equal with their husbands now. My husband and I share in the housework. For example since he gets home from work before me, he cooks dinner and does the dishes. When we scrub the kitchen floor, we do it together. In the old days, the women did all the household chores and in rural areas today this may still be unchanged. Marriages are no longer arranged although perhaps in the rural areas or in some ethnic groups they might be.

Another big change for women is that they can now look beautiful. A few years ago, we had to wear navy blue or grey with perhaps white blouses. Our hair had to be in pigtails or in bobs. Now any color goes and perfume is used freely and we can look fashionable.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?

Activity IV

RESOURCE CARD

Changes for Women

In the words of Mao Zedong, founder of the People's Republic of China:

"In order to build a great socialist society, it is of the utmost importance to arouse the broad masses of women to join in productive activity. Men and women must receive equal pay for equal work in production. Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of socialist transformation of society as a whole."

From Mao Zedong's "*Women Have Gone to the Labour Front*, 1955

"With the completion of agricultural co-operation, many co-operatives are finding themselves short of labour. It has become necessary to arouse the great mass of women who did not work in the fields before to take their place on the labor front...China's women are a vast reserve of labour power. This reserve should be tapped in the struggle to build a great socialist country."

From Mao Zedong's *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, 1955

"Enable every woman who can work to take her place on the labor front, under the principle of equal pay for equal work. This should be done as quickly as possible."

From Mao Zedong's *The Socialst Upsurge in China's Countryside*, 1955

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity IV
RESOURCE CARD

Changes for Women

BOUND FEET

When we went to China, we saw something that rather shocked us. One night in Tienanmen Square where we went to celebrate the return of Hong Kong back to China from Great Britain, an elderly couple walked by in front of us. They were dressed in the old communist style. They both had on navy blue suits and little navy blue short billed hats. The woman's jacket was made of dark blue silk brocade, quite lovely. She had to use two canes to walk and looked like it pained her. I looked at her feet, and she had the tiniest feet I ever saw on an adult and the shoes were of fine black leather that came to perfect little points. We all stopped to stare. She had to have been in her eighties or nineties, but aren't "golden lillies" or bound feet long gone? Something you only read about in novels about old China? A few days later, in a rural village we saw another woman in the same predicament walking by. We inquired about this phenomena and found out that although Sun Yat Sen outlawed the practice in 1911 when he became president of the new republic, the practice still continued in more traditional families and in more rural areas for awhile longer where families didn't need their daughters to work in the fields. They would bind the feet tightly with bandages beginning at age 7, and the feet would not be able to grow. This would be so the feet wouldn't "flip-flop" and look ungainly. It would be thought with awkward looking feet, they would not attract a husband.

Pam Vaughan
July, 1997

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity IV
Changes for Women

Resource Card

1950 MARRIAGE LAW

Article 1: The arbitrary and compulsory feudal marriage system, which is based on the superiority of man over woman and which ignore the children's interest shall be abolished. The New Democratic marriage system, which is based on the free choices of partner, on monogamy, on equal rights for both sexes, and on the protection of the lawful interests of women and children, shall be put into effect.

Article 3: Marriages shall be based upon the complete willingness of the two parties. Neither party shall use compulsion and no third party shall be allowed to interfere.

Article 4: Marriages can be contracted only after a man has reached 20 years of age and the woman has reached 18 years of age.

Article 8: Husband and wife are in duty bound to love, respect, assist, and look after each other, to live in harmony, to engage in production, to care for the children and to strive jointly for the welfare of the family and for the building up of a new society.

Article 17: Divorce shall be granted when husband and wife both desire it.

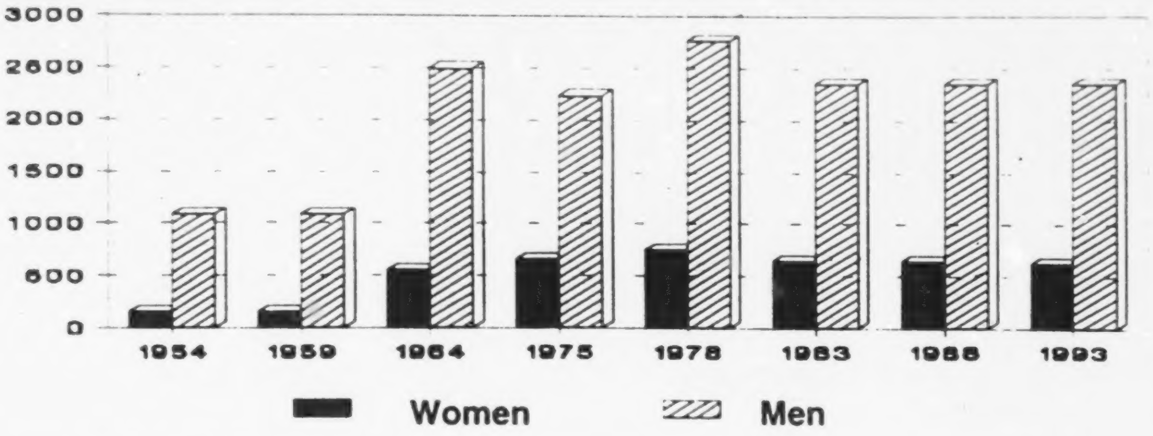
Source *Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China*, Peking Foreign Languages Press 1950

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity IV
RESOURCE CARD

Changes for Women

Women's political participation in China

Number of National People's Congress delegates by gender



Source: China Statistical Year Book

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity IV
RESOURCE CARD

Changes for Women

Excerpts of a lecture at Beijing Normal University, 7/11/97
Conducted by Professor Zheng Xinrong, Deputy Dean, Educ. Dept.

Although the children take the father's last name, the women keep their name. This has been since 1949 at the time of our revolution. Mao Zedong thought it would be a good idea because he thought women should be equal. Of course our family name comes first and then our given name. For example before 1949 my name after marriage would have been Yan Zheng Shi. Yan is my husband's family name. "Shi" means that I belong to my husband, but now we're free of this so I keep my name Zheng Xinrong which I was given when I was a baby.

****

In the old days, there were three kinds of obediences for women. First they had to obey their fathers, then their husbands. After their husbands died, they had to obey their sons. Although the old ways for women have changed theoretically, it stays in their psyches.

****

Girls education is excellent in the cities but a problem in rural areas where they have one of the highest drop out rates and girls there generally get a poorer education. For example in the rural areas there are only male teachers and the textbooks are not useful to rural girls.

****

The divorce rate in China is low; officially it is only 2.7% but probably this figure is too low. In the Beijing area it is probably 10%.

****

Mao Zedong said "Women can hold up 1/2 the sky." He thought women could do anything.

****

In Mao's time, there was equal pay. Now women start at the same salary as men, but in five years time, women fall behind in their salaries.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Activity Card

China's poor have had many famines and hard times over the centuries. When Mao Zedong led the Communists to victory in the civil war in 1949, he wanted to help the poor. He therefore set up an economic system that attempted to divide the country's wealth equitably. It seemed to work and overall, China developed a system where goods were divided and the country began to move ahead. About the time when the economy began to stagnate, Deng Xioping rose to power and wanted to give individuals a chance to earn more money for their families to help stimulate the economy. In September of 1997 at the Communist Party Congress, the new leader, Jiang Zemin, announced the government's intention to convert to a near complete capitalist (free enterprise) system.

As a group, investigate the resource cards and **orally** answer the following questions:

1. What problems were the Chinese people having before the revolution?

2. Do the Chinese people seem to be better off than they were before the revolution? In what ways?

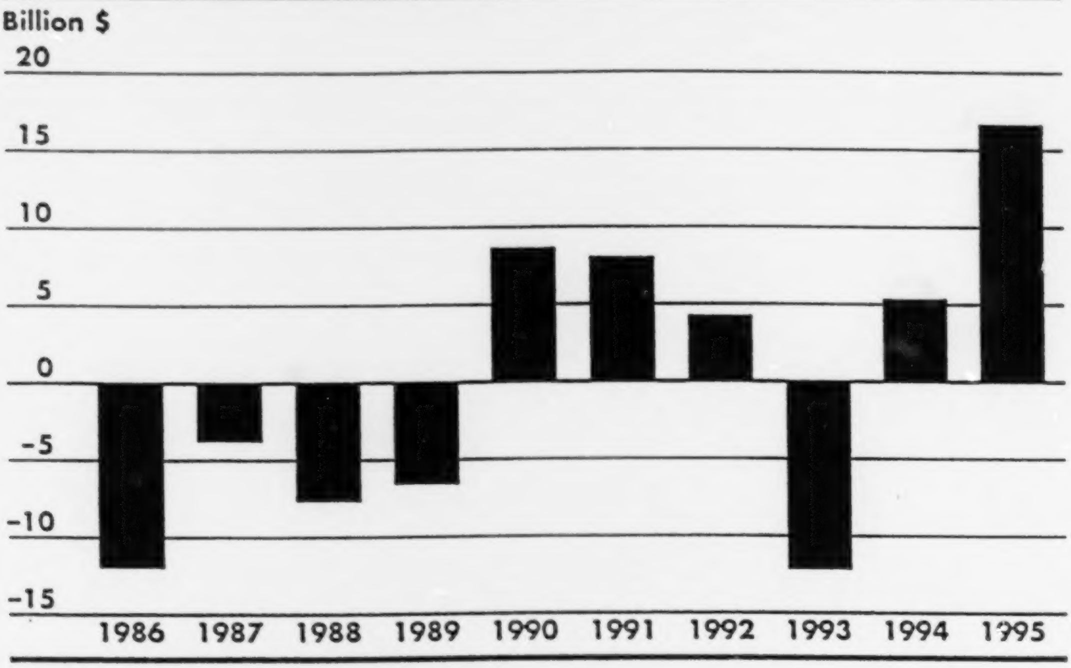
3. Why do you think that China's leaders have changed their minds over the years about the economy?

GROUP TASK

Present an illustrated statistical chart to the class showing the changes in China's economy over the years.

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

China's Foreign Trade Balance, 1986-95



SOURCE: PRC General Administration of Customs

Discuss with your group what ***foreign trade balance*** means.

1. In 1994-1995 did China have a trade balance that was positive or negative for their country?

2. If they had a positive trade balance, how would this help the economy? If it was negative, how would this hurt the economy?

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

A Visit to a Joint Venture Facility
July 4, 1997

When we were in China, one of the most commonly heard terms was "joint venture." On July 4th after an economics lecture at the university, we were about to find out what "joint venture" meant because a visit had been organized at the General Electric Medical Systems facility.

General Electric began thinking about producing materials in China after 1984 when China began opening up to the world as far as economic opportunity was concerned. Soon after, in 1989, the Chinese government began negotiating with G.E. and CAT scan production began at this facility in 1991.

The area we went to was on the outskirts of eastern Beijing, and as we were to find out, the location of the plant was carefully planned. It had been put there because of proximity to the nearby labor pool of skilled workers; Beijing had many universities. It was also close to Tianjin, the port for Beijing which was only an hour away. In addition it was near to rail lines and the airport. The entire area had modern light industrial facilities cropping up through the former agricultural area. This type of a region in China is now called a Special Economic Development Zone. In addition, General Electric has 5-6 other plants in China which produce devices such as x-ray and ultra-sound machines. In China, most joint ventures are with Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and the United States. The number is increasing with the United States.

The facility was modern and immaculate. Upon first entering, one can see the modern offices to the right and large cafeteria to the left. Work units in China must provide food for their workers (sometimes at a nominal sum), housing, a medical plan, pension plan, education for their children, and unemployment insurance. The director told us about the working conditions of the 120 employees, twenty of whom are part time. Seventy percent of the workers we visited had at least their bachelors degrees. The training salary was 2,000-3,000 yuan ($243- 365) per month; this is better than the average Chinese worker's income which is about $80 per month. There are also three or four foreign employees but their salaries are much higher, commiserate with the salaries they would earn in their home countries. By China's National Labor Law, employees are not allowed to work more than eight hours per day (or a forty hour work week.) If they work overtime, they are paid extra but they can't work more than thirty additional hours per week.

We were then taken to the large manufacturing room in the back where CAT scans are produced. The entire facility was immaculate and extremely modern, much like you would see in the United States. The machines we saw were very high tech and fifty per year were headed for Chinese markets while the others- about sixty per year- go to other countries. It seems many of these joint venture projects produce for both the markets in Asia but also for the U.S. and world markets. For example, I was surprised to see so many Jeep Cherokees everywhere in China. These are made in China by a U.S.-Chinese joint venture project.

We asked the director where the profits go, and he told us that 65% goes to General Electric in the United States and 35% goes to the Chinese end. On the Chinese end, the stock market is in its infancy with about 500 public stock offerings. When you look in the stock exchange section of the newspaper, G.E. is not offered. The profits from this plant go to the Ministry of Health, a part of the Chinese government.

The employees at the facility have received several prizes from the Chinese government for being one of the most successful joint venture projects in the country.

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

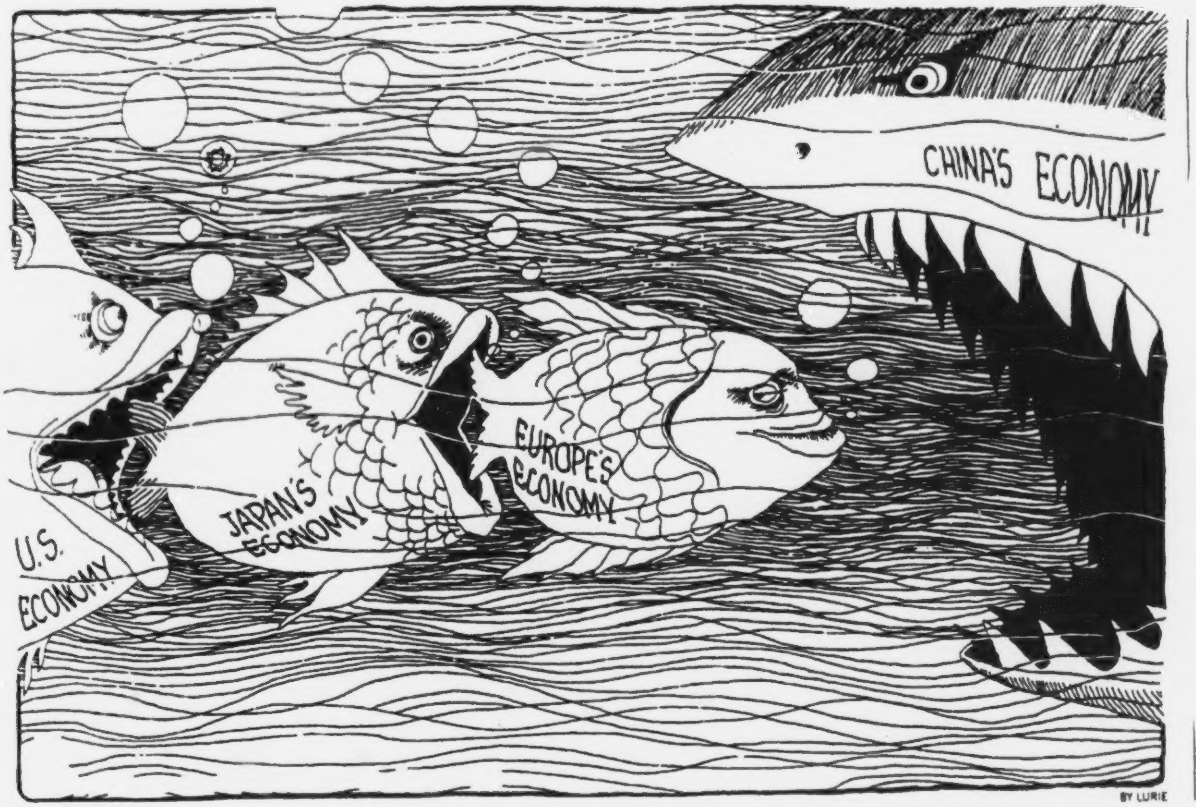
STATISTICS

ITEMS	UNIT	1993	1994	1995	1996
Gross Domestic Product	Yuan (billions)	3138	4380	5773.3	6779.5
Agriculture					
Food Grain	1000 tons	456,440	444,500	465,000	490,000
Fruit	"	29,880	34,780	41,900	45,700
Meat	"	37,800	43,000	50,000	58,000
Milk	"	4,980	5,300	5,480	6,250
Industry and Construction					
Color TV	1000 sets	13,870	16,895	19,580	21,090
Crude Oil	mil. tons	144	146	149	158
Electricity	bil kw/hr	820	920	1000	1,075
Steel	mil. tons	88.68	91.532	94	101.1
Foreign Economic Relations					
Export	bil. U.S. $	91.8	121	148.8	151.1
Import	"	104	115.7	132.1	138.8
Tourism	"	4.69	7.323	8.7	10.2
Education					
University Grads.	1000 students	107	128	145	162

Source: State Statistical Bureau of the Peoples Republic of China

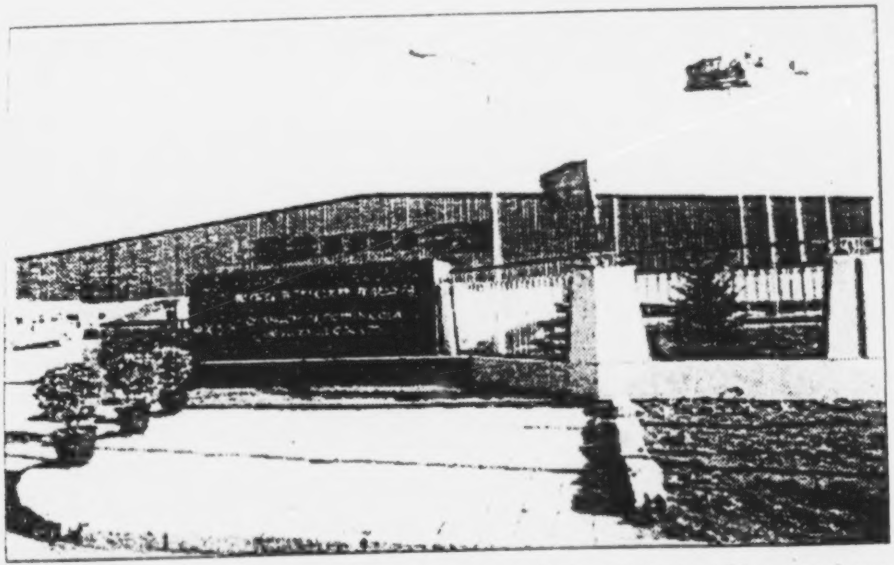
With these statistics, what trends do you notice?

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card


CHINA'S ECONOMY
EUROPE'S ECONOMY
JAPAN'S ECONOMY
U.S. ECONOMY
BY LURIE

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

A Jeep Cherokee parked at North West University in Xian, China. Jeep is a joint venture in China.



Front view of the Sino-American joint venture Changchun Pepsi-Cola Beverage Co Ltd

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

A VISIT

TO

GENERAL

ELECTRIC

BEIJING,

CHINA

Entrance
to
General
Electric
Joint
Venture
↑

Testing
a C.A.T.
scan machine.
The machine
speaks
English.
→

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

STATISTICS

GDP real economic growth rate (GDP-Gross Domestic Product)	10%	(1995 estimate)

GDP composition by sector:

Agriculture	19%	
Industry	48%	
Services	33%	(1994)

Inflation Rate	10.1%	(1994)
Urban Unemployment Rate	5.2%	

Exchange Rates

1991	U.S.	$1= 5.32 Chinese Yuan
1992		$1= 5.51
1993		$1= 5.76
1994		$1= 8.61
1995		$1= 8.35
1996		$1= 8.31
1997		$1= 8.27

Literacy Rate (age 15 and over) 1995 estimate

Total Population	81.5%
Males	89.9%
Females	72.7%

Leading Trade Partners 1994

Hong Kong, Japan, U.S., Germany, South Korea, Singapore

External Debt	$92 billion

Source: CIA World Factbook.

http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/wfb-all.html

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

TABLE 1: PRIVATELY-RUN ENTERPRISES: 1989-1994

Year		*units*	*employed (million)*	*registered assets (billion yuan)*
1989		91,000	1.85	
1990		98,000	1.70	
1991		108,000	1.83	
1992		140,000	2.31	45.20
1993	(June)	185,000	2.94	
1993	(December)	238,000	3.72	68.03
1994	(June)	328,000	5.01	
1994	(December)	420,000	6.35	138.90

Sources: *Economic Information Daily*, May 31, 1994, p. 4; 中國政協報, *Political Consultative Conference Bulletin*, October 29, 1994, p. 2; *Economic Research*, 1994, No. 7, p. 42; 人民日報, *People's Daily*, January 11, 1995, p. 2

In 1949, Mao Zedong and his communist government began to set up state (government) run enterprises. Private businesses were banned. In the last few years the economy has been reverting back to the private sector. In his address to the Communist Party Congress in September of 1997, Jiang Zemin and his government have completely put the state run enterprises into the private sector. Why do you think this is happening?

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

THE FAMINE
By Ma Mao-ts ai
(c.1629)

Yenan, the prefecture from which your humble servant comes, has not had any rain for more than a year. Trees and grass are all dried up. During the eighth and ninth months of last year people went to the mountains to collect raspberries which were called grain but actually were no better than chaff. They tasted bitter and could only postpone death for the time being. By the tenth month all the rasberries were gone and people peeled off tree bark as food. Among tree bark the best was that of the elm. This was so precious that in order to conserve it, people mixed it with the bark of other trees to feed themselves. Somehow they were able to prolong their lives. Towards the end of the year the supply of tree bark was exhausted....there was a dumping ground to the west of Anse to which two or three infants were abandoned by their parents each morning. Some of these infants cried aloud; others merely whimpered because they had lost all strength to cry. Some yelled for their parents; others, being so hungry as they were, ate their own excrements.

Wherever a person went, he saw dead bodies. Their odor was so odious that it was simply unbearable. Outside of the city wall people dug several pits, and the pits were so large that each of them could contain several hundred dead bodies. When your humble servant passed through the city, three of these pits had been filled up. Two or three miles further away from the city the number of dead bodies that was not buried was even more numerous. If the number of people who perished in a small city like Anse is so large, just imagine the number of those who died in a large city! One only needs to visit one place to know the situation in all other places.

Source: *The Horizon History of China*, New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1969.

Why Transition in Contemporary China
Activity V
Changes in Economics
Resource Card

The present and past two leaders of China had this to say about economics in China: Can you detect the difference from Mao to Deng and Jiang?

Mao Zedong, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," December 1939

"The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule....It was the class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars that constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese ... society."

Deng Xiaoping

"To be rich is glorious."

Jiang Zemin in his address to the 15th Communist Party Congress, September 12, 1997

"To advance our cause to the 21st century in an all-around way requires us to seize opportunities without fail, and blaze new trails instead of following the beaten tracks. Taking economic development as our central task, we should make new breakthroughs in economic restructuring....We shall convert large and medium-sized state [government] owned enterprises into standard corporations according to the requirements of clearly established ownership, well defined power and responsibility...."

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights

China and countries in the world which have their instituional foundations in Europe have differing attitudes about what exactly is *human rights.* China historically never had freedom of expression because of the chaos their leaders felt might ensue. The United States on the other hand purports to have freedom of expression but does not guarantee Americans certain economic rights such as food, shelter, and clothing. China may be changing, however. Carefully use your resource cards to find out.

As a group, investigate the resource cards, then ORALLY answer the following questions before making your plan for your presentation. Be sure all members in your group know the answers.

1. Why do the Chinese think that economic rights of the people are more important than freedom of expression?

2. What are some of the changes that China is presently going through with human rights?

3. How does Jiang Zemin view human rights? How does he answer other countries who try to persuade him to grant more freedoms of expression?

4. What might be the connection between the Temple of Heaven and human rights?

GROUP TASK

Pretend you are Chinese government officials. Write a press release to be issued to the foreign press outlining your governments stand on human rights. You need to include specific information and a historical perspective. At the end of your presentation, members of the class will ask questions as in a press conference.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card

The following excerpt is taken from an article, "Human Rights Discussions Clear Air," *China Daily*, July 19, 1997. The *China Daily* is an English language newspaper published in Beijing and is sponsored by the Chinese government.

. . . Chinese human rights experts hold that human rights embody political rights, economic rights, social and cultural rights, as well as the rights of existence and development. Give the reality of China's situation, the rights of existence and development come first and foremost.

Economic development is thus an aspect of democracy and promotion of human rights. Not to develop the economy would mean to go against the people's will and would thus be undemocratic.

This point of view has won sympathy and support from many countries, especially the developing countries and from insightful personages in the West, said Zhu.

He said a lasting impression left by the talks is that people in those countries know little about the real situation in China and that numerous rumours have led to the creation of false images of China, for example, that trials in China are not allowed after a court issues a verdict, and that prisoners are executed without investigation into their cases. . . .

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card

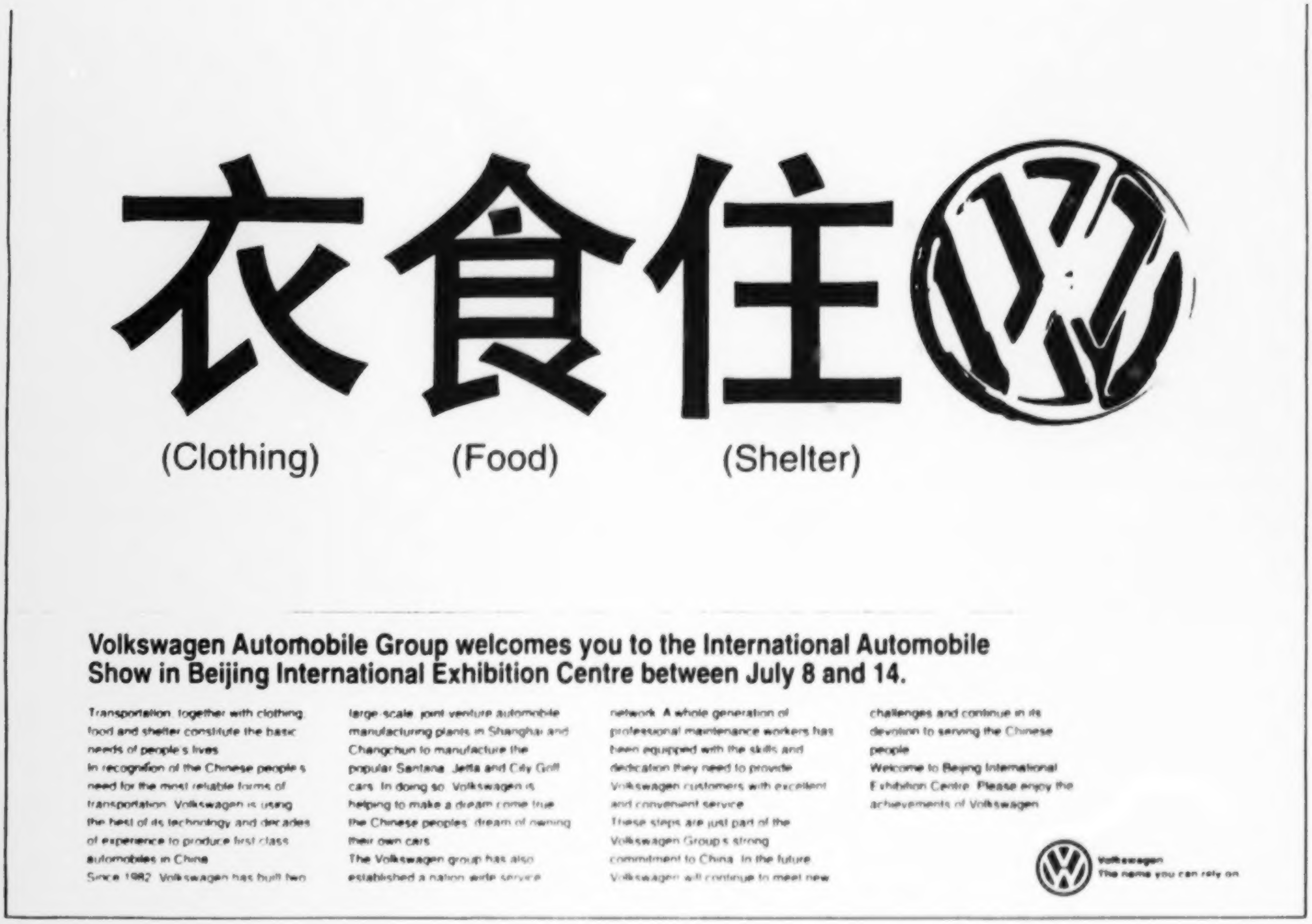
A Visit to the Temple of Heaven
A Historical Perspective
by Pam Vaughan
July 1, 1997

Our first day in Beijing, our guides took us to the Temple of Heaven. It is to Beijing what the Great Wall is to China, in other words, the symbol of Beijing. The grounds were huge, and the prosperous looking Beijing residents were there in great numbers because it was the holiday to celibrate Hong Kong's return to China from Great Britain. The temple's founding date, however, goes back centuries and has played a key role in the religious life of the emperor and his people. The throne of the emperor at the Forbidden City Palace faces the Temple of Heaven. Each New Year the emperor would go to the Temple of Heaven in a great procession to offer sacrifices to the gods. The New Year in February marked the beginning of the growing season, and so the emperor would offer these sacrifices in hopes that the many Chinese people would be able to have enough food.

It struck me as I was looking at this beautifully ornate multi-colored building that this is where human rights begins in China. FOOD. Unless China could be assured that the people were well taken care of with their basic needs, China would be a long time in granting the human rights that we hold dear in the West such as our freedoms of expression. I had heard one Chinese person refer to these freedoms as a "luxury." China has never had these freedoms but is granting them slowly.

Historically, China has had periods of peaceful dynasties where the people were well fed followed by chaotic ones. If China granted complete freedom of expression, the present government feels that China would become chaotic as it has been during historical periods. Besides, who are these critics in the West who judge China? Perhaps westerners, too, would feel differently if their families had gone without food. If you had to choose, would you choose life giving food for your family and friends or the freedom to express yourself verbally and openly?

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card



衣食住

(Clothing) (Food) (Shelter)

Volkswagen Automobile Group welcomes you to the International Automobile Show in Beijing International Exhibition Centre between July 8 and 14.

Transportation, together with clothing, food and shelter constitute the basic needs of people's lives.

In recognition of the Chinese people's need for the most reliable forms of transportation, Volkswagen is using the best of its technology and decades of experience to produce first class automobiles in China.

Since 1982, Volkswagen has built two large-scale joint venture automobile manufacturing plants in Shanghai and Changchun to manufacture the popular Santana, Jetta and City Golf cars. In doing so, Volkswagen is helping to make a dream come true, the Chinese peoples' dream of owning their own cars.

The Volkswagen group has also established a nation wide service network. A whole generation of professional maintenance workers has been equipped with the skills and dedication they need to provide Volkswagen customers with excellent and convenient service.

These steps are just part of the Volkswagen Group's strong commitment to China. In the future, Volkswagen will continue to meet new challenges and continue in its devotion to serving the Chinese people.

Welcome to Beijing International Exhibition Centre. Please enjoy the achievements of Volkswagen.

Volkswagen
The name you can rely on

Advertisement from *China Daily*, July 4, 1997, illustrating China's three basic human rights. *China Daily* is the English language newspaper published in Beijing which is sponsored by the Chinese government.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card

OPEN-NESS

Things are so quickly changing in just ten years. There is a big sense of open-ness now. Before the 1970's, people were more afraid when talking to people about political issues or criticizing the government one on one. You never knew what would happen. By the end of the 1970's this began to change. People started talking more openly. I noticed this change more and more frequently. The government didn't give us a clear signal sometimes on some problems. On this issue of openness, however, the government gave us a clear signal and also put more attention to it. You can see in our newspapers openness and reform are popular topics that are mentioned frequently. The media is partly censored, but people can watch CNN and news broadcasts from some other countries such as Japan. The government tried to control the internet but found it impossible. At my university, we use it freely.

The views of Ms. Chen Juan, resident of Beijing, China interviewed by Pam Vaughan, July 18, 1997

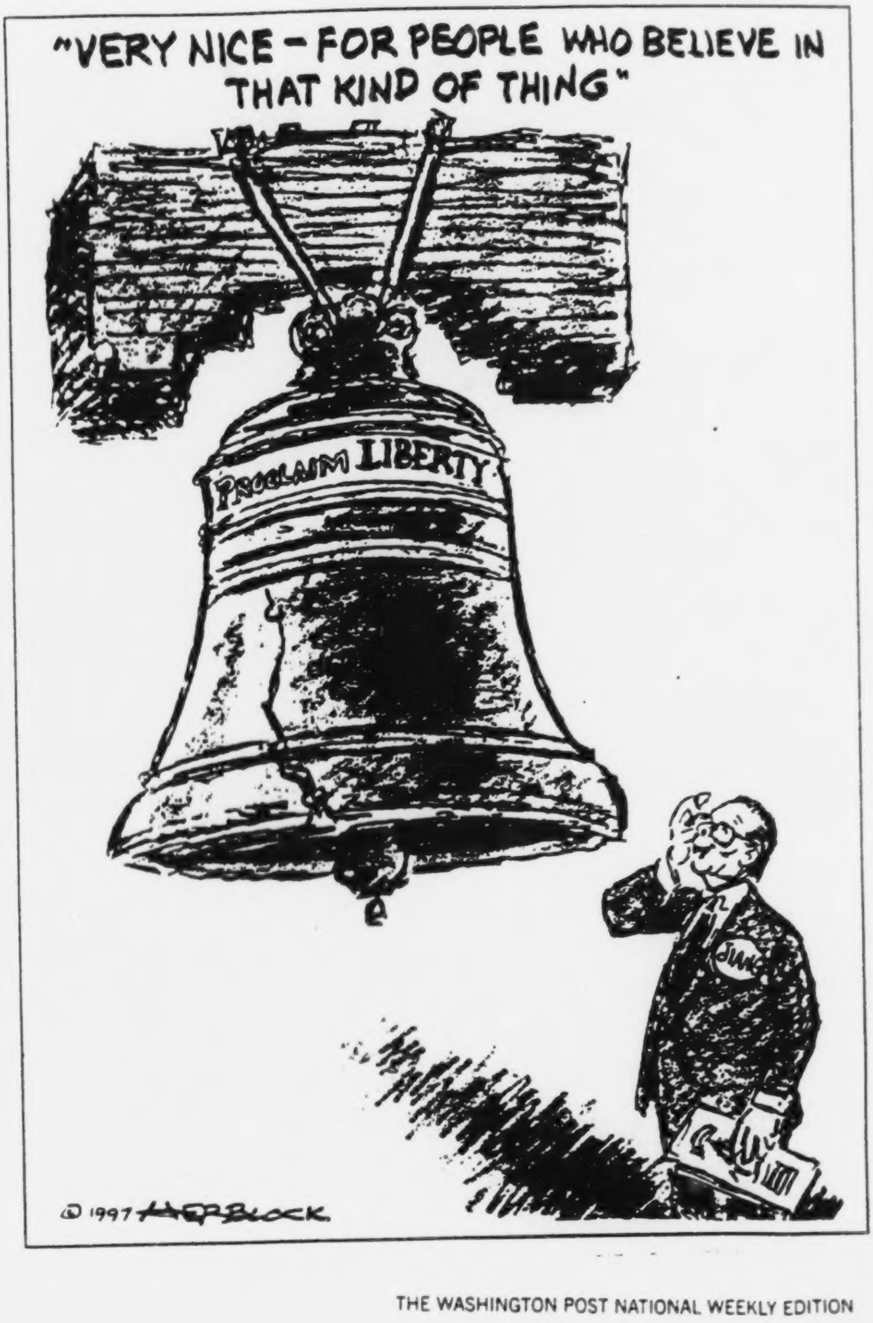
Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card

TEMPLE OF HEAVEN

Source: China Travel and Tourism Press

The Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests at the Temple of Heaven complex in Beijing, China. This is where the emperor would go at the New Year to offer sacrifices for abundant harvests for his people.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card


"VERY NICE – FOR PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN THAT KIND OF THING"
PROCLAIM LIBERTY
JIANG
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THE WASHINGTON POST NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION November 10. 1997

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card

CHINA IS A PARTY TO THE FOLLOWING HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS:

1948	Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Ratified by 117 countries including the United States)
1954	Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Ratified by 124 countries. The United States is not a party)
1966	International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Ratified by 133 countries. The U.S. Senate has not ratified the U.S. as a member yet)
1966	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Ratified by 132 countries including the United States)
1969	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Ratified by 145 countries including the United States)
1979	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Ratified by 149 countries. The U.S. Senate has not ratified the U.S. as a member yet)
1984	Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Ratified by 93 countries including the United States)
1989	Convention on the Rights of the Child (Ratified by 187 countries. The U.S. Senate has not ratified the U.S. as a member yet)

Source: United Nations

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
Activity VI
Human Rights
Resource Card

THE QUOTES OF PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN:

"The theory of relativity worked out by Einstein, which is in the domain of natural science, I believe can also be applied to the political field. Both democracy and human rights are relative concepts and not absolute and general."

Source: Interview with Steve Mufson of the Washington Post, October, 1997

"As state sovereignty is sacred and inviolable, no country has this special privilege to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or impose its will upon others. Certain big powers, often under the cover of "freedom," "democracy," and "human rights," set out to encroach upon the sovereignty of other countries, interfere in their internal affairs and undermine their national unity and ethnic harmony. This has become a principal cause for the intranquility in the world today. It is time that we wrote a new chapter in the annals of international relations in which the phenomena of the big bullying the small, the strong lording it over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor are removed completely from the face of the earth.... It is within the sovereignty of every nation to opt, in keeping with its own reality and the will of its people for a social system and road of development of its own choice. No one else has the right to interfere with it. Every country and every people has its special characteristics and strong points. It is only by respecting one another, seeking common ground while putting aside differences, living with one another in amity and complementing one another can we make the wold as colorful as a garden where a hundred flowers are contending in beauty. Without diversity, there can be no world as we know it.... We must join hands in meeting the challenges to human survival and development.
We all share one and the same planet...."

Source: The address of Jiang Zemin to the United Nations General Assembly, October 25, 1995.

"I believe that the most important, the most fundamental human right is how to ensure that the 1.2 billion Chinese people have adequate food and clothing. The rights and freedoms that our people enjoy today are unprecedented. Our consistent policy is to protect human rights according to law. Human rights and the system for the protection of human rights in china are advancing. These are the facts for everyone to see."

Source: Interview with staff, "U.S. and china: Ups and Downs," *Time*, Oct. 27, 1997

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living
Activity Card

China's economy is growing rapidly as has been noted in many news articles over the past few years, but how is it affecting the average people? Although most of the changes are in the urban areas, rural changes are happening, too. It seems that although most of the changes are raising the standard of living, it has been noted by former Premier Deng Xiaoping, "When you open the windows for fresh air, a few flies come in."

As a group, investigate the resource cards and **orally** answer the following questions:

1. What were some of the changes that you noticed when reading and looking at the resource cards?

2. What are some of the positive changes and what are some of the negative changes?

3. Why do you think China is making changes in the standard of living?

GROUP TASK

Present a skit to the class representing some of the changes in the Chinese standard of living in the last few years.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living

RESOURCE CARD

The Personal Observations of Ms. Chen Juan
July 18, 1997

Overall, life is so much easier than it used to be in China. When I was in elementary school 20 years ago most of my friends had radios but not too many other appliances. At that time when people married, they longed for watches, bikes, radios, and sewing machines. Now they want camcorders, pianos, computers, and higher quality decorations for their homes. T.V.s, air conditioners, and refrigerators have already become quite common . It used to be that in order to buy one of these amenities, we needed a special ration ticket from the government, but now we don't need such a thing. It used to be that in order to buy one of the small T.V.s, you needed to pay 3000 yuan ($375), but now it is 3000 yuan for a large TV. In general it's so much easier to buy the things you need because people have more money, and also before 1990 there were no large luxury shopping centers in Beijing although there were department stores, and now there are twenty or thirty of those luxurious centers.

Right now my husband and I are not saving for any of these things in particular because we are saving to buy an apartment. We may be moving somewhere else in the country and since we already have a large TV and a refrigerator, we don't want to move anything else. Also, it is easier to move than twenty years ago. It used to be that you had to register with the government for your place of residence. From your work unit (place of work) or neighborhood association you were then issued ration coupons and you had to use these ration coupons for things like meat, rice, sugar, oil, matches, soap, and other important household items. You could only use these coupons in the area in which you lived, so you couldn't move. Now we can move where we like because we haven't needed the ration coupons since the middle of the 1980's.

When the government took these ration coupons away and price controls off products, everyone was scared. They were afraid the prices would go out of control and we would be unable to buy anything so everyone went out and frantically bought what they could. My mother still has some laundry soap left over from that period. It's unusable now but she keeps it as a souvenir. The prices didn't go out of control and the market became competitive which kept costs under control.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living

RESOURCE CARD

NEWS ARTICLES FROM *CHINA DAILY* NEWSPAPER

China Daily is the English language newspaper of the Peoples Republic of China

Excerpt 7/19/97:

Foreigners Won't Forget Jiansu

By Christopher Hampton and Nancy Lynch Street

...During the trip, we visited township and village enterprises.

One was in the city's outskirts: Asia's largest toothbrush manufacturer. The factory produces 1 million toothbrushes a month! Perhaps the management has fine-tuned the incentive system: workers' pay starts at 700 yuan ($85) a month, but since they are paid on a piece-work basisi, nimble- fingered employees can boost that to around 2,000 yuan ($241).

House renovation

SHANGHAI had completed renovating 180,000 square metres of dilapidated houses by June. Under the local government plan, the city will undertake renovation of 1 million square metres of old houses this year, of which half shall be completed, the Xinmin Evening News reported. So far, construction is under way on 560,000 square metres of these houses.

7/21/97

Mobile phones

NANJING – China now ranks third in the world in the number of people using mobile phones, after the United States and Japan, according to the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications. China's mobile phone industry didn't take shape until 1987. It now has networks connecting all cities and some villages, and the number of customers has been growing 100 per cent annually on average, ministry sources say.

7/19/97

Poverty-relief project starts

GUANGZHOU (Xinhua) – Economically developed Guangdong Province in South China has sent 130,000 officials to disadvantaged areas to help 600,000 poor people there shake off poverty by the end of this year — three years ahead of schedule.

The province has spent 230 million yuan ($27.7 million) on 220,000 poverty-relief projects since the beginning of the year. Each official is charged with helping one of the 120,000 poor families get adequate food and clothing.

The neediest families were offered 1,000 yuan ($120) each to buy chemical fertilizer, seed and pesticides, local officials said.

And outside assistance for poverty relief is strong, as the eight coastal boomtowns — including Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou — are helping 16 poor counties, and 100 rich townships in the Pearl River Delta area are doing the same for another 100 townships in the northern mountain area.

7/97

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living

RESOURCE CARD

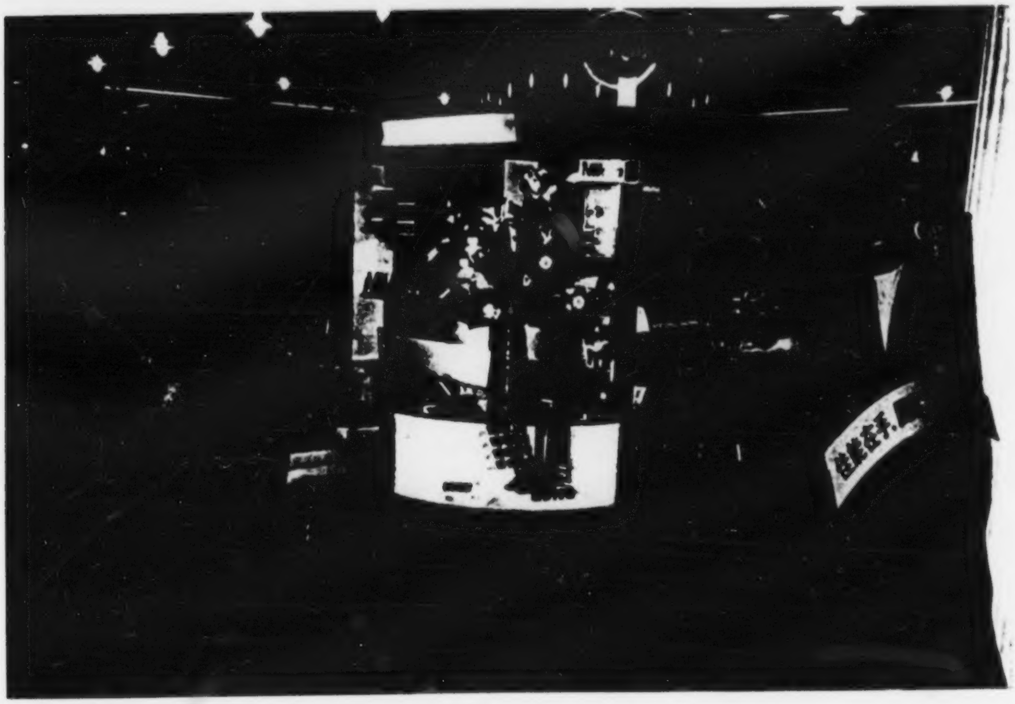

Photo by Pam Vaughan

Model of Jackie Chan at the entrance of an electronics section of a department store in Beijing. Most types of electronics goods are available in China now. Where in the past color televisions were in big demand, now people want v.c.r.s, computers, camcorders, and better cameras.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living

RESOURCE CARD

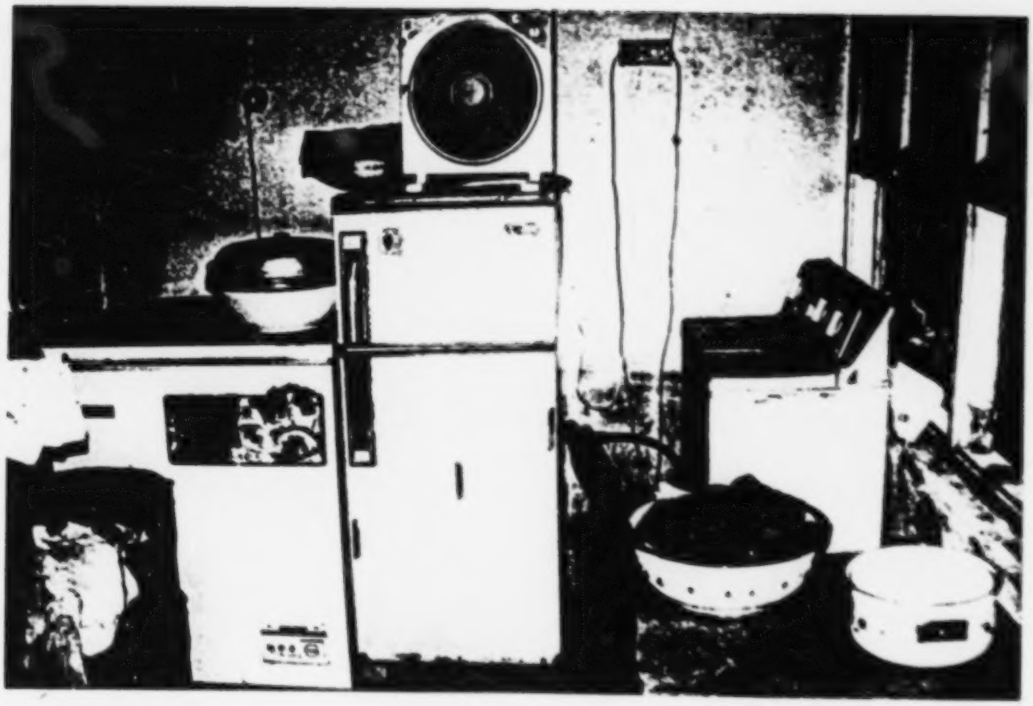

Photo by Pam Vaughan

A typical kitchen in a village home outside Beijing. On the left is a storage bin for rice, then the refrigerator, and a small washer and drier on the right. The stove which isn't seen here is fueled by coal. Sometimes an electric hotplate is used.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living

RESOURCE CARD

首届电视体育辩论大赛
SMUCK
生态美
奥利奥
OREO
奥利奥
OREO

Photo by Pam Vaughan

Posters of Oreos, Smuckers, and other goods at the entrance of a department store in Beijing. Food and goods can be seen in abundance in China in 1997, but it hasn't always been like this.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living
RESOURCE CARD

An Outsider's Observations July, 1997
by Pam Vaughan

•People in China appeared much better off than we anticipated. The children were well dressed (as well as children in America) and adults were very attentive to them. It helps Chinese to only have one child because they can raise their standard of living.

•The women in the cities were very well dressed in European style fashions. They often get their outfits tailor made at reasonably priced seamstress shops where you show the seamstress a photo of what you want and she copies it. Ready made clothing shops and department stores abound.

•The Chinese seem to have the luxury of being tourists in their own country now. Chinese friends told us that just a few years ago, you could see very few tourists at monuments such as the Forbidden City. It was also obvious that some of the tourists were from the rural areas.

•Everyone seemed thrilled that consumer goods and the variety of consumer goods were now easy to find. There were some complaints about the quality, however, with such goods as Chinese made air conditioners and televisions. Our friends preferred Japanese made goods. The quality they said was improving, however, with the Chinese made goods.

•The traffic jams were as bad as in any American city at rush hour. Most Chinese don't own cars and use bicycles or buses. One statistic said there is only 1 car or truck for every 100 people in China. In the U.S. it is 75 cars or trucks per 100 people. The smog in Beijing and Shanghai is bad, but the Chinese government is working on this. Shanghai went over to unleaded gasoline the summer of 1997 and Beijing will soon. Gasoline costs about $1.20 per gallon. (Ted Plafker, "China Just Starting Love Affair with Cars," *San Francisco Examiner*, Dec. 21, 1997)

•In the rural areas, people didn't seem as well off as in the cities, but in the homes we visited, everyone had color televisions which is very common in China now. Some children even had Nintendo game outfits.

•According to Professor Zhou Zhiliang at Beijing Normal University, the average lifespan of the Chinese in 1947 just before the Communist Revolution was 35 years of age. Today it is 70.

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA?
ACTIVITY VII
Changes in Standard of Living

RESOURCE CARD

Beauty Contestants and More in Shanghai

"When asked what she thought was the most urgent problem facing Shanghai, she replied, 'Newspapers and TV stations churn out reports on the daily improvements being made to the city's mass transit system, but my personal experience has been of its daily deterioration. Going to work over a relatively short distance takes more than one hour, and buses are always packed to overflowing. I've had my shoes squeezed off and my new dress torn on overcrowded buses."

The judges applauded her response enthusiastically and Ms. Zhang went on to win [Shanghai's first beauty contest.] Her complaint, televised live, struck a chord with fellow Shanghailanders. Buses and cars often slow to a crawl in the narrow streets of the old city and traffic jams are now common...[these] are caused by road improvement projects and construction of the city's first subway....

Young women sporting high-fashion hairdos and wearing revealing dresses scarcely draw a disapproving glance from passers-by. Gone are the days when the only sign of femininity on a woman was the collar of her print blouse timidly peeking above her uniform or blue coat."

Source: Xinhau, the New China News Agency

Why Transition in C

Group	Name of Activity	MAIN SPECIFIC POINTS THIS GROUP
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

Name________________________

Per.________________________

omtemporary China?

MAKES ABOUT CHINA	**HOW** IS THERE CHANGE IN CHINA?

WHY TRANSITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA? EXTENSION/DEBRIEFING QUESTIONS

ACTIVITY 1- CHANGES IN RURAL WEALTH

1. Do you think working communally for the good of the whole or working as an individual is more beneficial and why?

2. Why do you think that Deng Xioping installled the Household Responsibility System?

3. In the dialogue you read, which arguments did you agree with and why?

4. Why might it be rewarding living in an agricultural village? on a commune?

5. Have any of you stayed or lived in a farm? Was it easy or difficult for the workers? How were the townspeople different in their attitudes towards each other than in the city or suburbs? (and vice-versa if you live in a rural community)

6. What might be some reasons why China's population is largely agricultural.

ACTIVITY 2- POPULATION PROBLEMS

1. Why has China had to install this type of a population policy?

2. Is there an overpopulation problem in our own country? What proofs in your own experience do you have?

3. Do you think that our government would ever make laws about the population issue?

4. What might be other solutions to the overpopulaton problems in China?

5. What advantages/disadvantages would a child have from a one child family? In your own family, advantages and disadvantages.

6. Is the immigration issue in our own country a similar issue?

ACTIVITY 3- Democratic Changes

1. Which form of government is the worst in your opinion and why?

2. Do you think we take democracy for granted in our own country? Examples?

3. Why were the students in Tiananmen Square demonstrating for democracy? Were the types of democratic values the same that we have in the U.S.? What sorts of values were these?

4. When was the last time you saw this particular freedom (answered in #3) demonstrated.

5. Why was it important for the government (in their own eyes) to keep control over the people's rights?

6. If you had to choose between the two, economic rights (food on the table) or freedom of expression, which one would you choose and why?

ACTIVITY 4- Changes for Women

1. If the trends continue, where can you see Chinese women's rights in ten years?

2. If Chinese women started keeping their own family names in 1949, do you think American women are behind the times? OR Why do American women change to their husband's family name when they marry?

3. Do you think that tatooing and body piercing is similar to foot binding? Elaborate.

4. Can you see any parallels with Chinese women and American women? What are they?

5. If you could go to China, what would you like to say to or find out about Chinese women?

6. What changes for Chinese women do you appreciate the most?

ACTIVITY 5- Changes in Economics

1. Why do you think that China has been seeking help from other countries in their economic development?

2. What economic changes do you think that the Chinese could still make? Why?

3. How has China changed the most in the area of economics in your opinion?

4. In the resources you viewed, which statistics seemed to be most convincing to you that China is truly changing?

5. What economic changes have your seen in your own country?

6. In 1996 and 1997, China had the fastest economic growth rate in the world. What evidence of this did you see in your activity?

ACTIVITY 6- Changes in Human Rights

1. Why do you think that countries with European traditions believe that it is more important that governments write Bills of Rights granting freedom of expression rather than economic freedoms?

2. Would you rather have a guarantee from your government of economic freedom or freedom to say what you please? Why?

3. If you could write a Bill of Rights for China, what freedoms would you give them? and for the US. what could we use in the way of rights?

4. How does homelessness tie into this topic?

5. Do you think we can have both economic freedom and freedom of expression, too?

ACTIVITY 7- CHANGES IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING

1. Why do you think that China's standard of living is on the rise? What evidence did you see for it in your activity?

2. In a rising standard of living, how might the environment suffer?

3. The United Nations does not rate the United States as the country with the best standard of living. The honors usually go to European countries. In your opinion, how could our standard of living be better?

4. If you could help China with one aspect of their modern way of life, what would it be and why?

5. Do you think technology helps standards of living or hinders it. How?

Why Transition in Contemporary China?

INDIVIDUAL REPORTS

You may pose the following question to all the groups:

How and why are there changes in contemporary China?

Or you may pose the following questions for the groups:

ACTIVITY I- How and why are there changes in rural China?

ACTIVITY II- Why has China implemented a one-child policy?

ACTIVITY III- How and why is there democratization in China?

ACTIVITY IV- How are there changes for women in China?

ACTIVITY V- How and Why are there economic changes taking place in China?

ACTIVITY VI- A. Using China as an example historically, how do they view human rights? B. How are human rights changing in China?

ACTIVITY VII- How has the standard of living been changing in China?

Students should answer the question/s for the appropriate activity with a long paragraph or short essay, using specific evidence from their activities. They should hand in the assignment (at the latest), the following day.

Why Transition in Contemporary China?
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Toronto Globe and Mail (one cartoon)

United Nations

Vaughan, Pam, Web Trek, Social Studies Internet Directory, Web Trek Publishing,
165 Heartwood Ct., Vallejo, CA. e-mail pvaugha@ix.netcom.com
Contains internet China sources

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